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CONFIDENTIAL.

(2764.)

F.O.
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PART I.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

AFFAIRS

IN

THE HERZEGOVINA.

July to December, 1875.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Correspondence respecting Affairs in the Herzegovina: 1875.

No. 1.

Mr. Effrench to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, July* 10, 1875, 8 A.M.

CONSUL TAYLOR telegraphs from Ragusa:—

"Serious Christian revolutionary rising in Herzegovina, near Metcovich. Turks repulsed with loss by Christians at Kruppa. Latter have hoisted Austrian flag at two places. Troops under General Ivanovich sent from here to Metkovich. Montenegro seemingly directs revolt underhand."

No. 2.

Mr. Effrench to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, July* 12, 1875, 1 P.M.

CONSUL TAYLOR telegraphs from Ragusa:—

"The General returned from Metkovich assures me reports of collisions and revolution in Herzegovina are unfounded, though ample matter exists for an outbreak any time."

No. 3.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, July* 13, 1875, 1 P.M.

THE reports from Bosnia are causing uneasiness.

The refugees lately returned from Montenegro have excited insubordination among the villages near Mostar, and caravans have been robbed and the persons in charge murdered.

To prevent the movement from extending, a battalion will be sent to Mostar; but the Turkish Commissioner, lately sent to the frontier, is to endeavour to ascertain the grievances of the people, and to quiet them if possible, before repressive measures are resorted to.

The movement seems chiefly caused by a resistance to taxation and to the conscription, and is not confined to the Christians.

No. 4.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, July* 16, 1875, 2 P.M.

I WOULD suggest to your Lordship that it might be desirable to inform Her Majesty's Consul at Bosna-Serai that he is at liberty to go himself, or to send somebody in

whom he has confidence, to Mostar, or other points from whence it may seem desirable to have information respecting the state of the country.

No. 5.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 17.)

(No. 4. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Seraï, July 2, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that there is disturbance in the Herzegovina. Early last winter, some 160 of the inhabitants of the district of Nevessin left their homes and went into Montenegro. After remaining there some months, however, they petitioned the Porte to be allowed to return to Nevessin. The Governor-General advised the Porte to reply, that as they had chosen to leave their country for Montenegro, they might remain there. The Government, however, decided to accept their request, and allowed them to return. Shortly afterwards they appeared in revolt, declared that they were oppressed, refusing to pay their taxes or to admit the police among them, and they have been endeavouring by intimidation to cause their neighbours in the surrounding districts to join them. The Mutesarif of Mostar invited them to come to that place to state their grievances, which he assured them would be redressed, but they refused, and the Governor-General tells me that they cut to pieces a man quite unconnected with them who had gone to Mostar to seek redress for some grievance, and threatened with the same fate any within their reach who should do so in future. The Governor-General informs me that at present he has no intention of sending troops against them, but will prevent their efforts to extend their revolt by surrounding these districts with policemen, and he will probably send some of the notables of Serajevo to endeavour to bring them to reason. Thus the matter stands at present.

The Prince of Montenegro assured Constant Effendi, when at Cettigné, that neither he nor the inhabitants of Montenegro had anything to do with this affair, but attributes it rather to Servian intrigue. He spoke bitterly of Servia, and said she was always endeavouring to put him in a false position, and make the Turks think he was "incorrigible." He said that a priest named Nikifor, formerly the igumen of the Convent of Shuma, in the Herzegovina, and who was an active partisan of the rebellion of 1861, and had since taken refuge in Servia, is a constant instrument of intrigue. He is the Prince's personal enemy, and has relations and great influence with the disaffected in the Herzegovina, and His Highness imagined this man to be at the bottom of the present disturbance.

The Governor-General believes the Prince to be quite innocent of any complicity on this occasion; but he is not so sure that the Montenegrins, among whom the people from Nevessin resided last winter, are equally blameless.

There was a report here that troops were to be sent to Nevessin; but the Governor-General says that he does not wish to give too great importance to this matter. A short time ago he sent three battalions to parts of Nevessin, but more, he says, to keep the Mussulmans quiet than to proceed against the rebels. He expects that the matter will end quietly; and if it be properly managed, and the Prince of Montenegro use his influence to calm the agitation, as he has promised to do, I think this effervescence will soon subside.

There is no doubt that these people feel oppressed and overtaxed. The Government is always urging the sale of the taxes at yearly increasing and really exorbitant prices, and in all complaints invariably side with the purchasers, being interested to secure them a profit to ensure still higher bidding the ensuing year. The inhabitants of Nevessin are also peculiarly situated as regards most of the neighbouring districts, which, after the rebellion of 1861, secured an arrangement by which their taxes were commuted for an annual sum, they agreeing to furnish pandours to preserve order, whose pay was to be deducted from the amount fixed for the taxes. The districts surrounding Nevessin, therefore, seem to the inhabitants of the latter to be virtually exempt from taxation, while they are exposed to all its hardships, which, owing to the ruinous system employed in Turkey, are doubtless very great.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 6.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 19.)

No. 5. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Seraï, July 9, 1875.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 4, Political, of the 2nd July, regarding the disturbances in the Herzegovina, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that on the same day the Governor-General sent Haidar Bey and Petrarchi Effendi, two notables of Serajevo, to communicate with the insurgents, who belong to the four villages of Loukavach, Sovidol, Belgrade, and Terrousiné, in the district of Nevessin.

Before they reached these villages, however, the disaffected peasants, who had forced and persuaded many others to join them, had attacked and captured a caravan of twenty-five horses on the road from Mostar to Nevessin, belonging to some merchants of Serajevo, laden with rice, sugar, and coffee, which they carried off to the village of Odrichnia. At the same time, they murdered and decapitated five Turkish travellers, named Salih Kassumovich, Marich, Samich, Ali of Nevessin, and another whose name is not yet known, a native of Hrasné. One of the insurgents, named Tchoubaté, at the head of about 300 followers, drove away forty zaptiehs placed in the defile of Stolatz, and separating into small bands have for the moment intercepted the various roads in the neighbourhood. One band is stationed at the bridge over the Kruppa, and renders the road between Mostar and Meteovich unsafe. The detached bands of insurgents are endeavouring to force others to join them by burning the houses of those who refuse to do so, and other means of intimidation.

The Governor-General has received telegrams from Mostar, signed by the two Commissioners and the Mutesarif and Commander of the troops at Mostar, stating these facts; also that the headless bodies of the Turks have been recovered and buried. Under these circumstances the Commissioners hesitated to continue their journey; and the authorities at Mostar state that great excitement prevails throughout the Mussulman population, who are impatient to attack the insurgents and avenge the savage murders of their co-religionists, whose decapitation has particularly roused their feelings; and requesting five battalions to keep order.

The Governor-General has, at present, refused this request, and replied that the authorities must insist on the Mussulmans remaining quiet, and leaving the matter in the hands of the Government. In the meantime, it having been understood that the insurgents refuse to treat with any but the two Commissioners lately arrived from Constantinople for the Montenegrin frontier, his Excellency has sent Constant Effendi and Hassan Pasha to the theatre of these events, with full powers, as Commissioners from the Porte, to investigate the grievances of the people, and punish any Turkish local authorities who may have been guilty of any acts giving occasion to these troubles. These last Commissioners left this on the 8th, and will meet the insurgents on the 10th or 11th.

The Governor-General complains that the authorities at Mostar, by their indolent and irresolute conduct, have allowed this affair to attain proportions which it should never have acquired,—pleading want of orders, when circumstances required immediate action, and making no use of the civil force at their disposal, which was sufficient to prevent the insurgents from spreading over the country, and forcing the population to join them.

His Excellency remarks that the murder of the five Turks and the burning of houses and property has made the matter much more serious. The Government could afford to pardon political offences against itself, but it could not permit the slaughter of its subjects with impunity. He will await, however, to see what results from the interview of Constant Effendi and Hassan Pasha with the insurgents; but if that fails, he must then employ vigorous measures to restore order, conscious of having employed every means in his power to avoid proceeding to extremities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 7.

The Earl of Derby to Consul Holmes.

(No. 1.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, July 19, 1875.*

IT is reported that disturbances have broken out in certain districts in Bosnia, and I have to state to you that you are at liberty to proceed to Mostar or elsewhere, with a view of collecting accurate information as to the state of the country.

Should you consider it unadvisable to absent yourself from your post, you are authorized, if you see fit, to employ on this service any person in whom you have full confidence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 8.

Mr. Ffrench to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 19.)

(No. 236.)
My Lord *Vienna, July 15, 1875.*

WITH reference to Mr. Consul Taylor's telegrams of the 10th and 12th instant from Ragusa, it appears that the so-called rising in the Herzegovina was nothing more than one of the agrarian outbreaks which generally take place whenever the Agas present themselves among the Christian population to levy taxation.

The Dalmatian papers give most laconic details as to the origin and effects of this outbreak. A local Rajah was killed by the Turks at the bridge of Kruppa, and this act was responded to by a gathering of Christians in all the country around the lower part of the River Narenta. The bridge of Kruppa, which had been fortified by the Rajahs, was twice attacked by the Turks, who were repulsed and had to retire.

Quantities of Christian families, frightened by this state of agitation, crossed the Dalmatian frontier and took refuge at Metkovics, which was the nearest point of refuge in the Austrian territory, where General Jovanowitch arrived with a Commissioner and two military companies to guard the frontier.

The Christian population of Rasno are being threatened by bands of Turkish emissaries with death and extermination; they are crushed under the weight of taxation of which they have been for long awaiting a diminution, and have at last attempted to oppose resistance to this system of persecution.

The Turkish Government has but a small garrison in the Herzegovina, and these troops have retired into the fortresses, making but a few sorties during the day in order to test the strength and learn the movements of the insurgents.

It is said that the latter have hoisted the Austrian flag, and suspicion exists that the whole thing may have been fomented by the southern Pan-Slavists in order to disturb and to create confusion in the relations between Austria and Turkey. Further details are expected.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. PERCY FFRENCH.

No. 9.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, July 22.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 21 Juillet, 1875.*

HASSAN EDIB PACHA et Constant Effendi ont adressé à la Sublime Porte le 16 courant un télégramme dont voici l'extrait :

Avant de nous rendre à Névésin nous avons prévenu de notre mission les fugitifs. Ces derniers ont attaqué notre messager. Le jour même de notre arrivé à Névésin, les récalcitrants ont chassé devant eux le bétail des paysans ; on a tiré sur la troupe sans provocation aucune de sa part; ils ont coupé les voies de communication, ont attaqué toute personne Musulmane ou Chrétienne qu'ils rencontraient, et ils ont menacé de mort et d'incendie quiconque ne les suivrait pas. Nous les avons invités par écrit à se présenter devant nous et à nous soumettre leurs griefs et leurs demandes. Ils ont répondu par des prétentions absurdes. D'après les assertions de notre messager, l'entrevue devait avoir lieu près de notre campement, mais ils nous ont envoyé une lettre par l'entremise d'une femme pour nous inviter à nous rendre dans un village sis à une distance de deux heures et demie de Névésin. D'après nos informations, plus de 300 (?) récalcitrants se trouvaient réunis dans cette localité, et de 70 à 80 dans un autre village voisin. En outre, une attaque se prépare prochainement. Nous avons renouvelé notre démarche sans aucun résultat auprès d'eux pour obtenir une entrevue. Nous croyons savoir que l'échauffourée prend une grande extension, qu'elle s'étend aux habitants de Stoulitza, Bileke, et Tréantidj et que des Latins y participent. Notre mission ne saurait amener aucun résultat et les

récalcitrants mettent à profit ce temps d'arrêt pour donner plus de développement à leur plan. Quelques Monténégrins se trouvent aussi parmi eux. Il ne reste plus que la force armée pour en finir avec cette affaire.

Je vous ferai connaître les mesures que le Gouvernement Impérial se trouvera dans la nécessité de prendre en conséquence.

No. 10.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 23.)

(No. 343.)
My Lord, *Therapia, July 13, 1875.*

THE reports received from Bosnia are beginning to cause the Porte considerable uneasiness.

Insubordination among the villagers of various places in the vicinity of Mostar had been incited by the 160 refugees who had lately returned from Montenegro, and the last accounts received from the Governor-General report them as having attacked and robbed a caravan, killing five of the persons in charge of it.

The Governor-General states these five men to have been Mussulmans, but the movement does not seem to be confined to the Christian population, and is apparently provoked by a resistance to taxation, and to the conscription.

To prevent the movement from extending, the Governor-General of Bosnia has been authorized to send a battalion of troops from Bosna-Seraï to Mostar, but it is not intended that they should revert to active measures of suppression till it is ascertained that it may not be possible to tranquillize the people by conciliatory means.

With this object, Constant Effendi, who had been sent as Turkish Commissioner on the Montenegrin frontier question, has been directed to proceed to the scene of the disturbance, to ascertain the grievances complained of, and to endeavour to satisfy all the people that any just complaints shall receive consideration from the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 11.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 23.)

(No. 345. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, July 14, 1875.*

YOUR Lordship will have received from Mr. Consul Holmes accounts of the agitation in Bosnia, of more recent date than those which I can forward from hence.

In one respect the Governor-General has not been strictly accurate in his statement to Mr. Holmes, for it was not he who was unwilling to attribute too much importance to the movement by sending troops to Mostar, but rather the Porte, which, taking a less serious view of the state of things, refused to comply with his request for permission to do so.

My opinion was confidentially asked upon this point some days ago, and I replied that it would be a mistake to allow an exaggerated fear, lest the movement of troops should be misrepresented in certain quarters, to interfere with the adoption of such measures as might seem necessary to prevent an extension of the spirit of insubordination.

The Government of Austria was, I said, so deeply interested in the maintenance of tranquillity in districts close to their own frontier, that there was no danger of their objecting to the precautionary measures that might be taken.

Two days afterwards, when speaking on this subject to Safvet Pasha, he told me that the Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires, to whom he had spoken of the intention of the Porte to send a battalion to Mostar, far from objecting, had appeared fully to approve of it; but the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, on the other hand, had taken a different view, remarking that it would be better not to be precipitate, but to wait to see how matters went.

Safvet Pasha's conviction seems to be that Russia would have no objection to see disturbances in Bosnia which might be equally inconvenient to Turkey and Austria.

The present insubordination is believed to have been excited entirely by the malcontents who had taken refuge in Montenegro, and in whose return to the Turkish territory the Russian Embassy had exhibited so much interest.

That the movement is due to the policy followed by the three northern Powers during the last six months scarcely admits of a reasonable doubt, although it is not to be supposed that Austria intended or desired it to be followed by any such result.

Practically, but unconsciously, that Power has been acting as a cat's-paw to Russia, and by adopting the policy of the latter, has been assumed by the populations to be animated by the same sentiments towards Turkey.

That no great time would elapse without this leading to trouble in the northern provinces had become a matter of certainty, and the reception given to the Emperor of Austria upon his visit to Dalmatia had seemed to show that the late efforts of the Vienna Cabinet to conciliate the Slav populations had done less to secure their loyalty than to excite their hopes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 12.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 25.)

(No. 6. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, July 16, 1875.*

THE disturbances in the Herzegovina still continue. Constant Effendi and Hassan Pasha reached Nevessin on the day fixed by the insurgents for meeting them there. The former, however, did not appear, but sent word that, as their party was dispersed among the mountains and forests, they could not come till the 15th. The Governor-General thinks they have no intention of meeting Constant Effendi, and only wish to gain time; and Constant Effendi writes that he sees little chance of the people listening to reason. In the meanwhile, during the week, one or two small skirmishes have taken place between parties of zaptiehs and pandours and the insurgents, in which three or four of the former have been killed. What loss the latter have suffered is not known. The police have recovered eight or ten packages belonging to the caravan which I reported had been captured. The roads are considered unsafe between Mostar and Metcovich, and all the inhabitants of the villages on the road are armed and watching in expectation of being attacked, though their attitude is inspired, the Governor-General asserts, more by their own fears than the actual presence of any rebels.

The excitement along the Dalmatian frontier is said to have been great, and General Iovanovich, the Austrian military governor of the district of Ragusa, has arrived at Metcovich with a couple of companies of soldiers, most probably to insure order by his presence among his own people.

The Governor-General declares that, if the Porte had, in the first instance, taken his advice and refused the people who emigrated to Montenegro during the winter permission to return, this outbreak would not have occurred, and that if, at the first appearance of disaffection he had been allowed to act as he thought best, it would not have attained its present proportions. However, he has now full liberty of action, and he hopes to terminate this affair without much further delay. He has levied a considerable extra force of zaptiehs—some 300 I believe—whom alone he wishes to employ to bring the insurgents to reason by persuading them of the hopelessness of their action, and to make any arrests which may be necessary; but these civil forces will be backed up closely by regular troops, with orders only to act in case the zaptiehs are attacked and in danger. His Excellency says he wishes to avoid, if possible, using the troops except at the last extremity. I cannot, however, quite understand the advantage of incurring the expense of this augmentation of the police, as it is the duty of the army in all countries to suppress insurrection, and the force at his Excellency's disposal seems quite sufficient to effect this object.

The Pasha has seen some people he sent for from Bilekia, connected with the insurgents, and whom he has sent to their friends, having explained to them the folly of their movement, and the inutility of begging for redress of grievances and remission of taxes with arms in their hands. He showed them how not only their taxes but their whole possessions were in his power, as their crops were still standing, and their cattle in the mountain pasturages entirely at his mercy.

If no complications arise from interference or encouragement on the part of Servia or Montenegro, the revolt is only of local importance, and most probably will soon be extinguished.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have again seen the Governor-General. He tells me that Constant Effendi and Hassan Pasha have requested to be recalled from Nevessin, as their presence there is entirely useless, and that they have also telegraphed to Constantinople to that effect. His Excellency is sending another battalion of troops to the Herzegovina, and says that he begins to think he shall have to go there himself.

W. R. H.

No. 13.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received July 28.)

(No. 635.)
My Lord, *Paris, July 27, 1875.*

THE Duc Decazes observed to me in conversation this morning that the accounts received from the Herzegovina were so conflicting that it was extremely difficult to form any estimate of the importance of the disorders there.

It was, he said, to be remembered that they had occurred at the time of year at which the collection of the taxes was particularly galling to the population.

At any rate, he had reason to believe that Austria discountenanced the movement; and he did not think that, without encouragement from Austria, it was likely to become formidable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 14.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Effrench.

(No. 160.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, July 29, 1875.*

I HAVE to state to you that I have been informed by the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador that, owing to troubles in the Herzegovina, the Government of His Majesty the Emperor and King has thought it necessary to make known to His Majesty the Sultan the measures taken by the Austro-Hungarian Authorities in order to prevent any complication.

As regards the measures in question, the Commandant of Dalmatia has received an order to admit into the territory of this province only such refugees from Herzegovina as shall have laid down their arms. Two companies having been told off to guard the frontiers, and to carry into effect the instruction given to the Governor of Dalmatia, have been sent to Metkovich, and the Government is convinced that they will be sufficient to perform the duty which has been imposed upon them.

The Austro-Hungarian Government has also made known to the Sublime Porte that it considers the rising in the Herzegovina as an affair concerning only the internal administration of Turkey ("une affaire intérieure de la Turquie").

The news received up to the present by the Austro-Hungarian Government does not justify the serious apprehensions which may have been excited by the intelligence of troubles in the Herzegovina.

This rising, in the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, has its origin in discontent arising from financial causes, and is not likely to find sympathy either among Austrian or Montenegrin subjects.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 15.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, July 29.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, le 14 Juillet, 1875.*

POUR faire suite à mes précédentes communications relatives aux affaires du Monténégro, j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint la traduction d'une Pétition présentée par les habitants de Podgoritza aux Autorités Impériales de Monastir.

Les faits exposés dans cette pièce constituent, pour ainsi dire, autant de provocations des Monténégrins envers leurs paisibles voisins.

On ne saurait, dès lors, prévoir quelles seraient les conséquences d'un tel état de choses s'il se prolongeait et si le Prince Nicolas ne prenait pas les mesures nécessaires pour réprimer la continuation d'actes aussi répréhensibles.

Le Gouvernement Impérial ne cesse de recommander aux autorités de Scutari d'Albanie de donner aux habitants de Podgoritza des conseils pour s'abstenir d'user de représailles envers les Monténégrins qui se permettent de commettre des actes de meurtre et de cruauté de plus d'un genre.

Je vous tiens régulièrement au courant de tout ce qui se passe en ce moment du côté du Monténégro, afin que vous puissiez en entretenir avec connaissance de cause M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique s'il venait à vous interpeller.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) SAFVET.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Petition.

(Traduction.)

LES habitants de Podgoritza viennent de présenter au Gouvernement Impérial une Pétition dans laquelle ils se plaignent des actes de violence auxquels ils sont en butte de la part des Monténégrins. Ces derniers, dans l'intention manifeste de susciter de nouveaux troubles, cherchent toujours l'occasion de se livrer à des agressions soit contre les habitants, soit même contre les troupes.

Dernièrement encore une balle Monténégrine est venue à l'improviste blesser un musicien des troupes Impériales, lorsque dans la soirée il était tranquillement assis dans sa chambre.

Peu de jours après cet attentat, c'est le nommé Ramazan Terkovic, qui, en faisant dans la soirée sa prière dans le jardin, est tout-à-coup tué par les balles de trois Monténégrins.

Il n'est pas rare de voir des Monténégrins armés passer le confin et chercher à provoquer des conflits en laissant leurs animaux détruire les champs et les prairies des habitants Musulmans.

Aussi, ces habitants vivent-ils dans une continuelle alarme, et se voient-ils obligés d'abandonner leurs champs et de s'enfermer la plupart du temps chez eux, non pas, sans doute, par crainte des Monténégrins, mais pour éviter des conflits.

Malheureusement, les Autorités du Monténégro ne font rien pour punir les coupables; et non-seulement elles les laissent faire, mais elle prêtent aussi des secours et des protections aux individus convaincus de quelque crime, et aux déserteurs de l'armée qui passent au Monténégro.

Enfin, par suite des démonstrations hostiles des Monténégrins et de leurs provocations injustifiables, les habitants de Podgoritza, littéralement bloqués, ne peuvent se rendre à leurs travaux agricoles, au risque de souffrir la misère et la privation.

No. 16.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 218.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 30, 1875.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 345, Confidential, of the 14th instant, and I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve your language to Safvet Pasha on the subject of the disturbances in Bosnia, as expressed in your despatch above mentioned.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 17.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 1.)

(No. 351.)

My Lord, *Therapia, July* 16, 1875.

THE disturbances in the Herzegovina seem sufficiently serious to make it desirable that Her Majesty's Government should be supplied with correct information respecting them.

I would, therefore, submit to your Lordship's consideration whether it might not be desirable to authorize Mr. Holmes, Her Majesty's Consul at Bosna-Seraï, if he should think it necessary, either to go himself or to send some one in whom he had confidence, to Mostar.

In cases like the present, the divergence in the Reports of the Consular Agents of Austria and Russia, and those of the Ottoman authorities, is frequently so great as to render it almost impossible to form an opinion upon the real state of affairs in parts of the country where we had no Agents of our own.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 18.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 1.)

(No. 356.)

My Lord, *Therapia, July* 20, 1875.

SAFVET PASHA communicated to me yesterday the substance of the last Reports received by the Porte upon the movement in the Herzegovina, which were anything but satisfactory.

The malcontents had refused to receive the Imperial Commissioners, who, at their own request, had been sent to investigate their grievances, except under conditions which it would not have been safe for them to comply with.

They are reported to have fired upon the Imperial troops without provocation, and to be carrying on an extensive system of plundering and murder, exercising a terrorism over the inhabitants of the different villages, and forcing them to join them under pain of death.

The Commissioners, of whom one, Constant Effendi, is known to be very averse to measures of severity, have found themselves obliged to report that, conciliation being clearly unavailable, a vigorous repression by force has become indispensable.

The principal scene of the insubordination I understand to be in the neighbourhood of Nevessin, to the south-east of Mostar, but it has exhibited itself also towards the Dalmatian frontier, near Melkovitch, where the Austrian Government have placed some troops.

The report of the Mussulmans being united with the Christians proves to be incorrect, for they appear to be, on the contrary, greatly exasperated by the murder of many of their countrymen.

I said to Safvet Pasha that I hoped there was no truth in a report that the Government was distributing arms to the Mohammedans, and that if measures of repression were adopted they would be carried out by regular troops, which might be kept under control.

He assured me that there was no ground for this report, and that the Porte would not do anything to encourage retaliatory measures; but he trusted, if the Imperial Government felt that they must no longer delay taking efficacious measures to repress the disorder, that they would not be accused of having acted with unnecessary precipitancy.

Safvet Pasha has shown himself nervously anxious upon this last point, knowing from past experience how in all cases of difficulty with the Christians of these semi-barbarous districts, the blame of any bloodshed is almost invariably thrown upon the Imperial authorities; and it seems questionable whether the anxiety to avoid the reproach may not have caused the Porte to remain in inaction longer than was prudent or desirable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 19.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 1.)

(No. 362.)
My Lord, *Therapia, July 21, 1875.*

THE Grand Vizier takes a much less serious view of the insubordination in the Herzegovina than that of Safvet Pasha.

He says that there are quite sufficient troops, twenty battalions in Bosnia, to suppress it without resorting to severe measures.

The intention is to surround the disaffected district, and to let the people feel the hopelessness of maintaining their present attitude, but without making any real attack upon them if it can be avoided.

He denied, as emphatically as Safvet Pasha had done, all notion of arming the Mussulman population; although he says that, being in very inferior numbers, they are at present in a great state of apprehension, and are threatened by the malcontents if they refuse to join the movement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 20.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 1.)

(No. 124. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, July 24, 1875.*

M. TRICOUPI, Hellenic Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed me on the 16th instant that he had received, through M. Gennadius, Hellenic Chargé d'Affaires in London, the expression of your Lordship's satisfaction at the friendly policy of his Government towards Turkey, but that your Lordship seemed to be under the impression that such policy was rather the policy of M. Tricoupi and his Government than the result of a general feeling among all Greeks that it was the best for the country. M. Tricoupi said he earnestly believed that there were not two opinions at present in Greece as to the advantages which it must derive by being on good terms with Turkey, and he went so far as to say that M. Counoundouros was also of this opinion.

Your Lordship will, perhaps, remember that, in April, 1874, M. Counoundouros, on being entrusted by the King with the formation of a Ministry, put forward a memorandum embodying the conditions on which he would consent to take office, and a passage in this document regarding the cultivation of friendly relations with eastern populations was construed into a design to change the policy of Greece with regard to Turkey. M. Tricoupi, however, affirmed that M. Counoundouros' views and his own were identical, and he said that although he was not on speaking terms with him at the time the memorandum was drawn up, it so happened that he was made acquainted with the meaning which M. Counoundouros intended to convey by that expression, and that it referred not to friendly relations between Greece and Greeks in the East, but to friendly relations between Greeks in the East and Bulgarians. As it is generally reported that M. Counoundouros will be Prime Minister in three months, M. Tricoupi's remarks on the point are of interest.

He went on to say, on my making allusion to his having been Minister for Foreign Affairs during the Cretan insurrection, that his present policy was not to be taken as indicating a change of views, and that if an insurrection existed in any of the Greek provinces of Turkey he should support it, just as he had supported the Cretan insurrection. He qualified the statement by saying that he would not foment insurrection, that he should, on the contrary, endeavour to prevent it, and that even at the beginning he should discountenance it, but that if it made way—if it continued for months, as had been the case with the Cretan insurrection when he came into office, the force of opinion would compel him, being a Greek, to support it or fall. His action, however, in such an hypothetical case did not in any degree modify his present earnest desire to be on good terms with Turkey, and he expressed a hope that no events would occur to put the truth of what he had said to the test.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 21.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 7. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Seraï, July 24, 1875.*

CONSTANT EFFENDI and Hassan Pasha are on their way here from Novessin, having totally failed in coming to any understanding with the insurgents. They have had two interviews. The Commissioners promised that all their grievances should be carefully examined and redressed, provided they would lay down their arms, but they insisted that all their terms should be accepted before they would consent to do so. The Commissioners declared the Government would not accord any demands made under such circumstances, and negotiations have been broken off.

The Governor-General has given orders to the troops to act, but it appears that he has little more than three battalions available for aggressive operations. Of the seven or eight battalions stationed in the Herzegovina, he cannot, he declares, displace a man, and that the different garrisons ought to be strengthened rather than weakened. However, three battalions, marching from different points, have received orders to attack the villages of Belgrade and Sovidol, in Nevessin, and early next week the result will be known. No further murders or acts of brigandage have happened during the week.

I must add that the Governor-General seems much less confident than heretofore of speedily repressing the movement. He says that he is persuaded that the whole population of Dalmatia encourage the rebels, in proof of which he cites the fact that numbers of Roman Catholic Slaves have joined the disaffected, a circumstance which has never before occurred in troubled times. The Austrian Vice-Consul at Trebigné has repaired to Ragusa, and a number of Roman Catholic priests from the same district have done the same, alleging that they fear the Mussulman population. His Excellency declares there is not the slightest foundation for this assertion, and that their departure has been made with the sole intention of increasing the agitation. Several Roman Catholic priests also have been amongst the insurgents. General Iovanovich has returned to Ragusa, leaving two companies of soldiers at Metkovich.

While I was in conversation yesterday with his Excellency, a telegram arrived from the Mutesarif of Novi-Bazar, stating that, in the district of Goussiné, on the Montenegrin frontier, where the Turks are building a small block-house, a company of a frontier regiment working there was fired on from Montenegro. Six or eight shots were discharged, and the soldiers returned the fire, but it was not known whether any lives were lost. His Excellency does not imagine that either the Austrian Government approves of the conduct of the Dalmatian population, or that the Government of Montenegro has anything to do with the attack on the soldiers at Goussiné; but the population of both countries are Slaves, the former Roman Catholics, and the latter Orthodox; and whenever there are disturbances in the Herzegovina, they are always excited in favour of their race, and are with difficulty restrained from actively aiding them.

I begin to think that, from motives of humanity and regard to what might, and probably would have been said by Austria and Russia if severe measures had been adopted at the onset of this affair, it has been allowed to assume dimensions which will require much expense and troops from Constantinople to put down; and the longer it continues, the greater the danger of other districts joining in it. The Grand Council at Constantinople has been appealed to by his Excellency to treat the matter very seriously, and I believe a demand for more troops has been made. The mountainous and wooded nature of the Herzegovina also renders it very difficult during the summer months to repress the insurgents, who can easily carry on a guerilla warfare against a greatly superior number of troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 22.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 20. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, July 24, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, although all the official accounts from the Herzegovina published at Vienna and at Pesth agree in describing the distur-

bances in that Turkish Province as unimportant, and confined to a small district, the nationalistic Slave newspapers printed in various localities of Austro-Hungary continue to publish sensational accounts about that outbreak, describing its progress as becoming more general, and even going still further, and betraying their own wishes by insinuating that the annexation of this discontented Province to Austria cannot be far off.

These insidious assertions of Slavonic agitators may do much mischief here, if the disturbances in the Herzegovina are not suppressed within a reasonable time, as it is hoped they may be. In my despatch No. 11 to your Lordship, dated the 11th June, 1875, I attempted a description of the apprehensions existing here in connection with the next Skoupstchina. From those remarks your Lordship will perceive that the Servian Government is by no means certain to receive the support of the next Assembly, and it is hence easy to conceive that, whilst it is most desirous to fulfil its obligations of a loyal vassal State towards the Porte, this very loyalty may serve as a pretext to the agitators to turn the popular favour against it by accusations of indifference to a Slavonic cause.

Fortunately the scene of these disturbances is sufficiently distant from the Servian frontier, and does not impose on this Government any immediate course of action. Still a telegram, ostensibly favourable to Servia, has gone round many papers, and has found its way into some leading London journals. This telegram, printed in the "Daily News" of July 19th says, among others, "The Prince of Servia has ordered ———, moreover, to refuse to allow any refugees to enter Servian territory."

On inquiry I found that no detachments have been ordered by Servia to its frontier, and that the above order is, likewise, a pure fabrication; and, as Bosnia separates Servia from the Herzegovina, this Government say that they have no necessity to adopt any such precautionary measure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 23.

Mr. Monson to Mr. Ffrench.—(Received at the Foreign Office, August 2.)

Sir, *Buda Pesth, July 27, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose, in translation, an article which appeared in the "Pester Lloyd" this morning, respecting the insurrection in the Herzegovina. Until the telegrams arrived yesterday, announcing that the troops had come into collision with the insurgents, the Hungarian press had hardly noticed the insurrection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Extract from the "Pester Lloyd" of July 27, 1875.

(Translation.)

THAT which for several days past might be confidently expected has now actually occurred. A bloody conflict has taken place in the Herzegovina between the troops and the insurgents. For this eventuality we must have been prepared as soon as the efforts at settling the dispute amicably had come to nothing. If we are to accept so far the scanty news furnished by the telegraph, the revolters seem to have begun by a success, while the operations of the Turkish troops seem to have had, at least, only a doubtful result. Neither the former nor the latter can, however, be decisive. But as long as the insurgents depend on their own strength, and obtain no assistance from foreign sources, the Turkish troops will be in a position to master the revolt, even if, in view of geographical conditions, it be possible to imagine that the "war" may be protracted for some time. But meanwhile—and it is to be hoped that no change will occur later—the revolt in the Herzegovina finds no support worthy of consideration from any side.

Whether it be true or not that, as we hear through Russian sources, a Committee is acting at Belgrade in favour of the insurgents, such help can be but of little use to the insurrection, and will do the Turks very little damage. The important point is the unconditional neutrality of the Principalities, and this appears entirely assured. Should it also turn out to be true, which we very much doubt, that the Prince of Montenegro has given it to be understood at Vienna that it is no longer possible for him to keep his people back from taking part in the war, it will, nevertheless, certainly have the result of measures

being taken to make Prince Nikita understand, on his side, that this possibility must nevertheless be maintained, and that it will be much better to the Montenegrins if they keep themselves quiet in their own "Black Mountains."

No. 24.

Mr. Ffrench to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 241.)
My Lord, *Vienna, July 28, 1875.*

THE accounts that reach Vienna of the progress or decrease of the insurrection in the Herzegovina are so very contradictory, according as they proceed from an Austrian or from a Slav source, that it is very difficult to obtain reliable information.

The Slavs endeavour to magnify as much as possible its proportions and its probable results. The Austrians, on the contrary, consider it simply as one of the annual outbreaks and rebellions against increased taxation; but, as it had been reported that the Montenegrins were taking part in or protecting the insurrection, I asked Baron Orczy this morning what official news he could give me on the matter.

After going deeply into the merits and demerits of the question, he said that the Austrian Government had received a most satisfactory account of the complete neutrality shown by the Prince of Montenegro, and of his efforts to prevent his subjects from taking any part in or countenancing the insurrection; but, he added, the future must depend upon the tact and energy shown by the Turkish Government in quelling the insurrection at once with the moderate but sufficient quantity of troops that it possesses in those provinces (50,000 men). Should time be lost in collecting together a greater armament, the numbers of the disaffected would be increased by discontented adventurers from all parts, and the whole affair would assume a far more serious aspect. The Montenegrins might then, in spite of their Prince, throw themselves into the movement and assassinate him, should he refuse to lead them.

But, up to the present moment, the movement cannot be considered as bearing a political character, although the Slav populations in the whole of the southern States are desirous that it should be so.

The Austrian Government has given the most stringent orders to all the authorities, both military and civil, on their frontier, to repress any attempts at sympathy on the part of the Slav population of Dalmatia and Croatia, and to "interne" all the families who may cross the Austrian frontier in search of protection in order to prevent them from conspiring, or from organizing bands for aggressive purposes.

The military force has also been increased in those provinces to insure the maintenance of neutrality on the part of the inhabitants, as some of the Slav newspapers have published incendiary articles, inviting the Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, and Bohemians, to form bodies of volunteers in order to assist the Herzegovinians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. PERCY FFRENCH.

No. 25.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 3.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 3, 1875, 12·30 P.M.*

THE following important Hatt has been addressed by the Sultan to the Grand Vizier:—

"Our great desire is to raise our Empire to its proper position and thus to insure the happiness of our subjects.

"For this purpose the means must be procured, on the one side of increasing the strength of the States, and on the other of developping its riches and of giving extention to its commerce.

"We have organized our military and naval forces, but our attempts to develop our wealth have not been successful.

"Attention must be directed to this point.

"Reforms must not be limited to the Central Administration, but must be extended to the Provinces, and the Governors-General must be made to devote themselves to the encouragement of agriculture and the construction of railways, necessary for means of transfer.

"The reforms must be applied to the whole State; and we desire to carry out, without loss of time, all projects intended for the good of our subjects.

"With this view I desire the construction, at my own cost, of a railroad in Asia to Bagdad, one of the most important points of our Empire.

"Take this subject into deliberation with the other Ministers and make your report upon it."

No. 26.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 3.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 3, 1875, 5 P.M.*

THE accounts received by the Porte from the Herzegovina are considered satisfactory.

In various encounters the insurgents had been defeated, and in some instances, especially on the Dalmatian frontier, had been persuaded, without the employment of force, to lay down their arms.

The Porte has desired the Governor-General to promise a complete amnesty to those who now submit, but to pursue the rest vigorously.

No. 27.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Bosna-Seraï, August 4, 1875.*

TELEGRAM of the 18th July understood. At present the best general information is to be obtained here.

No. 28.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 385. Confidential.)

Therapia, July 26, 1875.

My Lord,

THIS afternoon Safvet Pasha read to me a summary of the Consular Reports from the Herzegovina, which had been given to him by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires.

These reports are quite in accordance with the theory adopted by the Russian Government in all questions affecting the tranquillity of those districts.

When lawless acts are committed within the limits of Montenegro or by Montenegrins, they are held to be merely attributable to the unruly character of the people, whom the wise conduct of the Prince fails to keep quite in check; but when these acts take place on Turkish territory, they are entirely the result of the tyranny of the Ottoman authorities, who have driven the unfortunate inhabitants to desperation.

This is the spirit of the present report, and it appears to be endorsed by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires.

The insurrectionary movement is represented as being merely a mode of bringing under the notice of the Porte grievances for which they would not otherwise obtain a remedy, and M. Nelidow consequently recommends that no measures of repression should be resorted to, but that full satisfaction should be afforded to the people, who would then return to submission.

Safvet Pasha replied to these arguments that the Porte had shown its readiness to listen to the complaints of the people, and to remove any cause for discontent which might exist, but as the malcontents had refused to receive the Imperial Commissioners, nothing now remained but to put down the movement with a strong hand.

After this was done it would be the duty of the Porte to ascertain whether the authorities had been to blame.

It is stated in the Russian Report that upon the return of the refugees from Montenegro, who were promised pardon, they were immediately called upon for arrears of taxes, and Safvet Pasha admits that, if this is true, it was a highly blameable proceeding on the part of the authorities.

The increased taxation, and especially the extra tithe and sheep-tax, presses with extreme severity upon the populations of mountainous and poor districts, and there is no doubt that many harsh and oppressive measures in reference to their collection could easily be brought home to the officials.

A stand against taxation is certain of securing the sympathy at least of all those who suffer from it, and the Russian reports affirm that there is in this respect no difference between the Christian and Mussulman populations, thus showing that the movement is not political.

When I questioned Safvet Pasha upon this point, his Excellency did not seem as confident as the last time I spoke to him about the disposition of the Mahometans.

I understood that while the Russian Chargé d'Affaires advocates temporising and treating with the insurgents, the Austro-Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires continues to impress the necessity of vigorous repression.

The united action of those two Governments have mainly contributed to what is occurring, but their interests are now seen not to be identical.

No. 29.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 6.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 6, 1875, 6·20 P.M.*

I HAVE received the following figures from Her Majesty's Consul in Bosnia:—

Affairs in the Herzegovina have taken a sudden turn for the worse. The number of the insurgents increases. There are said to be 3,000 in Nevessin fighting to-day with the troops, about 1,000. In some places bands are burning Turkish houses and destroying crops. At a Council held here this morning it was decided to telegraph to the Porte to send three battalions of regulars, and to give permission to call out five battalions of the Bosniac Reserves. The matter is urgent.

No. 30.

The Duc Decazes to the Marquis d'Harcourt.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by the Marquis d'Harcourt, August 7.)

Paris, le 6 Août, 1875.

ON nous dit de St. Pétersbourg que les dernières nouvelles de l'Herzégovine causent une vive émotion. Les insurgés seraient au nombre de 7,000; des Catholiques se seraient joints à eux, un Evêque serait à leur tête. Les Turcs, d'autre part, ne procèderaient qu'avec hésitation. Les trois Cours du Nord cherchent à concerter une action commune, toute morale au début, mais qui pourrait se traduire éventuellement par une intervention armée confiée à l'Autriche. Elles sembleraient compter sur la fermeté du Comte Andrassy pour écarter cette extrémité. L'ensemble de cette situation nous préoccupe. Veuillez me dire si cette inquiétude est partagé de vous.

No. 31.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, August 7, 1875, 4·45 P.M.*

THE French Ambassador has communicated to me the following intelligence from his Government:—

It is reported from St. Petersburgh that the latest news from Herzegovina causes great anxiety. The insurgents are said to number 7,000; the Catholics had joined them, with a Bishop at their head. The Turks, on the other hand, acted with hesitation. The three Northern Powers were trying to concert a common action, morally at the outset, but which might eventually lead to an armed intervention entrusted to Austria. They seemed to count on the firmness of Count Andrassy to avert such a crisis.

Inform me by telegraph what is known at Constantinople.

No. 32.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 7.)

(No. 664.)
My Lord, *Paris, August 6, 1875.*

THE Duc Decazes told me yesterday that the intelligence which had reached him respecting the troubles in the Herzegovina was somewhat vague and conflicting, but that his impression was that they were not likely to become seriously formidable to the Porte. He had, he said, received the most positive declarations from the Austro-Hungarian Government that the insurgents would derive no support or countenance from Austria, and this being the case, he presumed that the Porte would find the means of restoring order speedily.

The Prince of Servia's visit to Vienna had, the Duke proceeded to observe, been represented as an unfavourable symptom. To him, however, it appeared to be just the reverse. The Prince had probably made the journey in order to withdraw himself from the popular clamour at home in favour of supporting the Herzegovinian insurgents. He would have received at Vienna prudent and pacific counsels, and these would be alleged by him, on his return to his own country, as well-founded reasons for remaining quiet, and would strengthen his power of resisting popular excitement.

I send a copy of this despatch by to-day's messenger to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 33.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 8. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, July 29, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the insurrection in the Herzegovina now seems likely to be speedily put down.

In my despatch, Political, No. 7, of the 24th July, I stated that troops were marching on the villages of Belgrade and Sovidol from three different points—Bilekia, Gatzko, and Stolatz. Each body had encounters with the insurgents before they met and were invariably successful in dispersing the rebels. As far as can at present be ascertained, the troops lost about 14 men and had 30 or 40 wounded; the loss of the insurgents is not precisely known, but the Governor-General estimates it at about 100. While these operations were taking place the Government sent a deputation, composed of several notables of the Herzegovina, both Mussulman and Christian, and the Bishop of Mostar, to pursuade the Catholics assembled at Kruppa to disband quietly and not bring upon themselves the misfortune of a collision with the troops. This deputation was also successful and the people retired to their homes. The road between Metcovich and Mostar is now open again, and the Governor-General says that the rebels are begging to be allowed to return to their villages, and that he considers the revolt as at an end. I think, however, that, although this will not be long delayed, it is rather premature to assume it at present. An idea prevails that other districts will rise, encouraged by the promises of assistance they receive from the Dalmatian and Montenegrin populations, to avenge their brethren. For my own part, I think that, not having risen before those already in arms had met with defeat, they are not likely to do so afterwards.

I have just seen a letter from Ragusa addressed to the Governor-General stating that the Dalmatian population had, in the most open manner, encouraged the rebels in the Herzegovina, and had aided them as far as possible with money, arms, and ammunition, in spite of the prohibition of the Austrian Government. The Montenegrins had done the same. The Pasha, however, though he thinks the Austrian Government might have acted a little more vigorously to prevent this, does not for a moment suppose it had any wish to encourage it. He has the same opinion regarding the Government of Montenegro, as, at present, the Prince is rather interested in keeping well with Turkey than otherwise, but he remarked that, as Montenegrins were seen openly with the insurgents, the Turkish population unfortunately fully believe that the Prince befriended them. Three Montenegrins, after the encounter with the troops, fled to Ragusa, and the Pasha remarked that if these people are allowed to re-enter Montenegro without punishment by the Prince, this belief of the population will be confirmed. I have heard, however, that these Montenegrins had come

from Servia, and were probably individuals who had emigrated from Montenegro, and were attracted to join the rebels in the hope of gaining something in the strife, and thus will not perhaps go into Montenegro.

During the operations in the Herzegovina three battalions only have been in action, and there are only about five battalions of troops available for active service, of which two have been sent from Serajevo and half a battalion from Banialuka. This is a very small force in a difficult country, and it would be most advisable that the army in Bosnia should be strengthened by a few more battalions, as it will be some time before the present excitement subsides. The people are aware of the paucity of the troops, and the Government should place the local authorities in a position to cope with any eventuality which may arise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 34.

Mr. Doria to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 239. Most Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 4, 1875.*

BARON JOMINI spoke to me this morning on the state of affairs in the Herzegovina, which his Excellency regards as a matter of gravity if the disturbances are not put down before they are allowed to extend to Bosnia and Servia.

If I may trust his Excellency's language, the Russian Government have instructed their Representatives in those Provinces to counsel submission to the Turkish authority; and his Excellency states that his Government is as sincerely desirous as Austria to see the disturbances quelled, and that while Turkey must "taper dessus" the population in revolt, the Ottoman Government must also make concessions to them who are in a very oppressed condition.

I understood his Excellency to say that that the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople had been instructed to use language in this sense.

I drew his Excellency's attention to the visit of the Prince Milan to Vienna, and Baron Jomini replied that he had gone there solely in search of a wife, and that Marinovitch had been sent to St. Petersburgh on a mission for the like purpose last year, which had failed. His Excellency added that the Russian Ambassador at Vienna was instructed to counsel the Prince with prudence and submission.

But both his Excellency and the Austrian Ambassador, Baron Langenau, when speaking to me of the present state of Turkey, have left an impression on my mind that the continued embarrassment arising from the state of her finances, and the various other difficulties with which Turkey is beset, were viewed by them rather with a sort of complacency; and the question resolved itself, in speaking with the Austrian Ambassador, "but should Turkey not be liable to maintain her present position in Europe, what was to be the issue?"

Baron Jomini's remark was, "Turkey is like an infant in a severe illness; you do not know what phase the illness may take at any moment."

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. DORIA.

No. 35.

Mr. Ffrench to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 243.)
My Lord, *Vienna, August 4, 1875.*

AS the entire Austrian press has occupied its columns during the last few days with statements and conjectures as to the motives and object of Prince Milan of Servia's visit to Vienna, and seizing this opportunity for indulging in the wildest flights of political romance, it may be as well to inform your Lordship officially that the Prince has not only arrived here without any political object, but, when he left Belgrade, it was not expected that the Emperor or Count Andrassy would find themselves in Vienna during his short sojourn here. He has come here on business of a purely private nature, and chiefly to find a few day's distraction from the monotonous solitude of his life in his own country.

I am also informed that there is a question of marriage between the Prince and a Roumanian lady. But, at all events, he generally comes here every summer to meet his mother, for whom the Servians have a special antipathy, and who cannot return to Belgrade without danger.

The life which this young Prince of twenty-three is forced to lead at Belgrade would perfectly account for his desiring escape from it whenever an opportunity occurs for so doing, educated as he has been in Paris. He finds himself in his own country entirely cut off from any civilized intercourse, in hourly dread of assassination, seeing nobody but his Ministers and his military aide-de-camps; and even these may be said to be but half civilized, for the country possesses neither proprietors nor a middle class—nothing beyond some 1,500,000 peasants, a few of whom have become Ministers, and a certain number soldiers. Even field sports have been denied to him, and he can never stir outside his so-called palace without a strong military escort, from the constant danger of assassination. Those who knew him as a boy were charmed with the frankness and intelligence of his character; but equally struck by the change which a few years of this life in Servia have wrought in him. He has grown suspicious, his intellect is dulled, and the only things he now cares for are the pleasures of the table. Yet this is the State which aspires to be the "Piedmont" of the Principalities, which has raised the nucleus of an army destined, according to the Servian creed, to march one day against Turkey and overthrow her, and found and become the head of a Southern Slavonia, which is to absorb all the other Danubian and Austro-Turkish Provinces of that race.

His Highness is accompanied by two of his Roumanian uncles, and one or two aide-de-camps. He was received by the Emperor yesterday.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. PERCY FFRENCH.

No. 36.

Mr. Ffrench to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 244.)
My Lord, *Vienna, August 5, 1875.*

IN transmitting to your Lordship Mr. Consul Holmes' despatch on the state of the rebellion in the Herzegovina, I may state that the news contained in it tallies completely with that received by the Austrian Government. The insurgents number about 800 men now concentrated on a high plateau, which commands the four principal points in that country, but, according to the last accounts received, they will be easily dislodged and soon routed by the Turkish troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. PERCY FFRENCH.

No. 37.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 9, 1875, 11·20 P.M.*

TWO transports have left to-day for Klek with reinforcements for the Herzegovina. A request for their admittance has been made to the Austrian Government.

No. 38.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 10, 1875, 10 A.M.*

I RECEIVED yesterday the following figures from Her Majesty's Consul in Bosnia:—

"Turkish troops forced to retreat from Nevessin. Insurgents have burned Turkish villages in the plain of Trebigné. Inhabitants taken refuge in the fortress. Last Turkish post was fired on from the Servian frontier. Troops from Constantinople sent through Klek would have good effect, as it is everywhere believed that Austria will not consent."

No. 39.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 10, 1875, 4 P.M.*

NOTHING is known at the Porte of any wish of the Three Powers to interfere morally or materially in the Herzegovina.

The language held by the Austrian and Russian Embassies to the Porte has not been identic.

The latter desired that no steps should be taken to put down the movement, while the former was for more energetic action.

No. 40.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(No. 472.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, August 10, 1875.*

THE Marquis d'Harcourt communicated to me on the 7th instant a telegram which he had received from the Duc Decazes relative to the insurrection in Herzegovina, of which I inclose a copy for your Excellency's information.* I have instructed Sir H. Elliot to report to me what is known at Constantinople of the statements contained in this telegram.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 41.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, August 11.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 9 Août, 1875.*

LES insurgés de l'Herzégovine ne paraissent pas disposés à suivre les conseils paternels que les autorités locales ont été chargées de leur faire parvenir. Le Gouvernement Impériale s'est abstenu jusqu'à présent de sévir; il a fait tout son possible pour éviter l'effusion de sang, et a poussé la modération jusqu'à ses dernières limites. Mais, devant leur résistance et leur conduite, nous sommes réduits à procéder aux moyens coërcitifs pour étouffer sans plus de retard l'insurrection, et rétablir la tranquillité.

No. 42.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 11, 1875, 2 P.M.*

THE insurrection in Herzegovina increases, and, according to Turkish accounts, receives assistance from Dalmatia, Servia, and Montenegro.

One band of 1,500 men, chiefly Dalmatians, is said to be under a Dalmatian leader.

A large body of Servian regular troops, assembled near the frontier for manœuvres, excites the fears of the population and some distrust at the Porte.

The Austrian Government have been invited to take more energetic measures to prevent assistance being given to the insurgents from their side of the frontier.

The reinforcements sent from here only amount to about 2,000 men.

No. 43.

Mr. Ffrench to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, August 12, 1875, 3·50 P.M.*

COUNT ANDRASSY has telegraphed orders to admit disembarkation of Turkish troops at Klek.

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* No. 30.

No. 44.

*The Earl of Derby to Mr. Ffrench.**—(*Received August* 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, August* 12, 1875.

MUSURUS PASHA has brought me a telegram stating that Austrian Government have assured the Porte of their firm intention to prevent Dalmatian population taking part in Herzegovina insurrection, but that, nevertheless, the Porte wish Her Majesty's Government to make a friendly representation to the Austrian Government with a view to their adopting serious and efficient measures on the frontier.

I have answered that Her Majesty's Government have heard with satisfaction the intentions of the Austrian Government and would be glad to learn that they had taken steps to secure the peace of the frontier and to prevent the disturbances in Herzegovina from receiving support or encouragement from Austrian territory.

No. 45.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Ffrench.

(No. 183.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 12, 1875.

I TRANSMIT to you herwith a copy of a telegraphic despatch from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Musurus Pasha respecting the Herzegovina insurrection, which the latter communicated to me yesterday.†

This despatch states that the Government of Austro-Hungary has assured the Porte of its firm intention to prevent the Dalmatian population from taking part in the insurrection; but that, nevertheless, the Porte considers it evident that a friendly representation from Her Majesty's Government, tending to induce the Cabinet of Vienna to take serious and efficient measures on the frontier, would assist the Turkish Government in quelling the insurrection.

I told the Turkish Ambassador in reply that Her Majesty's Government had also received with satisfaction information to the same effect with regard to the attitude of Austria, and that Her Majesty's Government would be glad to learn that the Government of Austro-Hungary had taken steps to secure the peace of the frontier and to prevent the disturbances in Herzegovina from receiving support or encouragement from Austrian territory.

I added that Her Majesty's Government would instruct you to speak in this sense to Count Andrassy, and I have to request that you will do so accordingly.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 45*.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 235.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 12, 1875.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a copy of a telegraphic despatch communicated to me by Musurus Pasha respecting the Herzegovina insurrection, together with a copy of an instruction which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna, directing him to inform Count Andrassy that Her Majesty's Government had heard with satisfaction of the assurances given by the Austro-Hungarian Government of their intention to prevent the Dalmatian population taking part in the insurrection, and would be glad to learn that they had taken steps to secure the peace of the frontier, and to prevent the disturbances in Herzegovina from receiving support or encouragement from Austrian territory.

The Turkish Government also appeals to Her Majesty's Government to use their influence at Belgrade and at Cettigné.

Her Majesty's Government are not aware whether your Excellency may have any opportunity of advising the Prince of Montenegro to restrain his subjects from aiding the insurrection. Should such an opportunity offer they do not doubt that you would avail yourself of it, and they wish you to direct Her Majesty's Agent at Belgrade to use his best

* Repeated to Sir H. Elliot and Lord Lyons. † No. 41.

efforts to counteract any dispositions which may be apparent in Servia to aid or foment the disturbances.

At the same time Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the Turkish Government should rely on their own resources to suppress the insurrection, and should deal with it as a local outbreak of disorder rather than give international importance to it, by appealing for support to other Powers.

I have informed Musurus Pasha of the substance of this despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 46.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 13.)

(No. 420. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 4, 1875.

WHILE the Greek Government continues profuse in professions of its wish to cultivate the best relations with Turkey, it is not altogether satisfactory to find them qualified in the manner in which M. Tricoupi makes it a point to do, as was reported by Mr. Stuart and again by Mr. Malet in his despatch to your Lordship No. 124.

M. Tricoupi was Minister for Foreign Affairs when the foreign policy of Greece was conducted with the least regard to international obligations, and when he says that, if a Turkish Province were to be in insurrection he would support it, just as he did that of Crete, it amounts to the avowal of an intention, if the occasion arrives, of encouraging volunteers, of amnestying brigands, and opening the prison doors to those who would take part in operations against a country with which his Government professed to remain on terms of amity.

It is not to be supposed that this doctrine, which M. Tricoupi seems rather to parade than to conceal, can be unknown to the Ottoman Minister at Athens, and consequently to the Porte, or that the latter will find in it much encouragement to treat in a spirit of conciliation the different questions pending between the two Governments.

If, however, the occasion should arrive in which M. Tricoupi might think himself called upon to revert to his former policy, there is a consideration which perhaps might make him hesitate.

His Agents at Constantinople would let him understand that he need not again expect the Sultan's Government to tolerate so long proceedings such as those that kept alive the Cretan insurrection, which was seen at once to collapse when they were put a stop to.

The universal feeling in this country is that that insurrection was allowed to drag on by the want of energy shown towards Greece, and there would now be little disposition again to adopt what is regarded as having been a mistaken course.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 47.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 13.)

(No. 438.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 10, 1875.

AS directed by your Lordship, I inquired at the Porte whether anything was known of a supposed disposition on the part of the three northern Powers to interfere either morally or materially in the affairs of the Herzegovina.

The report had evidently not reached Safvet Pasha, who professed entire ignorance of it, and spoke of the difference that had marked the language of the Austrian and Russian Embassies, the latter having always urged that no measures of repression should be adopted, while the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires had been in favour of more energetic action.

The Porte now perceived that the dread of being accused of acting too precipitately against the insurgents had induced it to put off longer than was prudent the adoption of measures which would, in the first instance, have put an end to the movement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 48.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 181.)
Foreign Office, August 13, 1875.

Sir,

THE Italian Chargé d'Affaires called at the Foreign Office to-day, and said that he had received a telegraphic despatch from his Government, stating that the Turkish Representative at Rome had communicated to M. Visconti Venosta a Circular telegraphic despatch, containing very serious intelligence from Herzegovina, showing a state of things there which already gave rise to anxiety. The Porte begged the Italian Government to join the other Powers in counselling the Princes of Servia and Montenegro to observe a prudent attitude, and take measures for preventing their subjects from aiding the insurrection.

The Italian Chargé d'Affaires added that he was instructed by his Government to inquire what were the views of Her Majesty's Government on the matter.

I informed him, in reply, of the instructions which Her Majesty's Government had given to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, and Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna, of which copies are inclosed in my despatch No. 190 of the 20th instant.*

I also told him that I had heard that the Austrian Government had given orders to admit the disembarkation of Turkish troops at Klek.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 49.

Mr. French to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 13.)

(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, August 13, 1875, 3 P.M.

COUNT ANDRASSY tells me that he has not only taken energetic steps to secure frontier and prevent insurgents receiving support, but offers every facility to Turks consistent with neutrality, and that Princes of Montenegro and Servia are using all their efforts to restrain their subjects from joining or encouraging the insurrection, but the Turks do nothing to help themselves.

No. 50.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 14.)

(No. 682. Confidential.)
Paris, August 13, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAD, the evening before last, a conversation of some length with Marshal MacMahon.

The Marshal seemed to be much disquieted by the intelligence he had received of the progress of the insurrection in the Herzegovina. He appeared to apprehend that this insurrection might raise the whole Eastern question at a time which would be very inopportune for France and for the Western Powers generally. He evidently feared that the understanding between the Emperors of Austria, Germany, and Russia would prove a danger in such a contingency. The three Emperors might, no doubt, do pretty much as they pleased in the East if they were all agreed, but this agreement might possibly, as I understood the Marshal, be purchased at the expense of other Powers. Only two of the Empires were, in his view, directly concerned in the territorial arrangements in the East which might be the consequence of a serious disturbance of the Ottoman Power, but the third would no doubt require some compensation for its acquiescence in any advantages to be acquired by the other two. In fact, if Germany left Russia and Austria to have their own way in the East, she would expect to be secured against any interference with whatever she, on her part, might choose to do in the West. In the late war Russia had obtained the revision of the Treaty of Paris by ensuring Germany against any attack in the rear of her armies. Something of the same kind might, the Marshal seemed to think, occur again if the troubles in Turkey should force upon Europe any serious disturbance of the existing state of things.

* Nos. 45 and 45*.

The above is, of course, merely an account of what seemed, from the language he used, to be passing in the Marshal's mind, not a report of the particular expressions he used.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 51.

Memorandum communicated to the Earl of Derby by the Marquis d'Harcourt, August 15, 1871.

LE Gouverneur-Général de Bosnie télégraphe qu'une bande d'insurgés s'est emparée de la partie de Trébigné qui s'étend au-delà du fleuve, qu'elle a ravagé les champs et pillé les maisons. Les habitants ont pu à peine se sauver dans la forteresse. Une autre bande d'insurgés, composé de Dalmates et de Monténégrins, au nombre de 3,000, cherche à couper les communications entre Mostar et Névésigne. Un corps d'armée Serbe, fort de 9,000 hommes, est campé avec son artillerie sur la ligne de démarcation du côté de Vichgrad, sous prétexte d'exécuter des manœuvres. En outre, 250 hommes recrutés en Dalmatie et conduits par un certain Milan Ovadovic, sont emparés du village de Berenikle et ont enlevé les bestiaux appartenant aux habitants. Une autre bande de 1,500 hommes, presque tous Dalmates, commandés par un nommé Stephan Borofsek, s'est dirigée vers le village de Boklehe. Je dois ajouter que la Dalmatie et le Monténégro fournissent des fonds, des vivres, et des munitions aux rebelles.

La Sublime Porte a envoyé des troupes sur les lieux, et elle procède aux moyens propres à étouffer l'insurrection. D'un autre côté, nous avons prié le Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois de prendre des mesures les plus énergiques sur ses frontières pour arrêter le concours que les Dalmates prêtent aux insurgés. En outre, il est à désirer que les grandes Puissances exercent leur influence salutaire à Belgrade et à Cettigné pour décider les Princes à empêcher, conformément aux assurances qu'ils nous ont données, toute participation des Serbes et des Monténégrins.

No. 52.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 16.)

(No. 23. Political.)
Belgrade, August 5, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me on the 3rd instant to Sir Henry Elliot reporting the departure of the Prince of Servia on a visit to Vienna, and the conjectures made thereupon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 52.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, August 3, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that the departure of Prince Milan for Vienna has given rise here to a great amount of idle speculation.

It has been given out officially that the journey of the Prince has been planned solely on private grounds, and it has been hinted at the same time that there is a matrimonial project on foot which has rendered this trip necessary. In support of this view, the presence of a Roumanian lady and her husband, relatives of the Prince, in the same boat as himself, and who are known as his advisers in private matters, has been invoked, the more particularly because the intended departure was kept a secret till 3 P.M., when it was ascertained by the Prince that these relatives of his were on board the boat coming from Roustchouk, and he joined them with his aide-de-camps at 10 P.M.

Whatever truth there may be in these allegations, it cannot be doubted that the Prince will seek to avail himself of this opportunity to see the Emperor of Austria, and to

converse with Count Andrássy, for the purpose of ascertaining, as far as possible, the views and intentions of Austria as regards this Principality.

The position of the Prince here has been for some time far from reassuring; the result of the next elections is by no means certain, and there are even some about his person who urge him on to seize the present occasion for extricating himself out of his difficulties, and to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the insurgents in the Herzegovina, and of the ultimate special protection of the three military Empires, for defying the authority of the Porte and assuming a hostile attitude.

One of the Ministers was heard to say that a little bloodletting would only do good to Servia, and it appears that about ten days ago the Prince of Montenegro sent a message here inquiring what were the intentions of Servia in case the riots in the Herzegovina should continue and spread, and proposing a common course of action, and that a reply to this offer was deferred till after the return of the Prince from Vienna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 53.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 16.)

(No. 24. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, August* 5, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me on the 4th instant to Sir Henry Elliot on the subject of collections made at Belgrade in favour of the insurgents in the Herzegovina for the wounded and their families, and also reporting the departure from Belgrade of some persons supposed to be volunteers proceeding to the seat of the conflict.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 53.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, August* 4, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency two circumstances which, if they are not meant as a sop to the patriotic excitement prevailing just now at Belgrade, and as an electioneering manœuvre, and were to be construed as indications of the actual intentions of the Servian Government, would have to be considered as extremely reprehensible.

About ten days ago an opposition paper here printed an appeal for collections for the Herzegovina, but its circulation was stopped by the Government. On the day, however, after the departure of the Prince for Vienna, a Committee was openly formed, publishing an appeal for pecuniary subscriptions towards a fund for assisting wounded insurgents and the widows and orphans of those who may fall in the Herzegovina, and this time no objection whatever was made to the collection of subscriptions for this purpose. Another Committee has constituted itself since for the same object. I hear that about 1,000*l.* have been collected at Belgrade up to this morning.

The Circular issued by one of these Committees contains the following passages:—

"There is not one amongst us whom the report of the insurrection in the Herzegovina has not reached, and who has not heard of the bloody and heroic struggle carried on by our brothers on the Narenta.

"There is not one amongst us who has not heard at least from old folks of the heavy lot of misery and bondage which our nation once suffered, when our fathers and grandfathers rose in arms and overthrew the yoke after a bloody and famous insurrection, of which we reap the fruits to this day."

And again:—

"The dreadful circumstances attending such a position have driven them to arms and to take the chances of a decisive struggle to rid themselves of a tyrannical yoke, and they have cast their future destinies on a die."

Neither the Porte nor the name of the Turks is to be found throughout this Circular.

The other circumstance would be still more serious if it were possible to trace the action of this Government in an undeniable manner in these proceedings. About 100 individuals have left Belgrade with the intention, it appears, of joining the rioters, but I have been, as yet, unable to ascertain the existence of an enlistment office, and as these men go through Hungary, there is an impossibility to trace their destination.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 54.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 16.)

(No. 25. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, August* 6, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed on the 5th instant by myself to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting a conversation with the Servian Foreign Minister, M. Boghitchevitch, in which I called that gentleman's attention in a friendly manner to the possibility of the Porte taking offence at certain proceedings of Servian subjects in connection with the disturbances in the Herzegovina.

I have, &c
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 54.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, August* 5, 1875.

HAVING had occasion to see twice lately M. Boghitchevitch, the Foreign Minister here, I took advantage of these opportunities to point out to him the serious cause for dissatisfaction which the Porte might have if the conduct of this Administration tolerated any acts under its jurisdiction which could be construed into a breach of duty towards the Suzerain Power by giving, however indirectly, encouragement to her revolted subjects.

M. Boghitchevitch was evidently much embarrassed by my observations; he denied any knowledge of the existence of enlisting agents, or of the departure from here of persons who had served in the Servian army, but he admitted the departure of a few volunteers, and also the collections made as reported in my despatch of yesterday.

I thought that there could be no harm in my making these observations in the interest of the Servian Government, and to do so in a friendly spirit, stating to him at the same time that these proceeded from myself, as I was without instructions on the subject. I am not aware that any of my colleagues have taken any notice of these proceedings of Servian subjects.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 55.

Consul Taylor to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 16.)

(No. 7. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, August* 4, 1875.

ON the 9th of July I sent his Excellency Sir A. Buchanan the following telegram to Vienna:—

"Serious revolutionary Christian movements in Herzegovina, near Metkovich. Turks repulsed, with loss, by Christians at Kruppa. Latter have hoisted Austrian flag at two places. Troops under General Ivanovich sent from here to Metkovich. Montenegro seemingly directs revolt, though underhand."

On the 11th of July I was glad to be able to telegraph:—"General returned from Metkovich assures me reports of collisions and revolution in Herzegovina unfounded; but ample matter exists there for an outbreak at any time."

Since the last date I have purposely avoided reporting anything in elucidation of

those telegrams in details; for, not only do the events that have since occurred lie out of my district, but also, every day, the most conflicting rumours and telegrams reach this town, for the most part imbued with the political feeling, bias, and wishes prevailing among different Slave and other parties in Dalmatia, who hope to realize a happy solution of their political dreams in the successful continuance, under the auspices of Montenegro, of the troubles now ripening in the Herzegovina. Those telegrams and rumours are the most absurd possible, nearly all being to the effect that the Christians, although very inferior in number to the Turks, and unprovided with arms, have invariably succeeded in defeating the latter. They all end with a significant "Urrah" (*sic*).

It is, unfortunately, not to be denied that disturbances have taken place, are daily developping, serious enough to cause some alarm. They will assume serious proportions if the Prince of Montenegro, as it is now reported, finds it impossible to control the wishes of his subjects. It is, unfortunately, but too well known that they, heart and soul, thoroughly sympathise with the actors in the present rebellious movement in the contiguous Turkish Province, where it has broken out.

The origin of the whole affair is primarily due to the miserable system of tithe farming prevalent in Turkey, which gives over, as it were, the entire control of the tithe-payers' means to the provincial farmer till the amount assessed by him, due by each tithe-payer, is exacted in coin. Taking advantage of the discontent thus occasioned, the Slav sympathizers in these countries, who desire nothing more than a rupture with Turkey, ostensibly magnified the Rayas' wrongs, and thus gave an indirect, though powerful, impulse to the rebellious movement of the disaffected Christians in the Herzegovina. On the first announcement of these troubles, both Austria and Montenegro properly declared an entire neutrality. But, to judge from the daily telegrams, the incendiary nature of which has been alluded to before, in the provincial and Montenegrin papers, and in the leading articles in those journals, published under the eyes of the official authorities at Zara and Cettingné, their parade of non-intervention seems an absurd fiction, considering the strong press laws of the country. In all the papers alluded to, but more notably the "Montenegrine" of Cettingné, the "Narodin List," and "Nazionale" of Zara, the most mischievous articles and telegrams appear, exciting the Turkish Rayas to rebellion, and exalting their petty combats against the Moslems into important victories. Committees have by the same public means been organized through the whole of Dalmatia to further the objects of the rebellion without the slightest hindrance from the Dalmatian authorities. At the same time, the insurgents resort openly daily to Ragusa to buy powder, lead, guns, and warlike missiles under the eyes of, and without molestation from, the authorities, who reasonably expected ought to interpose their authority to prevent a commerce so directly against their Sovereign's open declaration of neutrality. I will not for a moment venture to think, judging also what her interests ought to be, Austria can in any way sympathise with these misguided insurgents; but I am bound to state her local official action with respect to them is neither neutral, assuring, nor loyal towards the Sultan.

In the neighbouring vassal State of Montenegro, at the same time, a mass meeting has taken place at Zovalla, where 2,000 local sympathisers collected to express their opinions and wishes in favour of the insurgents, and to contribute money to further their traitorous designs.

I will not travel out of my province to detail events from local reporters such as reach me here, as that duty properly attaches to Her Majesty's Consuls in Bosnia and at Scutari, who are better able, from their larger experience, and position on the spot, to distinguish between truth and falsehood, what is worth notice, what insignificant. These gentlemen have no doubt reported fully to your Lordship. But two circumstances have, with reference to this insurrection, struck me with alarm: one is the adhesion of the hitherto strictly Roman Catholic populations of Stolatz and its vicinity to the Orthodox insurgents, and the other the supposed inability of the Montenegrin Prince to control his retainers taking an active part in these present troubles against his proper Suzerain. His particular wishes, under the guidance of Russia, are very generally known; the probable action of his subjects, therefore, will be no surprize.

The latest reports are that the Turks have been defeated at several places near Nevisinje, and that in one conflict they lost three breech-loading cannon. Purely Turkish statements, however, report success in every quarter, and dispersion of the rebels, who are retreating towards Montenegro. Several battalions of Turkish troops are on the spot, and others, coming from Monastir, are expected soon to arrive. Meantime telegraphic communication with Mostar, the capital of the disturbed district, is suspended. The Austrian Government, also, is dispatching an infantry regiment from Trieste, to strengthen the military cordon on their frontier near Metkovich.

With regard to Ragusa itself and its dependencies, I am sorry to be obliged to state

that all (the real Austrian military apart) sympathise deeply with the insurgents, and, through a local Committee, afford them every help and assistance, such as advice, stores, and money, that lie in their power; and it is to be regretted that the most influential men in the town are the loudest in expressing their wishes for the success of the insurgents, whom they are thus morally, if not materially, aiding.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

P.S.—As I am closing, strong reports have come in that a large body of Montenegrins have passed into the Herzegovina and effected a junction with some of the insurgents at a place six hours from this, near Trebigné, which they have blockaded. The combined force is stated to amount to 3,000 men.

I report the rumour as it reached me, but, under every reservation, as my short experience here has taught me, no reports of such a nature, however close to their origin they may be, can be trusted, without rigid, well authenticated details, at present wanting. At the same time I note that the "Neue Freie Presse" of Vienna, under date of the 30th ultimo, states, in a telegram, that a large body of Montenegrins was hastening in a body to afford aid to the insurgents in Turkey.

One well-authenticated fact (of this evening) is, that the Prince of Montenegro has summoned all his troops to present themselves directly at Cettingné in order to march to the frontier, ostensibly to preserve the neutrality he has proclaimed, and so prevent local sympathisers crossing the border to aid the insurgents.

J. G. T.

No. 56.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 16.)

(No. 10. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, August 6, 1875.*

ON the 4th instant I had the honour to send to your Lordship the following telegram:—

"Telegram of the 18th July understood. At present the best general information is to be obtained here."

In case of need I will avail of your Lordship's permission to go myself, or send some confidential person, either to Mostar or elsewhere, but while the Governor-General is here I think I obtain the best general information at Serajevo, as his Excellency is on the best terms with me and shows me most if not all the telegrams he receives from the different local authorities in the Herzegovina.

I inclose herein copy of a despatch I have just addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, which will inform your Lordship of the present state of affairs in the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 56.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Bosna-Serai, August 6, 1875.*

ON the 4th instant I sent to your Excellency the following telegram:—

"Insurgents refuse to lay down their arms. They disperse on approach of troops but re-assemble elsewhere. The troops are insufficient to pursue them or control their movements. Assistance in every shape is openly afforded them by the population of Dalmatia and Croatia. Governor-General has requested more troops, without which this state of affairs may continue indefinitely."

Yesterday evening I again telegraphed as follows:—

"Affairs in the Herzegovina have taken a sudden turn for the worse. The number of the insurgents increases. There are said to be 3,000 in Nevessin fighting to-day with the troops—about 1,000. In some places bands are burning Turkish houses and destroying crops. At a Council held here this morning it was decided to telegraph to the

Porte to send three battalions of regulars and to give permission to call out five battalions of the Bosniac reserve. The matter is urgent."

The Governor-General, whom I saw immediately previous to despatching this telegram, told me that the insurgents, encouraged doubtless by the enthusiastic and undisguised support of Dalmatia and Croatia, have declared that they will not lay down their arms until their demands are granted, including one for the disarmament of the Mussulmans as well as the Christians, and until an Imperial Firman according them all complete pardon be shown to them. It having been impossible to confine them to any particular localities on account of the paucity of troops, they have broken up into small bands, and in a very short time, chiefly by intimidation, they have managed to augment their forces very considerably. There are said to be some 600 at Klek, about the same number between Lubinje and Stolatz, others at Sopovo, and at the village of Sovidol in Nevessin 3,000 or 4,000 were yesterday reported as engaged with the troops, who only numbered some 1,000 in all. Other small bands are scattered about and increasing. The Herzegovina authorities are urgent in their demand for succour. There are some twelve battalions now in the Herzegovina, but the greater part of them are scattered over the province in garrisons, which the Turks are afraid to move lest the people where they are should join the rebellion.

The Pasha complains that the authorities at Constantinople are exceedingly dilatory in replying to his urgent telegrams, and that if his various demands are not immediately complied with, the revolt may become very serious indeed and require a large force and great expense to put down.

Last week a very influential and highly respected Catholic priest named Fra Lorenzo was murdered at Livno. The assassins as yet are unknown, but of course the crime will be attributed to the Turks, and will be used as a motive to induce the Catholics to take part in the revolt. I believe the priest was against their doing so, and it is even possible that his murder was instigated by the insurgent party with the two-fold object of putting him out of the way and causing the Catholics to break with the Turks.

I hear that the greatest excitement prevails in Dalmatia and Croatia; that Committees have been formed at Agram, Ragusa, and Trieste, and that large sums of money have been collected openly to aid the rebellion. Arms and powder are also said to be freely distributed, but I have no doubt that the statements regarding the amount of aid given is somewhat exaggerated. The Governor-General informed me that many of the insurgents who have crossed the frontier at Metkovich are freely permitted to ravage the Turkish side of the frontier and then to retire to Metkovich, where the Pretor openly encourages them. The Austrian Government does not seem in any way to interefere with the acts of the Dalmatian and Croatian populations, which have undoubtedly given to the revolt its present importance.

The number of Montenegrins taking part with the insurgents is also rapidly increasing. This is to be expected without suspecting the Montenegrin Government of complicity, and the longer the affair continues the more of these wild mountaineers will join in it.

The State of the Herzegovina is becoming very critical; the taxes cannot be collected and money must be sent from Bosnia. The crops are being destroyed, several Mussulman houses and farms have been burnt, and in one or two instances their owners murdered; and I trust that the Porte will not hesitate a moment to provide the Governor-General with the means of crushing the revolt without further delay.

As to the demand of the insurgents that the Mussulman population should be disarmed as well as the Christians, I think they are perfectly justified in making it. I recollect during the last war the Sirdar Omer Pasha said to me that the Government had made a great mistake in not disarming the Mussulmans. The whole population should be on the same footing, and the army and police should suffice for the protection of all alike. The fact of one part of the population being armed and the other unarmed only serves to keep up an overbearing spirit on the one hand, and hatred and fear on the other, and the Christians feel that the repeated declaration that the Sultan considers all his subjects as equal is not borne out by the facts of their treatment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 57.

Mr. Monson to Mr. Effrench.—(*Received at the Foreign Office August* 16.)

(No. 101.)
Sir, *Buda-Pesth, August* 9, 1875.

THE unexpected appearance in Buda-Pesth, on his way to Vienna, of Prince Milan of Servia, and the suspicion that his journey was not unconnected with the progress of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, produced a great deal of excitement in this capital during the past week. The public consequently heard with relief that, whatever political object the Prince may also have had in view, a pretext of a purely domestic nature could be alleged for his sudden expedition. At a moment when, under the influence of electioneering excitement, the principal Slav newspapers of Croatia and Slavonia were giving vent to the extremest effusions—elegies upon the "martyrs" of the Herzegovina, eulogies of the undaunted spirit of their "brothers" of Dalmatia and Montenegro—it was a matter of course that His Highness' mysterious excursion should add fuel to the flame of journalistic ardour; and that the organs of the "Omladina," such as the "Obzor," and its congeners, should supplement their telegraphic reports of pitched and bloody battles, and of the adherence of "thousands" of Dalmatians and Montenegrins to the insurgent cause, by high-flown articles on the supposed "mission" of the Prince.

The Government has not thought fit—and the result has proved the wisdom of its decision—to forbid the formation of Committees in Croatia for the relief of the necessitous Herzegovina refugees. It is true that at Agram subscriptions are being solicited for "our oppressed brethren" of the Herzegovina; but the authorities have made it clearly understood that insurgents in arms are not included in this designation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 58.

Mr. Monson to Mr. Effrench.—(*Received at the Foreign Office August* 16.)

(No. 102.)
Sir, *Buda Pesth, August* 11, 1875.

I RECEIVED this morning, under flying seal from Bosna Serai, Mr. Holmes' despatch to the Earl of Derby No. 10, Political, of the 6th instant, in which, while reporting the progress of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, he alludes to the sympathy it is exciting in Croatia. Although I had been already assured that the Hungarian Government had taken every precaution to prevent the extension of aid and comfort to the insurgents by the subjects of the realm of St. Stephen, I thought it my duty to endeavour to find out whether the Ministry had any reason to believe that their orders were being evaded; and I went at once to Buda, with the intention of asking the Prime Minister, Baron Wenckheim, whether he had any information on the subject. Unluckily the Ministers were assembled in Cabinet Council, which was not likely to break up in time for me to see his Excellency before the departure of the post.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that the Magyars themselves have not only no sympathy with, but unanimously condemn the insurrection, as they naturally would any proceeding abroad calculated to act as a stimulant to Slav demonstrations in their own provinces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 59.

Mr. Monson to Mr. Effrench.—(*Received at the Foreign Office August* 16.)

(No. 103.)
Sir, *Buda Pesth, August* 12, 1875.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 102 of yesterday, reporting that I had been unable to speak to the Prime Minister on the subject of Croatian sympathy for the insurgents in the Herzegovina, I have now the honour to state that I waited, by appointment, this morning on Baron Wenckheim, and asked his Excellency if he had reason to

believe that the orders issued by the Government to ensure the preservation of strict neutrality had been in any way evaded.

Baron Wenckheim answered that he had no reason to think anything of the kind; the orders of the Government, concerted with the Ban of Croatia, M. Mazuranio, and with General Molináry, the Commander-in-chief in Croatia and Slavonia, had been drawn up in terms of the severest tenour, and the authorities would not hesitate at enforcing them thoroughly. He did not believe that any material aid could have been, or was likely to be, furnished to the insurgents by Hungarian subjects; but at the same time it was very difficult to deal with the Slav press, and to draw the line at which immunity as to the tone of the articles published therein should cease. Certain journals were profiting by the opportunity to stimulate those Panslavist aspirations which the Government regarded as mischievous, and were consequently bound to combat; and they would not hesitate at suspending the privileges and immunities at present enjoyed by the press if this abuse could not otherwise be checked.

His Excellency asked me the nature of the intelligence I had received from Bosnia, and said that he was hourly expecting official news himself; and that meantime he was apprehensive that the insurrection had grown to proportions which it should never have been allowed to assume. Dervish Pasha was, he feared, both too humane and too wanting in energy, or, at least, had been so at the outset. He trusted that the Porte would use every effort to send reinforcements sufficient to crush the insurrection effectually. It was especially disagreeable for Austria and Hungary, with their Slav subjects ever at the boiling point, to know that the kettle was boiling over just the other side of the frontier; and what made it more unpleasant was, that the recent journey of the Emperor through Dalmatia was so generally regarded as having contributed to the ebullition.

I have been informed that a regiment in garrison at Pressburg was suddenly dispatched last night to the south-western provinces to reinforce, if necessary, the forces in Dalmatia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 60.

Mr. Effrench to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 16.)

(No. 248. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, August 11, 1875.*

COUNT ANDRASSY having received me to-day, I asked him what attitude the Imperial Government would assume, and what its action would be in the case of the insurrection spreading beyond the Herzegovina, and the inability of the Turks to repress or conquer it.

His Excellency said that he trusted that such an eventuality might never take place, on account of the manifold complications which would arise from it, and the peculiarly difficult position in which Austria might find herself placed, but that for the present he was determined to assist the Turkish Government to the utmost limits that neutrality could permit. That, however, the utter inefficiency and want of foresight shown by the Turkish Government made any advice or assistance of but little avail. They had been publicly warned, as early as in the month of March last, that this rising would take place in the course of the summer; but they took no heed thereof. Their means of action for transporting troops are most defective, and, at this present moment, instead of concentrating their forces, and trying to gain some real advantage previous to proposing terms, they are occupied in offering conditions of surrender to the insurgents, which are received with derision so long as these find their own numbers increasing, and their enemy unable to force them into subjection. Dervish Pasha complains of being utterly devoid of pecuniary resources, and has received none from Constantinople, where, Count Andrassy thinks, it will be extremely difficult to find money or to raise a loan, should the insurrection assume proportions that will require increased armaments and expenses.

In the meantime the Austrian troops which line the frontier have been increased, very few having been sent there at first, in order not to give an appearance of undue importance to the movement in the Herzegovina; but between 1,500 and 2,000 of that people who had crossed over, nominally seeking protection, but probably in the hope of obtaining assistance from the Dalmates, have been "interned" in Dalmatia, and are strictly guarded.

The Turkish authorities having asked permission to land some battalions of troops at

the port of Kleck, on the Dalmatian coast, it had been refused by General Rovitch, on the plea that it was contrary to Treaty to admit them; but Count Andrassy has telegraphed orders to allow them to disembark, and to afford the Turks every facility for their passage through the Austrian territory.

The accounts received at Constantinople, he said, cannot be relied on; at one moment they consider the insurrection as insignificant and at an end; at another, a sudden and exaggerated panic arises, magnifying the proportions of everything.

According to the accounts received by Count Andrassy from Ragusa (from whose heights the whole scene of action around Trebigné can be viewed with telescopes), the supposed blockade is utterly false, as the Turks are seen daily to go in and out of the town, being perfectly free in their movements. But while the insurrection in Herzegovina is preoccupying the minds of the rest of the world, the Representative of Turkey here, Falcon Bey, and Hussein Pasha, the ex-Minister, who have both visited Count Andrassy within the last forty-eight hours, have shown no care or interest in the matter; their entire conversation was centred on the question of the Treaty with Roumania (the details of which have only come to their knowledge within the last few days!), and they did nothing during their visit but discuss the interpretation of certain Articles thereof.

In conclusion, I may add that Count Andrassy feels perfectly assured of the co-operation of the Russian Government, and of the exercise of its influence, in order to prevent any encouragement being given to the Slavonic population in the States around the Herzegovina; and should, perchance, the increase and success of the insurrection later on be such as to influence the neighbouring States beyond the control of their Princes, the whole of the guaranteeing Powers must virtually be consulted ere any intervention could be attempted.

I mention this as a report has been current during the last week, and credited by many, that the Russian and German Ambassadors were concocting a plan of intervention with Count Andrassy, independently of the other Governments interested, as a consequence of the *entente* between the three Emperors!

Finally, Count Andrassy deplored the utterly discreditable character of the Vienna press—the most venal in the world, exclusively in the hands of Jews, and only calculated to give false and erroneous views on every subject to the public at large.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. PERCY FFRENCH.

No. 61.

Mr. Macdonell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 16.)

(No. 342. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, August 14, 1875.*

HAVING had occasion to call on Herr von Bülow this morning, I asked his Excellency if he had any late information as to the progress of the insurrection in the Herzegovina. His Excellency said that the latest news he had received was less favourable than he expected; that the Turkish Government had apparently allowed the insurrection to spread beyond the limits of its immediate control. His Excellency believes, however, that the attitude assumed by the Austro-Hungarian Government must eventually induce the insurgents to come to terms, but, he said, such terms must be accompanied by *bonâ fide* concessions on the part of the Ottoman Government. So far, Herr von Bülow added, we have no reason to suppose that the Porte will not be able to master the movement; but, should the insurrection increase, so as to threaten the tranquility of adjoining States, the "entente parfaitement cordiale" which exists between the three Emperors might certainly induce His Imperial Majesty to tender his good offices towards the re-establishment and the maintenance of peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

No. 62.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, August 16.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 14 Août*, 1875.

NOUS remercions vivement Lord Derby pour la démarche qu'il a bien voulu faire à Vienne, ainsi que pour les instructions qu'il a transmises à Sir Henry Elliot à propos de la Servie et du Monténégro. Loin de nous la pensée de donner une importance internationale au mouvement de l'Herzégovine; c'est une affaire intérieure, et l'immixtion des Puissances étrangères est formellement interdite par le Traité de Paris. C'est uniquement au Gouvernement Anglais que nous nous sommes adressés pour provoquer une démarche à Vienne, et c'est la grande confiance que nous mettons dans ses sentiments d'amitié et de bienveillance à notre égard qui nous a conseillé cette demande.

No. 63.

Consul General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, August 16, 1875, 3 P.M.*

THIS Government have written to their Agent at Constantinople to reassure the Porte as to their attitude, but the result of the general election yesterday has been the resignation of the Servian Ministry this morning.

No. 64.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 17.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, August 17, 1875, 9 A.M.*

MATTERS become more critical here; late Ministry were ready to resign even before the result of the election, should the Prince continue to be unfavourable to the drifting into an attitude hostile to Turkey. No new Ministry yet.

Expectation of insurrection in Bosnia by the Revolutionary Committee, who hold several hundred natives of that Province ready to proceed there. Shall see the Prince this day.

No. 65.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 17.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 17, 1875, 6 P.M.*

THE total want of energy shown by the Porte gives the insurrection in the Herzegovina a serious aspect.

For some days past I have been unable to attend to business, but, as far as I can ascertain, up to yesterday no troops excepting the 2,000 men sent in a slow old transport had been dispatched.

The officers and men are stated to be most discontented at not receiving many months' arrears of pay.

I have sent to-day to urge greater vigour.

No. 66.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 18.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 18, 1875, 3·30 P.M.*

THE Porte had yesterday no information of an insurrection in North Bosnia.

The Grand Vizier, in answer to my message, professed perfect confidence of being able to crush the insurrection at once, and to meet any combination between Servia and Montenegro provided Austro-Hungary remains neutral.

When I spoke to the Sultan about it, His Majesty showed the same confidence, and treated the question as too insignificant to be worth mentioning.

The measures relied upon seem limited to preparing to send six more battalions, of which three come from Syria, in spite of the quarantine, and to calling out the Bosnian Redifs, which will furnish 10,000 men in two or three weeks.

No. 67.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 18.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, August 18, 1875.*

I HAVE spoken with the Prince of Servia, and I have employed the language of persuasion. His Highness promised to take time before the adoption of determination; but the language of some of the Powers is not sufficiently deprecatory, whilst the growth of the insurrection, and also the excitement here, may endanger the peace of Turkey.

No. 68.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, August 19, 1875, 2·30 P.M.*

I LEARN from Austrian Foreign Office that insurrection has broken out in Bosnia, and that there is fighting along Austrian frontier. Everything is being done to restrain Prince Milan, but he is said to have forgotten all the promises he made here as to neutrality.

No. 69.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Athens, August 19, 1875, 9 P.M.*

I HAVE sent the following figures to Sir Henry Elliot:—

"M. Tricoupi has requested me to ask your Excellency to intercede with the Porte to prevent the dispatch of Mehemet Pasha to the Herzegovina. He fears that the Pasha's absence from his present command may facilitate disturbance north of the frontier, and he is most anxious that such an event should not arise to complicate the difficulties of the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

"I venture to add that I believe him to be thoroughly sincere in his desire to prevent trouble.

"Mehemet Ali Pasha is the General who has stamped out brigandage on the frontier."

No. 70.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, August 19, 1875, 3 P.M.*

I APPROVE your urging activity on the Porte. The consequences may be serious if the Porte allows its troops to be overpowered, or the insurrection to drag on unchecked for a length of time. Warn the Grand Vizier confidentially in this sense from Her Majesty's Government.

No. 71.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(No. 510.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, August 19, 1875.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 495 of the 14th instant, I inclose herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a memorandum* respecting the progress of the insurrection in Herzegovina, which was communicated to me on the 15th instant by the Marquis d'Harcourt.

His Excellency has been informed of the nature of the instructions given by Her Majesty's Government to Mr. Ffrench and Sir Henry Elliot, of which copies were transmitted to your Excellency in my above-mentioned despatch.

I am, &c,
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 72.

Mr. Macdonell to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received August 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berlin, August 20, 1875, 9 P.M.*

I HAVE just seen German Ambassador in London, on his return from Varzin. He tells me that Chancellor of Empire considers the Herzegovina question very serious. Information had reached him that the Austrian Government are mobilizing a large body of troops to act on the frontier, and which may lead to complication.

The Prince is of opinion that Austrian Government are not acting discreetly.

Reports are current of an Austrian armed intervention.

The Bourse for the first time has been affected by reports on this account.

No. 73.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 20, 1875, 7·30 P.M.*

A PROPOSAL concerted at Vienna by the three northern Governments has been made to the Porte by their Ambassadors.

They propose that Consuls should be delegated by the Embassies to proceed to the scene of insurrection and inform the insurgents that they must expect no support or countenance from their Governments.

They are also to advise the insurgents to desist from hostilities, but to make known their complaints to a Commissioner.

The Delegates are not to go further than this, but are to leave the rest to the Turkish Commissioner.

The French Ambassador has received instructions to associate himself in this action, and I told him I should be ready to join him.

The proposal is favourably received by the Porte, and the Grand Vizier has just been to me to beg me not to stand aloof.

No. 74.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 21.)

(No. 702.)
My Lord, *Paris, August 20, 1875.*

THE Duc Decazes, who is staying at Dinard, in the department of Ille et Vilaine, for the benefit of his health, came up to Paris for forty-eight hours on the day before yesterday, and called upon me on the afternoon of that day, in order to speak to me of the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

* No. 51.

† Repeated to Lord Lyons, Sir H. Elliot, Mr. Ffrench, and Mr. Doria.

He said that Russia had proposed that the Great Powers should adopt for their common guidance, in dealing with this untoward event, the following principles:—Not to intervene by force, either collectively or individually; to counsel the Princes of Servia and Montenegro to restrain their subjects from aiding the insurrection; to recommend the insurgents to submit to the Porte; and, lastly, to advise the Porte, not only to be lenient and conciliatory, but, moreover, to introduce a better administration and real and efficacious reforms.

The Duc Decazes proceeded to observe that these principles appeared to him to be perfectly sound, and that he should be very glad if they were adopted by the Cabinets of Europe. It was, he thought, very desirable that all the Cabinets should act on the same general principles. But, the principles being once settled, he should not (he said) be disposed to be punctilious as to the precise mode in which each Power might give effect to them. Differences of geographical position, of interests and sympathies, and even of national character and temperament, must to a certain extent be allowed for. In the main, however, the Powers should act in concert, and it should be a concert of all the Powers which had guaranteed the Ottoman Empire, not a separate understanding between any two or three of them. Every one of the Powers should have proper opportunities of saying its word,—of exercising its legitimate influence.

The Duc Decazes went on to say that he had told Ali Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador here, that, for his own part, he had two bits of advice which he was anxious to convey to the Porte. In the first place, he would urge the Porte to act at once, to put forth its whole military strength immediately, and to leave nothing undone which could tend to the prompt suppression of the insurrection. In the second place, he must impress upon the Porte, not only the moral guilt which it would incur by allowing any excesses on the part of the troops or of the Mussulman inhabitants towards the Christians, but the extreme impolicy and danger of such a course. The mere continuance of the insurrection for a length of time would, he had observed to Ali Pasha, tend to enlist the sympathies of the European public in its favour; and if indignation were aroused by accounts of Turkish cruelty, or even severity, there might be an irresistible movement of public opinion against Turkey. The Porte must take care that the history of the Greek Revolution was not repeated in the Herzegovina and the neighbouring provinces.

Having given me this account of the opinions he had expressed to the Ottoman Ambassador, the Duc Decazes concluded by saying that he was especially anxious that France and England should act in entire concert in this matter, and by expressing an earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government would at all times frankly state their views and intentions to him, and communicate to him any intelligence they might from time to time receive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 74*.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 21.)

(No. 703. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, August 20, 1875.*

IN my immediately preceding despatch No. 702 of to-day, I have had the honour to report to your Lordship the substance of what was said to me, the day before yesterday, by the Duc Decazes respecting the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

It must necessarily be painful to a French Statesman to contemplate the possibility of the Eastern question being raised in any form, at a moment at which France is so little able to make her influence felt; and it is natural that the Duc Decazes should be anxious that the appearance of France being wholly set aside should at least be avoided. He is, therefore, on this account, among others, particularly desirous that England should assert her right to be heard in the matter, and with it, that of France and Italy also. In short, the Duke feels no little anxiety lest, in virtue of what is called the Alliance of the Three Emperors, Austria, Russia, and Germany, should act, as they did with regard to the Roumanian Commercial Treaties question, and take their own line without regard to any other Powers.

The Duc Decazes' anxiety on this subject is, however, somewhat relieved by assurances which he receives from Russia. He told me that in conversing with General Seftô, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, about the Herzegovina, Baron Jomini had spoken

of having communicated with the Austrian and German Ambassadors, and of having derived from their language the conviction that the insurrection would not become a serious cause for apprehension. General Seftô had (the Duc Decazes said) answered that he had always supposed that there were five Ambassadors, not only two, whom Russia should consult about the Eastern question. In reply Baron Jomini had said, "I entirely agree with you, and the proof that I do so is that I am now speaking to you about that question." The Duc Decazes added that soon afterwards the Emperor Alexander had adverted to this conversation, and had told General Seftô that he was quite right in what he had said to Baron Jomini; and that the understanding between himself and his two Imperial friends and allies did not at all imply the exclusion of France or England from the European concert on the Eastern question.

The Emperor Alexander had then (the Duc Decazes said) desired General Seftô to convey to him His Majesty's special thanks for the firmness he had shown in resisting the proposal that France should intervene by force in Spain.

Now what (the Duke proceeded to ask me) could have been the connexion in the Emperor's mind between the Herzegovina and intervention in Spain? Must it not have been that the intervention of Austria in the Herzegovina had been suggested; and if so was it not in all probability suggested by the same Power which had suggested the intervention of France in Spain, and with the same object? Might it not suit the views of Germany that the armies of other Powers should be engaged in difficult enterprises, in order that her own army might be the more easily able to do whatever it pleased without hindrance? Might it not be the policy of Prince Bismarck to provide occupation for Austria and Russia in the East, in order that he might not be interfered with in the West?

At all events the Duke thought that the entrance of Austrian troops into the Herzegovina would be very much to be deplored. He should not himself consider it a wise measure on the part of Austria, even if she entertained the desire of annexing the Province to her own dominions. That end would, in his opinion, be in the end more safely and more surely attained, by favouring the introduction of reforms and a sort of autonomy into the Province, than by an armed intervention, in which Austria must appear as more or less hostile to the Christian population.

It was, however, the Duke observed, difficult to say what motives might be preponderant with Count Andrassy. On the one hand he must take into consideration the feelings of the Hungarian voters of all races; but on the other hand he might, as a Magyar, be not unwilling to check an increase of Sclavonic power; and there might be influences at Vienna and at the Imperial Court, by yielding to which he might hope to consolidate his own position as Prime Minister of the whole Monarchy.

After talking confidentially on the various topics which I have mentioned above, the Duc Decazes came back to the subject which, in the present defenceless state of France, can never be long absent from the mind of a French Minister—the possibility of a fresh attack from Germany. He confessed that the troubles in Turkey, that any sort of stir in Europe, increased the alarm with which he looked forward to next spring. He observed that the course which internal politics had taken during the Session of the Assembly just closed might increase the difficulty of managing the foreign relations of the country. For his own part he could not but regret that the Assembly had not voted the Election Law, and dissolved itself this summer. If the Scrutin d'Arrondissement had been carried, a very fair new Chamber would probably have been elected. If the system of the "Scrutin de Liste" should prevail, it would be very doubtful whether, at any time, a reasonable Chamber would be returned. It would be difficult to hold the elections in the winter, when communications in the country districts (in which the strength of the Conservatives lies) would be difficult. On the other hand what would be the position of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, if the question of holding them in the spring arose? Would he be able to say that the foreign relations of France would allow him, in common prudence, to expose the country to the risk of a serious Government crisis at that season? On the other hand what fear should he not excite, *quel tocsin d'alarme*, would it not be, if he announced danger from abroad, as a reason for postponing the elections? It was, therefore, only natural (the Duc Decazes said in conclusion) that with regard to the Herzegovina, and, indeed, to every question which could ruffle the calm in Europe, he should be anxiously desirous to come to an understanding in time with all Governments friendly to peace and to France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 75.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 21.)

(No. 704.)
My Lord, *Paris, August 20, 1875.*

M. N. CALLIMAKI CATARZI, who entitles himself Agent of Roumania at Paris, called upon me the day before yesterday, and told me that he was about to go to Bucharest on a short leave of absence.

He said that his countrymen looked with some anxiety and apprehension at the progress of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, as any extension of the power of the Slavs might be disadvantageous, and even dangerous, to the Roumanians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS

No. 76.

Mr. Doria to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 23.)

(No. 240. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 9, 1875.*

THE French Ambassador, General Le Flo, called on me the other day in order to confer with me on the disturbances in the Herzegovina. His Excellency did not find me at home; and on my returning his visit, he read to me a despatch which he had sent in cypher to his Government, addressed to the Duc Decazes.

His Excellency's appreciation of the situation of affairs is similar to the impression left on myself after conversing on this subject with Baron Jomini and the Austrian Ambassador, Baron Langenau, which I had the honour to detail to your Lordship in my despatch No. 239 of the 4th instant.

General Le Flo considers that the disturbances are of serious importance, and does not put faith in the information given to him by the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires, Zea Bey, that the insurrectionary movement is virtually quelled.

His Excellency also stated to me that, although on the most friendly terms with his Austrian colleague, Baron Langenau had shown great "reticence" in speaking to him on the affairs in the Herzegovina, so as to give cause to much suspicion.

The General stated that the interests of England and of his own country were, he considered, identic in desiring the preservation of the Ottoman Empire; but his Excellency does not conceal his own personal opinion, which is tinged with a colouring of hostility to Turkey, that it is impossible for Turkey to maintain her position in Europe; that she is gradually tottering to an end, and that her vitality is far less than before the Crimean War. His Excellency, however, does not attribute to Russia any views for the extension of her Empire at the expense of Turkey.

I replied to his Excellency that I foresaw no difficulty in quelling the insubordination in the Herzegovina if both Russia and Austria gave the insurgents clearly to understand that they are no partizans to the disturbances, and desire to see order perfectly re-established under the Turkish authority. I had taken the opportunity to express the same belief to his Excellency Baron Jomini.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. DORIA.

No. 77.

Mr. Doria to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 23.)

(No. 255. Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August* 18, 1875.

THE intelligence published this morning in the Russian papers from Servia, that the Government had resigned in consequence of the result of the elections, has much occupied public attention.

Baron Jomini alluded to the fact in conversation with me to-day, and expressed a fear that the Prince Milan might be driven by the extra Liberal party to join the insurgent movement against Turkey, or be obliged to resign his position of Prince of Servia, in which case his Excellency foresees the almost certainty that the Prince of Montenegro would also be driven into the insurrection.

His Excellency lamented, owing to the existing Treaty, that no foreign Power had a right to interfere with the home Government of the Ottoman Empire; and he continued to say that the present instance was one where foreign arbitration might be exercised with signal advantage to both parties, which, however, was prohibited, as the divergence arose between Sovereign and subject.

To my remark that any such intervention would be difficult, his Excellency replied that formerly it might have been so, when so many conflicting notions existed relative to the Ottoman Empire; but, as there was no question of its dismemberment, and that the European Powers were agreed in wishing to maintain Turkey in its present position, he did not foresee the difficulty I alluded to.

I must say, I have all along imagined I could trace in his Excellency's train of thought a desire that external counsel, if not direct intervention at Constantinople, should be brought to bear on the present disturbances in the Herzegovina. I did not discover, in conversation with Baron Langenau, the same opinions, but that they are participated in by the Austrian Government would not surprise me. His Excellency confined his expressions to an earnest desire for the tranquillity of the insurrection, and to an expression of fear that the neighbour's house might set their own on fire.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. DORIA.

No. 78.

Mr. Doria to Lord Tenterden.—(Received August 23.)

My dear Lord Tenterden, *St. Petersburgh, August* 19, 1875.

AT the last moment I receive the inclosed extract from a Russian paper of yesterday. I have not time to send it to Earl Derby officially, but the opening of the article is sufficiently startling to make me suppose it may have some interest for his Lordship.

In great haste to catch the messenger, yours, &c.

(Signed) W. DORIA.

Inclosure in No. 78.

Extract from the "Gazette de la Bourse" of August $\frac{5}{17}$, 1875.

Il n'y a pas de doute qu'en cas d'annexion de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine à l'Autriche-Hongrie, ces deux provinces gagneraient considérablement sous le rapport de la tranquillité et de la bonne administration. L'entière indépendance même ne leur serait pas aussi avantageuse. Mais l'Allemagne et la Russie permettraient-elles cette annexion? Jusqu'à ce jour les Puissances du Nord se sont entendues pour laisser à la Turquie le soin de réprimer la révolte, en considérant cette question comme intérieure, mais qu'après il faudrait l'engager à octroyer de nouvelles garanties à ces populations. Ces Puissances ont même consenti à accorder le premier rôle à l'Autriche dans les négociations qui commenceront à ce sujet à Constantinople. Mais l'éventualité d'une augmentation territoriale de l'Autriche au détriment de la Turquie est douteuse.

No. 79.

Mr. Macdonell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 23.)

(No. 345. Private and Confidential.)

My Lord, *Berlin, August* 20, 1875.

WITH reference to my cyphered telegram of this date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Count Münster, whom I had an opportunity of seeing this evening, on his return from Varzin, stated to me confidentially that he had left Prince Bismark somewhat alarmed at the course of events in the Herzegovina. The Prince, Count Münster added, considers the question to be taking so serious and important an aspect, that he thinks consideration should be given to what may result from it. I endeavoured to ascertain from the Count whether Prince Bismark had formed any plan or project in the event of an Austrian intervention, but his Excellency evaded the question by telling me that, though the Prince thought the Austro-Hungarian Government had acted injudiciously if not indiscreetly in mobilizing so large a force, he trusted that they had yet entertained no idea of intervention, which, he thought, would find no support with other Powers.

Count Münster, probably echoing Prince Bismarck's opinion, thinks that the worst feature of the present crises is the strength which the ultra-liberals are daily gaining in Servia. This, coupled with the common understanding which seems to exist between them and all the political adventurers who have gone to swell the ranks of the insurgents, seems to indicate that the movement is far from a local one. So far as I could ascertain, Prince Bismarck does not attach credit to the report that the present movement is due to Austro-Hungarian intrigues, but thinks it a purely Slav movement, favoured by the ultra-liberals of Servia, and perhaps indirectly, too, by the military party in Austria, who have the support of the Emperor Francis Joseph; and he cannot admit that Count Andrassy, for whom he has the greatest regard, would lend himself to such schemes, or follow so suicidal a policy.

I think I can safely venture to say that the German Government do not wish to see any important changes effected in Turkey, and will abstain from interfering in her affairs so long as they can conveniently do so. On the other hand, they would not view with displeasure any complication which might tend to increase the difficulties by which Austria is already beset.

Count Münster appeared desirous to know your Lordship's views as to what may result from the present state of things in the Herzegovina, and expressed some astonishment at the language of the "Times" with regard to Turkey, adding, "I should not be astonished if all this led to a Conference."

I may here add that the rumour of an Austro-Hungarian intervention is fully credited here; so much so, that the Berlin Stock Exchange, which up to the present had attached no importance to the Herzegovina difficulty, was yesterday affected by the reports in circulation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

No. 80.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, August* 19, 1875, 9 A.M.

THE Austrian Consul-General made a communication to the Prince this morning that, should Servia engage in hostilities against Turkey, his Court would leave them to do so at their own risk and peril.

The Russian colleague made a similar communication some time ago, but he tells me that he did not add any kind of reservation; whilst the former hinted strongly that his Court would not allow alteration of the *status quo*, either of the territorial situation of Servia on the one hand, nor anything but the re-investiture of the fortresses by the Porte, if victorious, on the other hand. This was not sufficient to depress war party, as I am assured.

Court of Rome gave instructions to the Consul to act in concert with the Austrian, and also Russian, in hopes of preserving peace.

No. 81.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 23.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, August 23, 1875.*

THOUGH there are no news of the insurrection having extended in Bosnia, military preparations continue in Servia, as if they expected an extensive conflagration.

The chance of pacific counsels prevailing not altogether gone yet.

At a reception of the Consular body yesterday, the Prince spoke with a view to the elucidation of our opinion on the subject of his painful situation.

But without seizure of the opportunity on their part, with the exception of myself and the Italian Consul.

The Prince requires the moral support of the foreign Powers for the preservation of peace.

He has to meet on Friday next a disaffected and, may be, warlike Assembly. He cannot obtain efficacious support from any public man of influence, except Marinovitch, who is not popular, as he is in favour of negotiations with great Powers to obtain reforms in Turkey, and not for action.

No. 82.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, August 24, 1875.*

I HAVE reason to believe in the exercise of efforts by the Court of Russia to bring matters here back into a pacific condition.

The Prince still irresolute.

No. 83.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 24.)

(No. 441. Confidential.)

Therapia, August 11, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the confidential report of Mr. Sandison, upon which I founded my telegram to your Lordship of this day, on the progress of the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

Although the Porte is aware that the question is becoming serious, little energy is shown in sending troops to the spot, and I was premature when I announced to your Lordship that they had already sailed.

They were embarked, and on the point of sailing in two transports, when (as I am informed, although I cannot vouch for it) orders were received from the Palace to transfer the troops into one large ship. More than a day was lost by this operation, and the vesse now chosen is said to be a very slow one.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 83.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)

Therapia, August 10, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that the accounts which reach the Porte as to the state of things in the Herzegovina continue to be very alarming.

The last telegrams received to-day from the Governor-General of Bosnia state that a band of insurgents having made themselves masters of that part of Trebigné which is beyond the river . . . . . had devastated the fields and pillaged the houses, carrying off a considerable amount of booty in cattle, and that the inhabitants have taken refuge in the fortress of Trebigné. Another band of insurgents, 3,000 men in number, consisting of Dalmatians and Montenegrins, are endeavouring to cut off the communications between Mostar and Nevesin. A third band, consisting of 250 men, recruited in Dalmatia, have taken possession of the village of Beremekié; whilst a fourth band, numbering 1,500 men, chiefly Dalmatians, are marching on Bockché under the command of Stefene Boropek, also a Dalmatian, who announces the arrival of further reinforcements from Dalmatia. In fact, every assistance is being lent to the insurrectionary movement by the Dalmatians and Montenegrins, who are actively engaged in sending funds, provisions, and munitions of war into the Herzegovina.

On the other hand, a body of no less than 9,000 Servian regular troops, amply provided with artillery and other requisites, have been marched under pretext of performing military manœuvres. Their actual presence, however, on the very line of demarcation between Servia and the Turkish province has so much excited the fears of the latter, that even the Porte would seem to view the matter with distrust, notwithstanding M. Magazinovitch's assurances, who had been questioned on the subject by Safvet Pasha some few weeks ago.

As the situation tends to become more serious, in view of the active part taken in the insurrection by the Dalmatians, the Turkish Chargé d'Affairs at Vienna has been instructed to call the earnest attention of the Austro-Hungarian Government to the fact, and to request also that it adopt on its frontier such energetic military measures as the case would seem to call for.

Although satisfactory assurances continue to be given by the Austrian Embassy here, the action taken by the Austro-Hungarian Government on the Dalmatian frontier does not seem to inspire the Porte with sufficient confidence in its efforts to prevent assistance being given to the insurgents of the Herzegovina by the populations which are under its immediate authority. Safvet Pasha took the opportunity of saying that, whereas the Turkish Government had sent no less than 5,000 men to the frontier when disturbances had broken out some years ago in Dalmatia, the Austro-Hungarian Government has done no more than station merely two battalions on its frontier, which does not exactly show the same disposition on its part to maintain the same neutrality amongst its subjects on the present occasion.

His Excellency seemed on the whole most anxious to know what had better be done considering the probability in the Herzegovina taking a still more serious turn. All means of reconciliation having been tried to no purpose, the presence of an imposing military force in the disaffected districts might have a powerful effect, even upon the doubtful loyalty of the neighbouring vassal provinces; but Safvet Pasha is not at all certain whether the Turkish Government is, under present circumstances, in a position to dispose of the necessary means for an efficient expeditionary force, which, for the present at least, must be represented by the two battalions which left Constantinople yesterday, and by the Bosnian Redifs, which the Governor-General has been directed to call out immediately.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 84.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, August 24.*)

Constantinople, le 22 Août, 1875.

(Télégraphique.)

MES précédents télégrammes vous ont fait connaître l'origine des événements de l'Herzégovine, ainsi que le cours qu'ils ont suivi. La Sublime Porte a fait tout au monde pour ne pas arriver à une extrémité fâcheuse. Mais, devant le résultat négatif de ses efforts, elle se trouve dans la pénible nécessité de faire usage de la force. Aujourd'hui les dispositions nécessaires sont prises en vue d'une prompte répression de la révolte, et des troupes en nombre suffisant sont concentrées sur le théâtre de l'insurrection.

Toutefois, les Représentants des Grandes Puissances viennent de nous faire la proposition suivante:—

Les Délégues des Puissances devraient se rendre auprès des insurgés pour leur faire comprendre qu'ils ne sauraient attendre de secours d'aucune Puissance étrangère, ni des Principautés voisines, et que, s'ils ont quelque grief à formuler contre l'administration locale, ils n'ont qu'à envoyer leurs hommes de confiance auprès du Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, délégué expressément de Constantinople pour entendre les plaintes de la population. Ce haut fonctionnaire ne manquera pas d'accueillir avec bienveillance ce qu'il y aura de légitime dans les demandes qui lui parviendront, et redressera les griefs fondés. Aussitôt après avoir rempli leur mandat, les Consuls retourneront immédiatement à leurs postes sans attendre le résultat définitif des pourparlers directs entre les autorités Ottomanes et la population insurgée.

Appréciant les sentiments d'humanité qui ont dicté cette démarche, et désireux avant tout d'éviter l'effusion du sang et de maintenir la paix, le Gouvernement Impérial a accepté cette proposition comme dernière tentative d'apaisement; et il a décidé d'envoyer à Mostar son Excellence Server Pacha, en qualité de Commissaire Impérial.

Dégageant par cette dernière condescendance sa responsabilité vis-à-vis des éventualités à venir, le Gouvernement Impérial se réserve, dans le cas où les démarches des Consuls n'aboutiraient pas au résultat désiré, d'employer la force et d'en finir avec cette malheureuse affaire.

Vous êtes autorisé à vous énoncer dans le sens de cette dépêche auprès du Gouvernement près duquel vous êtes accrédité.

No. 85.

*The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.**

Foreign Office, August 24, 1875, 5·40 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

IN reply to your telegram of the 20th instant, Her Majesty's Government authorize you to join with the other Ambassadors in sending Consuls to the scene of the insurrection, as proposed.

Her Majesty's Government consent to the proposal with reluctance, as they doubt the expediency of the intervention of foreign Consuls; but as the Porte has begged you not to stand aloof, they feel they have no alternative.

The Turkish Government must understand that the assent of Her Majesty's Government is given at their own instance, and that Her Majesty's Government would have thought it better that the Porte should have dealt with the insurgents without foreign intervention of any kind.

Report to me who are the Consuls sent, and the instructions given to them, which Her Majesty's Government suppose will be agreed upon by the Embassies, and identic.

No. 86.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 258.)

Foreign Office, August 24, 1875.

Sir,

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your telegraphic despatch of the 20th instant, in which you report that a proposal concerted at Vienna by the three Northern Powers has been made to the Porte by the Ambassadors.

Your Excellency states that they propose that Consuls should be delegated by the Embassies to proceed to the scene of the insurrection, and inform the insurgents that they must expect no support or countenance from their Governments. They are also to advise the insurgents to desist from hostilities, but to make known their complaints to a Commission. The Delegates are not to go further than this, but are to leave the rest to the Turkish Commission.

Your Excellency adds that the French Ambassador has received instructions to associate himself in this action, and that you had told him you would be ready to join. The proposal is, moreover, favourably received by the Porte, and the Grand Vizier had just been to you to beg you not to stand aloof.

Her Majesty's Government have given the proposal thus made their serious consideration, and now authorize your Excellency to join the other Ambassadors in sending Consuls to the scene of the insurrection, as proposed.

Her Majesty's Government consent to this step with reluctance, as they doubt the expediency of the intervention of foreign Consuls. Such an intervention is scarcely compatible with the independent authority of the Porte over its own territory, offers an inducement to insurrection as a means of appealing to foreign sympathy against Turkish rule, and may not improbably open the way to further diplomatic interference in the internal affairs of the Empire.

Since, however, the Porte has begged your Excellency not to stand aloof, Her Majesty's Government feel that they have no alternative. They desire, at the same time, that the Turkish Government should understand that the assent of Her Majesty's Government is given at their own instance, and that Her Majesty's Government would have thought it better that the Porte should have dealt with the insurgents without foreign intervention of any kind.

Her Majesty's Government request your Excellency to report who are the Consuls whom it may be determined to send, and the instructions given to them, which Her Majesty's Government suppose will be agreed upon by the respective Embassies, and be identic.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

* Repeated to Paris, with the addition, "you may inform French Government that Sir H. Elliot has been authorized to join."

No. 87.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 24.)

Athens, August 24, 1875, 4 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

BRITISH Consul at Corfu informs me as follows:—"Large sums in specie are being transmitted from Corfu to Epirus by the Slav party. Russian Consul at Prevesa came on the 14th, and returned next day with between 20,000 and 30,000 dollars in specie. more is being sent to points further up."

Above sent to Constantinople.

No. 88.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 25.)

Therapia, August 25, 1875, 2·30 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

THE equivocal attitude of Austria would, I think, have made it dangerous for the Porte to reject her proposal when backed by Russia and Germany.

The suppression of the insurrection must greatly depend upon the action of Austria in restraining its subjects, and an important point is gained by a declaration through her Consuls to the insurgents that they are not to expect the support upon which they had calculated.

The possible disadvantages of the present action, although very evident, are probably less than what might have been expected from a refusal to comply with the suggestion of the three Powers.

No. 89.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 25.)

Therapia, August 24, 1875, 11 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE sent the following to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Belgrade:—

"A considerable Turkish force will be assembled at Nisch.

"It is essential that the Servian Government should understand that this measure is simply precautionary and defensive; and not intended as a demonstration against Servia."

No. 90.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 25.)

Therapia, August 25, 1875, 10·40 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.)

THE Russian Ambassador tells me that the Prince of Servia has said that he will follow the urgent advice of the Emperor to abstain from hostile acts towards Turkey, but that the public spirit is such that it may force him to leave the country.

General Ignatiew says that the German Government possesses much influence over Ristich, and that it ought to be exerted to its full extent, together with that of all the other Powers.

He considers that if the Prince is forced to leave, the Principalities will fall entirely into the hands of the Socialist Committees.

The General and his Government appear to be acting fairly.

No. 91.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 26.)

Therapia, August 25, 1875, 11 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

THE instructions sent to the Consuls by the Embassies will be similar in substance without being identic in words, as it was judged best that there should not be more appearance than could be avoided of joint action.

The Austrians, French, and Russians send their Consuls from Scutari; the Germans their Consuls from Ragusa, and the Italians their Danube Commissioner.

No. 92.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received August* 27.)

Therapia, August 27, 1875, 4 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

THE instructions sent to the Consuls in the Herzegovina are to the following effect:—

They are to avoid all appearance of collective action, and to act, as far as possible, individually.

They are to endeavour to make the insurgents understand "that they must not count upon the support of any Power, and to persuade them to lay their grievances before the Turkish Commissioners."

They will say that, while the Governments will recommend the Porte to remedy proved grievances, they are not to be considered as guaranteeing or pledging themselves to any measures to be taken, which must be come to by an understanding between themselves and the Porte.

The first object being to prevent bloodshed, they are to urge the insurgents to avoid attacking the "troops pending the negotiations," and to return to their villages.

The Consuls are to return to their ports without waiting for the result of the negotiations between the Commissioners and the insurgents.

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* Repeated to Lord Lyons, Sir A. Paget, Mr. Doria, Mr. Effendi, and Mr. Macdonell.

No. 93.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received August* 29.)

Therapia, August 29, 1875, 1 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

THE Porte has received information that a body of 2,000 or 3,000 Servians have penetrated into Turkey as far as Novi Bazaar, and completely destroyed the telegraphic communication with the Herzegovina.

Servian and foreign revolutionary agents from the Principality are working in all directions to excite disaffection.

No. 94.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received August* 29.)

Therapia, August 29, 1875, 1·30 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE sent the following to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Belgrade:—

"The Servian Agent has expressed anxiety about the collection of Turkish troops at Nisch.

"I told him that the Porte has no thoughts of an attack upon Servia, but is forced to be prepared to resist the aggression which seems threatened by the Principality, and if Servia wantonly provokes hostilities she must be prepared to bear the consequence."

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has asked my opinion of the course to be pursued.

I said, vigorously repel attack upon Turkish territory, but avoid all action beyond it.

No. 95.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received August* 29.)

Therapia, August 29, 1875, 2 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

THE Austro-Hungarian Ambassador had an audience of the Sultan yesterday, upon his return from leave of absence.

He tells me that His Majesty expressed in warm terms his acknowledgments for the step taken by the Powers for the pacification of the Herzegovina.

The Grand Vizier, whom I saw in the afternoon, assured me, on the other hand, that the Sultan had consented with much reluctance to the proposal of the three Powers, and at last only because he had been given to understand that it had been concurred in by Her Majesty's Government.

I repeated to him the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 24th, which I had previously communicated to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

He expressed much surprise, and said he would communicate it this morning to the Sultan, who was under the impression that the suggestion had been made with the concurrence of all the Powers.

This cannot be reconciled with the request of the late Grand Vizier, that Her Majesty's Government would join the others, but the change of Government here may partly account for the misunderstanding.

No. 96.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 29.)

Therapia, August 29, 1875, 11 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

A BODY of 250 men, said to be composed of French and Italians, has landed near Klek, and passed the mountains to join the insurgents.

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* Repeated to Lord Lyons, Sir A. Paget, Mr. Doria, Mr. Effendi, and Mr. Macdonell.

No. 97.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 11. Political.)
Bosna Seraï, August 13, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honor to transmit herewith copy of a despatch which I have just addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, which will give your Lordship the news received here up to the latest date of the revolt in the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 97.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Bosna Seraï, August 13, 1875.

Sir,

On the 8th instant I telegraphed to your Excellency that the Turkish troops had been forced to retreat from Nevessin; that the insurgents had burnt some Turkish villages in the plain of Trebigné and the inhabitants had taken refuge in the fortress; also that the last Turkish post was fired at from the Servian frontier, and that troops from Constantinople, sent through Kleck, would have a good effect, as it was everywhere believed that Austria would not consent.

On the 9th your Excellency desired to know whether the post had been fired at from the Servian or Montenegrin frontier, to which I replied that the post was fired at twice from the Servian frontier, near Baniska and Vishegrad; that the insurgents and Montenegrins with them were increasing; that all roads were intercepted except that to Metkovich, and the telegraph wires cut in many places; and that reinforcements had been announced from Constantinople through Kleck.

I have also received your Excellency's telegram of the 9th informing me that two transports had left Constantinople for Kleck with reinforcements for the Herzegovina, as well as your Excellency's instruction to send home copies of all my telegrams to you.

With regard to the first telegram, the Turkish troops having retreated from the villages where they were fighting established themselves in the town of Nevessin, where they were completely surrounded by the insurgents, and their position inspired some uneasiness. However, they have been relieved by four companies from Mostar, who joined them, bringing provisions and ammunition.

A body of thirty-four Zaptiehs and soldiers of a frontier regiment were also surrounded in a small block-house between Nevessin and Dabra, and it seemed impossible to relieve them. Information has just been received that they have passed through the insurgent bands and arrived safe at Stolatz with their arms and ammunition.

There is no further news from Trebigné, since the telegraph wires in that direction have been cut, but the Governor-General says that the town and fort is well supplied with provisions and ammunition.

The Governor-General does not attribute any political importance to the fact of the post having been fired at from the Servian frontier, as there are plenty of unsettled characters who always make their appearance there when there are troubles in Bosnia. A small block-house between Trebrenitza and Svornik was also attacked by a party crossing the Drina from Servia, and a soldier was killed. These affairs, however, always give rise to a certain excitement here, as the inhabitants dread the idea of a Servian force cutting off the communication between Bosnia and the rest of Turkey, and feel reassured when they know that Vishegrad is well garrisoned and that the frontier is quiet. Some reinforcements coming from Monastir, consisting of two battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry, will be placed along the Servian frontier, and will have a good effect in quieting agitation.

During the week Dervish Pasha showed me a letter which had just arrived from the inhabitants of Gatzko, begging for succour, and stating that Moxim and Stanko, magnates of Bagnani (the former brother-in-law of Prince Nicolas), were marching with a strong force to attack Gatzko. No further news of this matter has been received.

The Governor-General informs me that he is expecting four battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry through Kleck; also five vessels of war. There is no doubt that this will make an immense moral impression on the insurgents, as they have been told by the population of Dalmatia and Croatia that the Austrian Government is friendly to them,

and would not permit the Turks to receive reinforcements through Kleck or Ragusa. Indeed, the Governor-General thinks that the fact of thus receiving reinforcements will go far to break up the strength of the rebellion. At the same time there should be no stint in supplying the requisite number of troops; and on account of the difficult nature of the country, many more are required than would be at first supposed necessary. The numerical force of the insurgents is increasing every hour. It is said that nearly the whole of the Herzegovina is more or less in movement, and that those who aid them from Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Servia, become every day more numerous, so that a number of troops which would have been ample to suppress the rebellion a fortnight ago is not sufficient now. However, the Grand Vizier has assured Dervish Pasha of his thorough support.

The Governor-General had made a requisition for a thousand baggage-horses from the peasants of Bosnia, for the transport of provisions and ammunition; but the wealthy people, Christians as well as Mussulmans, of the Sandjaks of Serajevo, Travnik, Banialuka, Bihach, and Svornik, have, of their own initiative, in order to spare the peasants, offered to procure and present to the Government 600 horses, which shall be distributed amongst the different battalions, a certain number of soldiers of each being told off to perform the transport service. Dervish Pasha has telegraphed to Constantinople for permission to accept this offer.

It is said that a body of about 120 Zaptiehs are in a critical position in Lubingé, and orders have been sent to Stolatz to relieve them, if possible, and enable them to hold out there until reinforcements arrive from Constantinople.

With this exception matters remain *in statu quo*. The insurgents have made no attacks, and the troops remain in their positions, on the defensive, until the arrival of sufficient reinforcements to enable them to commence offensive operations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 98.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 447.)
Therapia, August 17, 1875.

My Lord,

IT is impossible to deny the truth of the accusation against the Porte of want of energy in dealing with the insurrection in the Herzegovina, which consequently threatens to assume a very serious aspect.

I have been for some days too unwell to be able to attend to business; but upon endeavouring to-day to ascertain what had been done, I find to my surprise that, excepting the 2,000 men, or, to speak more correctly, the two battalions, not amounting, probably, to 1,400, sent in a slow old transport last week, not an additional soldier had been forwarded.

The officers and men are said to have gone in a most discontented frame of mind, and to have openly complained that while they were ordered on service they were obliged to leave their wives and families to starve, as their heavy arrears of pay were withheld.

I have sent this morning to the Grand Vizier to urge the necessity of greater vigour being shown in dealing with a movement which, if trifled with, may have very serious consequences.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 99.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 450.)
Therapia, August 18, 1875.

My Lord,

THE inclosed report from Mr. Sandison contains his account of a conversation with the Grand Vizier, to whom I had directed him to communicate Mr. Consul Holmes' telegram of an insurrectionary movement in the north of Bosnia, of which nothing appears to have been heard at the Porte.

Your Lordship will not fail to be struck with the confidence with which the Grand Vizier speaks of suppressing the insurrection in the Herzegovina, and with the insufficiency of the measures taken to meet a movement of any real magnitude.

The Grand Vizier, however, only faithfully reflects the tone assumed by his Sovereign upon this occasion, for when I spoke to His Majesty about the Herzegovina on Thursday last, he treated the matter as too insignificant to deserve a moment's thought.

Before professing to be able to share the confidence of the Sultan and his Ministers, I should be glad to have some intimation of the ground upon which it rests, and I should be still better satisfied if I could perceive the slightest indication that precautions were being taken upon anything approaching the scale which common prudence would seem to dictate. The question is beginning to be asked whether the Turkish army exists in reality or only on paper, and the slowness in sending reinforcements to a province where the Governor-General is loudly calling for them has been already enough to provoke it.

Of the six battalions to be sent three are to be brought from Syria, against which a quarantine is everywhere established, on account of the cholera, and it may be supposed that the Austro-Hungarian Government will object to those troops proceeding to Kleck without the usual sanitary precautions, and much delay must be therefore expected, which would not occur if the troops were brought from other ports.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 99.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.) *Therapia, August* 17, 1875.

Sir,

NOTWITHSTANDING that matters have taken a very serious turn since the announcement of an insurrection in the north of Bosnia also, the Grand Vizier, to whom I communicated the news this afternoon, spoke most confidently of the ample means which the Government was able to dispose of at this moment for putting down any rebellion in that or any other parts of European Turkey.

The fact of the "Red" Republicans being now in the ascendant in Servia by the fall of the old Ministry did not augur favourably for the preservation of the peace of the bordering Turkish provinces. But, provided Austria preserved a strict neutrality, his Highness declared the Sultan's Government to be in a position to face any combination or joint attack of Servia, Montenegro, and the disaffected provinces against its authority. Now that the time for action had come, full powers, he said, have been given to Dervish Pasha, the Vali of Bosnia, to call out the Bosnian Redifs, and, through the joint efforts of the reinforcements from other places, to crush the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

The programme of retrenchment and economy, he added, would be entirely laid aside, and every pecuniary sacrifice made for the above object.

His Highness then proceeded to enumerate the reinforcements which the Government are preparing to dispatch to the scene of action.

These would consist of three battalions arrived from Shumla on Sunday last, and three battalions which have been ordered away from Syria, in spite of quarantine, thus giving a total of eight battalions, inclusive of the two already embarked on board of an old transport on the 9th instant.

Permission has been granted by the Austro-Hungarian Government for the landing of the latter at Kleck, but report says that it will not be extended to the six battalions which have yet to be embarked, and which will consequently be sent to Salonica, whence, it is expected, they might reach their destination in a fortnight by forced marches

On the other hand, the Bosnian Redifs, which are computed at about 10,000 men, will perhaps require about double the time before they can be collected, equipped, and properly organized to take the field in the Herzegovina.

The services of the troops in garrison at various important points being thus dispensed with, the Commander-in-chief, Dervish Pasha, will be able to form the Redifs and the other available forces into flying columns for pursuing and attacking the insurgents.

Whilst, however, the standing Turkish army is estimated at 150,000 strong, it is asserted that the Government can hardly reckon on an effective force of 60,000 men, who are, moreover, scattered over the various parts of the Empire, the accuracy of which statement would seem to be fully borne out by the fact that the Government is hardly able to get together 10,000 or 20,000 men at such a juncture.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 100.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 451. Confidential.) *Therapia, August* 18, 1875.

My Lord,

GENERAL IGNATIEW returned here last week from leave of absence, and Count Zichy a few days later, the absence of both Ambassadors having been considerably shorter than had been anticipated.

It was known that General Ignatiew had determined to shorten his absence before the insurrection in the Herzegovina broke out, and his return cannot, therefore, be attributed to what is occurring there, but Count Zichy's return is directly attributable to that cause.

If there had been, as was hoped, any disposition on the part of the Vienna Cabinet to judge or act independently of Russia in reference to the events in the Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian Embassy would probably have been allowed to continue under the direction of Baron Herbert, the Chargé d'Affaires, who is not so subservient as his Chief.

The newspapers announced that, upon Count Zichy's arrival, General Ignatiew proceeded in his steam-launch to the Upper Bosphorus, and landed his colleague from the mail steamer, by which courteous act, if correct, he secured his car before any communication could pass with the Sultan's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 101.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 454. Confidential.) *Therapia, August* 19, 1875.

My Lord,

I SAW General Ignatiew to-day for the first time since his return, and had some conversation with him on the state of things in the Herzegovina, which gave me a tolerable insight into the game which the credulity and blind confidence of his Austro-Hungarian colleagues enables him to play with much prospect of success.

Speaking confidentially to me, and knowing that what he said would not be repeated to Count Zichy, he did not hesitate to attribute the present rising in a great degree to the recent visit of the Emperor Francis Joseph to Dalmatia, to His Majesty's attempts to conciliate the Slav populations, and to his acceptance of petitions from Christian subjects of the Sultan setting forth their grievances, and saying that they looked upon His Majesty as their protector.

General Ignatiew did not, of course, mean to insinuate that the Emperor had any intention of encouraging a movement against the Porte; but His Majesty's ignorance of the nature of the people had allowed him to excite hopes and expectations which had led to the present insurrection.

It is not to be doubted that the Russian Ambassador will endeavour to impress this view upon the minds of the Turkish Ministers, nor can it be denied that he may do so with much truth; but he will then be in a position to show that it is to himself, as practically directing the proceedings of the three Northern Embassies, that the Porte must turn to save it from the consequences of the ill-considered acts of the Austro-Hungarian Government.

In another respect the General's language was very different from that of Count Zichy, who justly reproaches the Porte for the want of energy that has been shown in dispatching sufficient troops to the Herzegovine to cope with the movement.

General Ignatiew's object, on the contrary, is to prove that the Porte has already in Bosnia and the Herzegovina quite sufficient troops for the purpose, and that there need be no hurry in sending more.

He had, he says, satisfied the Grand Vizier that all that was required was a more intelligent grouping of the force, instead of allowing it to remain scattered in detachments all over the country, and as his Highness has been throughout disposed to take the same view, it is only too probable that reinforcements may not be sent as promptly as would be desirable.

General Ignatiew's argument against the dispatch of too many troops is chiefly based

upon the bad effect that might be produced upon other Christian provinces if they were led to believe that the present movement was upon a formidable scale; but, at the same time, while he considers that there is nothing that need at present be looked upon as alarming, he admits that if within a month order is not re-established, he will then regard it as serious.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 102.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 455.) *Therapia, August 20, 1875.*

My Lord,

YESTERDAY Count Zichy remarked that it was inexplicable to him that the movement in the Herzegovina, which had begun upon such an insignificant scale, should have been allowed to develop into its present proportions, instead of being energetically crushed, as it might so easily have been, at the outset, and he threw much blame on Dervish Pasha for his inaction.

I told my colleague that I could easily make this intelligible to him.

When the refugees, after their return from Montenegro, rose against the authorities with the few men they had at that time collected, Dervish Pasha telegraphed to the Porte for authority to move a battalion from Bosna Serai to crush the movement at once, and before it had time to spread.

The Porte, however, had feared to face the accusations that would have been brought against it of marching troops against a few opposed villages.

I had been kept acquainted with the application made by Dervish Pasha, and was informed at the time of the cause of the hesitation in acceding to it.

Count Zichy appeared much embarrassed as I gave him this simple, but undoubted, explanation, which showed how much of the responsibility of what was occurring rested with his Government for their manner of acting in questions between the Porte and its Christian subjects.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 103.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 456.) *Therapia, August 20, 1875.*

My Lord,

IT may be right to mention to your Lordship that some days ago there appeared in the local newspapers, copied from the Austrian "Danube," a Proclamation purporting to have been issued by Dervish Pasha, Governor-General of Bosnia, to the insurgents of the Herzegovina, and couched in fanatical and inflammatory terms.

I have abstained from sending it to your Lordship, as its apocryphal character was self-evident, and it has now been officially disavowed by the Ottoman Government, but not till after a considerable effect had been produced by it upon the Christian population.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 104.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 460.) *Therapia, August 20, 1875.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a report from Mr. Sandison of a proposal made to the Porte by the Ambassadors of the three Northern Powers for sending delegates from the Embassies to the scene of the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

Count Zichy called upon me and explained that this step had been concerted at Vienna between the three Governments, but that there was to be no identic communication from them to the Porte.

The distinction between "concerted" and "identic" appeared a fine one, and it is not at the first blush evident why the concert upon a matter of general European interest should have been arranged between the three Powers alone.

The insurgent populations certainly imagine that they can count upon the present sympathy, and hope for the future support of Austria-Hungary, and any mode by which they can be persuaded that they are deceiving themselves, would be attended with benefit.

The action of the delegates who, it is understood, would be Consular officers from the the neighbourhood, if strictly confined within the limits proposed, does not appear open to exception; but, if it is to be so confined, it is not apparent why the consent of the Porte was to be asked for it, and this remark has already been made to me by the Grand Vizier.

There was no reason why the Governments should ask for the sanction of the Porte for a Consul to visit any part of his district (indeed, Mr. Consul Holmes has already proceeded to Mostar), and there could also be nothing to prevent the Governments from instructing the Consuls to assure those connected with the insurgents that they must not expect foreign support.

The danger to be apprehended from this sort of action is, that the Consuls may not be satisfied with remaining strictly within the part assigned to them, but may wish to make themselves the medium of communication between the insurgents and the Turkish authorities, which would be deprecated by the Porte, and be likely to lead to embarrassment and direct interference.

Notwithstanding this objection the Porte has not received the proposal with dislike, but it was at once evident that it would be undesirable that the three Powers should be allowed to assume a separate attitude, and I called yesterday upon my French colleague to express my own decided opinion that unless the Porte should show a strong repugnance to it, we and the Italians should act with our colleagues.

I did not find Baron de Bourgoing at home, but he called upon me this morning, and said that he had just been instructed to associate himself with them.

I said I had no instructions from your Lordship, but that I should not hesitate, unless otherwise directed, to desire Mr. Consul Holmes, who is already in Mostar, to act in the manner proposed.

M. Cova, the Italian Chargé d'Affaires, likewise called upon me, and wished to conform, as far as possible, with the suggestion which had come from Vienna, but was in some difficulty owing to the temporary absence of the Italian Consul from Bosnia.

I said that, as it was desirable that the populations should see that there was unanimity among all the Governments, if he liked it, whenever a communication was to be made to Mr. Holmes by Her Majesty's Embassy, I would be very ready to inform him, that he might state that the Italian Legation coincided with it.

The Grand Vizier called upon me this afternoon, having previously seen both the Austrian and Russian Ambassadors, his object being to beg me not to hold back from instructing Mr. Holmes in the same sense as that in which my colleagues propose to instruct their respective Consuls.

He looked upon this as a matter of the utmost importance to the Porte, and his anxiety that a British Consular Agent should join those of the other Powers was increased by his knowledge of Mr. Holmes, in whom he knew the Porte could place perfect confidence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 104.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Therapia, August 19, 1875.

Sir,

NOT having been able to answer the Grand Vizier's question this afternoon as to whether your Excellency had had any communication from Safvet Pasha respecting a proposal which was made to the Porte yesterday by three Ambassadors, namely, of Russia, Germany, and Austria, I have been desired by his Highness to acquaint you with the nature of the same.

In view of the insurrectionary movement in the Herzegovina acquiring greater extension, it was proposed that three delegates, representing the three Embassies, should proceed to the scene of the insurrection and formally declare to the insurgents that they

must expect no support or encouragement whatever from Russia, Germany, and Austria, as well as from any of the Principalities.

Moreover, that they should advise and recommend the insurgents to desist from hostilities, and make known, through a deputation, their complaints and grievances to a High Commissioner appointed by the Porte to hear and examine them; the proposition provides that the mission of the delegates should go no further, and that the rest of the task should entirely devolve upon the Porte's Commissioner.

Though it would in principle be admitting foreign intervention in the affairs of the Herzegovina, the Porte does not seem altogether averse to the course proposed, considering the discouragement which the declaration of the delegates is calculated to give the insurgents on the one hand, and the confidence which it is likely to inspire them with on the other, on the score of their grievances.

His Highness said he would wish to come and see your Excellency on the subject to-morrow, and seemed on the whole rather in favour of the proposal in question.

I beg leave to add, on reliable authority, that there is a notion already of selecting Server Pasha as the Porte's Commissioner for the object above referred to, and have, &c.

(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 105.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 461. Confidential.)

Therapia, August 20, 1875.

My Lord,

THE Grand Vizier, in speaking to-day of the policy of Austria in the question of the Herzegovina, said that, although he could not suppose that Power to be anxious to prolong or aggravate the present state of things, he was bound to admit that her conduct was, in the highest degree, equivocal and open to suspicion.

He had, he said, told Count Zichy that his Government was pursuing a policy which they would themselves have the greatest reason to regret.

They were trying an impossibility.

They professed to wish to persuade the discontented Turkish populations that they had nothing to expect from them, while at the same time they endeavoured to avoid offending the people of the same race within their frontier who were sympathising with the insurgents.

All the arms and ammunition for the insurgents came, the Grand Vizier declared, from the Austrian territory, 20,000 guns having passed by the Bocche di Cattaro, and now the Imperial Government, without absolutely refusing the passage of the Turkish troops by Kleck, was beginning to intimate that they would prefer their going by any other route, as it gave umbrage to their subjects.

There had been some wish to send a division of the Turkish fleet to Kleck, but it was found that this would not be tolerated.

If the Austro-Hungarian Government had been sincerely desirous that the populations should be convinced that they did not sympathize in the movement, they might have been expected to act differently.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 106.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 29. Political.)

Belgrade, August 17, 1875.

My Lord,

I REGRET to have to report to your Lordship that the affairs of Servia have assumed a much more critical aspect within the last few days.

The question of Servia assuming openly a hostile attitude towards the Porte has been canvassed in the electoral districts, and has attained seemingly such favour in the popular mind that the partizans of the adoption of such a course have been rising in public estimation, and that the majority of Servian Ministers (I believe six out of seven) expressed to the Prince on Saturday last that they were prepared to recommend such a policy to His Highness.

The Prince is said to have asked for time to consider so grave a matter; and on the following day (Sunday the 15th instant) the result of the general elections for the Skoupstchina got known to the Government.

This result showed that though the Government might perhaps reckon on a small majority on certain questions, the new Assembly would contain many notorious opponents of the men at present in office; whilst it was evident at the same time that wherever a decided advocate of a revolutionary war against Turkey was confronted by a doubtful candidate, the preference was given by the electors to the former one.

The Ministry feeling the ground so insecure under them, placed their resignation in the hands of the Prince yesterday in the forenoon, as I had the honour to inform your Lordship by telegraph.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

P.S.—The nature of the contents of this despatch and that marked No. 30 has prevented my sending copies of them at present to Constantinople by the ordinary post.

W. A. W.

No. 107.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 30. Political. Confidential.)

Belgrade, August 18, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I had a private audience from the Prince of Servia yesterday afternoon. His Highness entered into conversation with me on the subject of the desire manifested by his people to support, even by arms, the insurgents in Bosnia and in the Herzegovina against the Porte.

Having been instructed on the 11th instant, by Sir Henry Elliot, by telegraph, "to use my best efforts to counteract any such disposition," I exhausted every argument to show the Prince the great dangers to which such a course would expose himself and his country, and the improbability of their deriving any advantage, even if successful for a time, of which there was so little likelihood. I alluded to the paucity of the resources of Servia, and to the offence which such a breach of faith on his part would be sure to cause to the guaranteeing Powers, some of which I believe he had lately consulted at Vienna.

The Prince discussed this matter with me very calmly, and at considerable length; he assured me that the advice given him at Vienna by the organs of the three Empires was by no means so precise as had been asserted; that it appeared to him cloudy ("nébuleux"), though extremely pacific, and that he had been told that he was the best judge of what he had to do, and that he carried off the impression that, should the revolution even spread, the principle of non-intervention would be adhered to by all the Powers.

He assured me that he had as yet formed no decided opinion, but that he was viewing with apprehension the growing disposition of his people to join in this movement, and that if the Prince of Montenegro did so, he should have to follow at once. In the meantime he would endeavour to form a new Cabinet, consisting, if possible, of the leading men of Servia, such as M. Ristitch, M. Marinovitch, &c., but that he felt he should have to be guided ultimately by the advice of his Ministers and by the wishes of his people.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 108.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 33. Political.)

Belgrade, August 20, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that within the last few days the Government of Servia has been carried on by the Ministers who had resigned on Monday last, and, as far as I am able to learn, these gentlemen have taken upon themselves to

prepare certain measures which might enable the country to carry on military operations if such a resolution was ultimately adopted.

They have called out the national militia for the autumn manœuvres, without fixing yet the day for their assembling; they have drawn up a scheme for raising a sum of 500,000*l.* for the Exchequer, partly by means of some financial operation, and partly by an extraordinary war contribution; and they have secretly entered into preliminary arrangements for a variety of supplies for their army, which I do not believe have as yet been definitively concluded.

There is no doubt, however, that at the same time private parties, whether with the cognizance of the Government or not I cannot say, have given their aid and co-operation in fomenting disturbances in Bosnia, and in assisting the insurgents in that Province. There is even reason to fear that munitions of war, and even arms, from the Government stores, find their way to the insurgent camp.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 109.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 30.)

(No. 34. Political.) *Belgrade, August* 21, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Prince of Servia, in accordance with what he stated to me on the 17th instant, has made an appeal to the leading public men of his country, with a view to form a Cabinet which could meet the new Assembly or "Skoupstchina" on Friday next, and inaugurate some decided line of policy sufficiently popular to work public affairs without the constant dread of internal commotion.

The next Assembly is known to include, besides many ignorant peasants, some notorious characters who made themselves prominent and troublesome during the former Session, besides others who are either personally hostile to the Prince or who have been active in advocating direct or indirect hostilities in common with the Christian subjects of Turkey.

To transact public business with an Assembly so composed is unfortunately no easy task, even in ordinary times, but especially so now, when the exciting news from the Herzegovina have led many people here to suppose that, if the Military Empires were willing to forego from acts of intervention, an insurrection might assume such proportions in the Christian Provinces of Turkey, with the co-operation, of course, of Servia and Montenegro, as to strain to the utmost the resources of the Ottoman Empire, and to obtain ultimately, by means of negotiations, supported by the friendly intervention of the Great Powers, the establishment of a new or of a modified order of things in some of these provinces.

Up to this moment no Servian public man has declared himself ready to undertake the formation of a Ministry under present circumstances, for every one of those who possess any influence dreads the responsibility which may be incurred by exposing the country to dangers by a rash action, on the one hand, or the accusation of indifference to the national cause—which is sure to be hurled at the head of any inactive Minister—on the other.

M. Marinovitch would be the Minister most acceptable to European diplomacy. I had a long conversation with him a few days ago, and I believe him to be a sincere patriot and a very honest man. He does not disguise that he is a strong partisan of following the advice of the Russian Cabinet, but in the present crisis he would listen to the voice of the three Military Empires, and he would employ his influence to prevent Servia from taking any direct part in the insurrection so long as Russia was opposed to such a step. He told me that he had drawn up a scheme for the reform of the Turkish Administration in Bosnia and in the Herzegovina (he is a native of the former Province), and that his Memorandum on the subject had, to some extent, been employed at Vienna, whither he accompanied Prince Milan in drawing up the instructions for Count Zichy. Unfortunately, M. Marinovitch is not popular in Servia, and has hardly any adherents in the new "Skoupstchina;" he is, besides, not at all desirous of taking office at the present moment.

His rival, the former Regent, M. Ristitch, is known as a most ambitious and unscrupulous person. He is personally very much disliked by the Prince but he has great

influence with the majority of the Assembly, and, if willing to do so, might sway its determinations even in favour of the temporary inaction of Servia.

Mr. Ristitch is no favourite at St. Petersburgh. He is quite detested at Pesth and Vienna from his previous dealings with the Slavonic agitators in Hungary; and, moreover, he is suspected strongly by his own Prince of seeking to render him unpopular, with a view to bring about a revolution in Servia, and to attain supreme power as Regent, President, or under any other title.

The Prince has told several persons, since his return from Vienna, that he feels his own position getting quite desperate, but that he prefers becoming an exile after a defeat than having to leave his realm under the accusation that he had discontented his subjects through the fear of striking a blow in favour of the national cause, so dear to their hearts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 110.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 30.)

(No. 37. Political.) *Belgrade, August* 22, 1875.

My Lord,

IN the very peculiar and critical circumstances into which the affairs of Servia have drifted within the last fortnight, it may not be uninteresting to your Lordship to be informed of the attitude observed by my foreign colleagues in this Principality.

It is but natural that the concert established between the three Military Empires and the recent attitude assumed by them at Constantinople has given to the agents of these Courts in these parts a position somewhat different from that of the other guaranteeing Powers. I am not informed what were the views of these Consuls previous to the visit of Prince Milan to Vienna; but I have heard them express since apprehensions exactly similar to mine with regard to the future of Servia, and to the dangers which may arise hence.

My French colleague has questioned me as to the steps that might be taken by us jointly in the interests of peace, but I deprecated everything which might possibly give umbrage to any of the others, and thus do harm to the cause we had equally at heart.

The Austrian Diplomatic Agent, Prince Wrede, who has only arrived quite lately, has been consistently engaged in following up the instructions of his Government, whilst the German Acting Consul-General has been altogether passive.

I have reason to believe that the Russian Agent received three days ago instructions from St. Petersburgh to urge the Prince of Servia to hold a strictly pacific attitude. I consider this to be a most important influence, and so powerful that if it had been brought to bear somewhat earlier in that direction, it might have been possible to avoid many of the existing difficulties.

I have endeavoured to carry out, to the best of my ability, the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, as conveyed to me by telegraph by Sir Henry Elliot on the 14th instant. My Italian colleague, Count Jomini, has most ably exerted himself for the same object. He has received almost daily communications from his Government, informing him of what was going on with regard to Servia at the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburgh.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 111.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received August* 30.)

(No. 38. Political.) *Belgrade, August* 23, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the Prince of Servia, having failed in forming a new Cabinet, has induced his former Government to continue in office *pro. tem.*

The Ministry will proceed to Kragonievatz, and will open the Skoupstchina, or Assembly, there on Friday next, the 27th instant, by Commission.

The Prince will not leave Belgrade. He is said to be anxious, disheartened, and ill.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 112.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 134.) *Athens, August 20, 1875.*

My Lord,

M. TRICOUPI, Hellenic Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed me yesterday that he had tried to find me on the previous day in consequence of intelligence from Janina, in Epirus, which greatly disquieted him. I was aware, he said, that during the last few years the suppression of brigandage in the Turkish provinces bordering on Greece had been confided to Mehemit Ali Pacha. That General had succeeded in his mission, and the Greek nation had reason to be extremely grateful to him for his energy and stedfastness of purpose; but the means which he had adopted to attain his end had been different to those employed in Greece, where brigandage had been extirpated by relentless pursuit, and the infliction of justice upon the malefactors. Mehemet Ali Pacha had induced the surrender of a very large number of bands by extending to them promises of comparatively light punishment —two years' imprisonment, and five years' surveillance. The period of imprisonment had, in a large number of cases, expired; and fearing the inefficiency of the surveillance, the Greek Government had, a short while since, asked that on release from confinement the brigands should be transported to some distant province of the Turkish Empire. Mehemet Ali Pacha had shown much annoyance at this proposal, holding that it implied a doubt as to his ability to carry out his programme. The Greek Government had, therefore, at once desisted from their request, and had stated that Greece could have no better guarantee for peace on the frontier than the presence of Mehemet Ali.

But his Excellency had been informed by the Greek Consul at Janina that the Turkish Government proposed to dispatch Mehemet Ali Pacha to the scene of the insurrection in the Herzegovina. He very much feared that the absence of the General from his present command would be the signal for the released brigands to recur to their nefarious means of livelihood, and that not only brigandage and all its concomitant evils would return, but that disaffection would more easily express itself, and disturbances might arise.

M. Tricoupi said that, during the Cretan insurrection, Servia and Roumania had assumed a threatening attitude towards the Porte, which had been successful in obtaining for them the concession of many small points withheld, while their good-will was a matter of no consequence. He did not consider this to be the right policy for Greece on the present occasion. On the contrary, he proposed both to do his best to show that Greece felt no satisfaction at the difficulties in which the Herzegovina involved the Porte, and he even proposed, if the King should consent, to put a paragraph in the Royal Speech, which His Majesty will deliver on Monday next at the opening of the new Parliament, to announce the pacific attitude of Greece towards the Porte, in order to dispel any hope of sympathy or assistance being given to the insurrection from this country.

There were at present, his Excellency went on to say, three questions pending between Greece and Turkey, in which generous and friendly action on the part of the Porte would be very agreeable to the Hellenic Government: and he could not but hope that such assistance as might be lent to the Porte by the attitude in the present crisis, which he had indicated, on the part of the Greek Government, would find a response in concessions which could easily be made by the Porte, and would serve greatly to consolidate good relations.

In the case of the desire of Greece to make a Commercial Convention with Roumania, the Porte had promised two months ago to make a communication shortly as to the course it would wish to be adopted. Since then nothing further had been heard on the subject. To Greece the urgency was great. Her relations with Roumania were at a standstill, as the Government of that country, in reply to all remonstrance on various matters of commercial interest, replied that the Commercial Treaty would settle everything.

The Commissioners at Constantinople on the question of naturalization had ceased to sit; the point of dissidence being whether the year 1855 or the year 1859 should be accepted as the period previous to which certificates of nationality should be accepted without further proof.

In reply to M. Tricoupi's request that the Porte would take into consideration the question of communication by rail between Athens and Salonica, he had received a courteous but unfavourable reply.

M. Tricoupi hoped that the present attitude of the Greek Government would render the Porte more pliant in negotiation, and he was above all extremely anxious that nothing should occur in the Turkish Provinces neighbouring to Greece which should lead to difficulties between the two Governments; he therefore asked me to telegragh to Sir Henry

Elliot to beg his Excellency to use his influence to prevent the withdrawal of Mehmet Ali Pacha from the frontier command, for, as he had stated in the outset, the news of the intention of the Porte gave him great uneasiness and serious apprehension for the future.

I telegraphed to your Lordship and to Sir Henry Elliot when I returned home.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 113.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 135. Confidential.)

Athens, August 20, 1875.

My Lord,

IN my telegraphic despatch to His Excellency Sir Henry Elliot, recorded in my No. 133 of yesterday's date, I stated that I believed M. Tricoupi to be thoroughly sincere in his desire to prevent trouble arising in the relations between Greece and Turkey. M. Tricoupi has repeatedly stated his desire to be on friendly terms with Turkey, but his frank avowal of the necessity in which he should find himself to support Greek pretensions, even if they amount to insurrection, has not unnaturally produced some mistrust in his friendly professions. It is, however, my belief that we may have confidence in them.

No sympathy has been shown in Athens with the insurgents in the Herzegovina. Sclave Provinces may arise and be subdued by the sword without producing a louder beat in the heart of a Greek; but were a single village in the Turco-Greek Provinces to fancy that the beginning of the opportunity had come, and were to raise the standard of revolt, every Greek in the kingdom would burn with sympathy and the desire to prove it.

I believe M. Tricoupi to be frankly anxious to avoid such a conjuncture, and that he proposes to emphasize the friendly attitude of Greece towards Turkey in the present crisis, in order to prevent the Greeks in the Greco-Turkish Provinces from supposing that their hour has come.

If he thinks that this attitude entitles him to the special gratitude of the Porte, and if, in consequence, he asks for certain concessions in the path of peaceful progress, he will only be taking a fair advantage of the favourable position he conceives himself to hold.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 114.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 12. Political.)

Bosna Serai, August 21, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch marked No. 26, which I have just addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, regarding an insurrection that has broken out in the North of Bosnia, near Gradiska.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 114.

Acting Consul Freeman to Sir H. Elliot.

Bosna Serai, August 21, 1875.

Sir,

ON the 16th instant Mr. Holmes telegraphed to your Excellency that an insurrection had broken out in the north of Bosnia, near Gradiska; that this was extremely serious, and that more troops would be required from Constantinople.

This movement originally began at Kozaratz, in the district of Griedor, and is said to have been at the instigation of a certain Pezzia, a renowned brigand in Bosnia some eighteen years ago. He was in prison at Constantinople for many years, and was then sent to

Bosnia to complete his term of imprisonment. On the way, however, he managed to escape from the police who had charge of him, and has since then lived in Servia. The insurgents at first intercepted the road from Baniluka to Gradiska and cut the telegraph wire, but they appear to have soon retired from that vicinity, and telegraphic communication has been re-established. They have burnt several of the guard-houses placed along the frontier, and put to death a non-commissioned officer and two privates of a frontier regiment whom they found in one of them; also one or two other acts of violence and murder are said to have been committed by them. Their number, which is variously stated at figures varying between 300 and 600, is slightly on the increase; and they have advanced as far as Kobash, about four hours from Derbent, on the Brood road. Two battalions of redif and two squadrons of cavalry have been sent against them, and it is reported there will be an encounter either to-morrow or the next day. A battalion of redif has also been stationed at Derbent, to watch the Brood road, and endeavour to keep communication with the frontier uninterrupted.

Many families from Bosnia, both Mussulman as well as Christian, are said to be seeking refuge in Austria.

The whole "redif," or reserve force of the province, amounting in all to sixteen battalions of upwards of a thousand strong each, have now been called out, and bashibazouks are being enrolled in every district. I think this latter measure is decidedly objectionable—as these irregular forces, who are composed chiefly of the worst characters in the country, rarely do good service, and their principal aim is plunder; besides which, the encouragement to arm thus given to the Mussulmans makes matters assume more the character of a religious warfare, and considerably increases the enmity already existing between the Turk and the Christian. When the conscription was enforced in Bosnia, it was understood that irregular troops would no longer be enrolled, and I think it is very unwise to return to this objectionable system.

At daybreak this morning there was rather an extensive conflagration in the Christian quarter of the town, and I have heard it bruited about that it was an act of incendiarism on the part of the Turks. I believe, however, that there is no foundation for such a report, and that it originated in the affrighted imagination of some timid Christian. The utmost order prevailed, and the military and police force used their best endeavours to arrest the progress of the fire. I should hardly have considered the matter worth reporting to your Excellency, but in the present excited state of public feeling it is not improbable that the incident may be misrepresented, and taken up and perverted for their own purposes by the Slav press.

I would state in conclusion that an opinion seems to be entertained here by all classes that the Ferik Hussein Husni Pacha, *locum tenens* of Dervish Pacha during his absence in the Herzegovina, although possessed of the best intentions, has not the necessary capacity to efficiently perform at this critical moment the duties which devolve upon him; and it is very desirable that he should be replaced by some really capable officer, if Dervish Pacha remains in the Herzegovina, to take active command of the operations against the insurgents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 115.

Consul Sir C. Sebright to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 7. Political. Confidential.) *Corfu, August 24, 1875.*

My Lord,

I REGRET to have to report to your Lordship that since the commencement of the outbreak in Herzegovina the intrigues of the Secret Association, whose avowed object it is to foment disturbances in the Ottoman Provinces, and of which Corfu, for more than fifty years, has been the focus, has begun to give proofs of renewed activity.

A few days ago the Russian Vice-Consul, stationed at Prevesa, came up here, and after a stay of only 24 hours, returned to his post, taking with him between 20,000 and 30,000 dollars in specie.

Since then, I am informed on reliable authority, that remittances to a considerable amount in specie have been sent by the same parties to agents in upper Albania.

I am no "Russophobe," but it is impossible to remain blind to the intimate relations maintained, and now being drawn tighter, between the Russian Consulate here and the anti-Turkish agitators.

The Russian Vice-Consul here is the same who figured in Crete at the time of the last insurrection in that Island—"smooth water and deep." But he is more sharply looked after than he possibly imagines.

The most active members of the anti-Turkish League (it can hardly be called a secret society) are Parguinotes, settled here since their expulsion from their native territory, in the time of Ali Pasha Tepelén. Many of them, since they found a new settlement and hospitality in Corfu, under our Protectorate, have been successful in trade and have acquired considerable fortunes. Their influence now extends all over Roumelia, and their hatred of the Turks appears to be more and more intensified by time, so that they will make any sacrifice to bring about a revolution in Epirus. Of this I am well persuaded, and the present moment appears favourable for the successful prosecution of this deeply cherished object.

I yesterday wrote to Mr. Malet to inform him of the recent remittances of specie to Epirus, but I do not see, at so great a distance from the centre of action, that he can turn the information to any useful account.

Your Lordship may rest assured that copies of all my reports on political subjects, as on all other matters of any importance, are regularly forwarded to the Legation at Athens.

I have learnt so thoroughly to respect and value Mr. Stuart's superior judgment, that I heartily wish it were in my power to submit my reports, of whatever nature, for his approval before sending them in.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES SEBRIGHT.

No. 116.

Mr. Monson to Mr. Effrench.—(Received at the Foreign Office, August 30.)

(No. 109. Confidential.) *Buda-Pesth, August 25, 1875.*

Sir,

I CALLED on Baron Wenckheim, the Prime Minister, this morning, and his Excellency, hearing that I had been last week at Belgrade, asked me what I had heard during my visit to Servia.

I told Baron Wenckheim that I was at Belgrade only a few hours, and that I had not time to form any impressions which could be worth much, but that it seemed to me that peaceful counsels were likely to prevail for the present.

Baron Wenckheim said that the young Prince Milan was in an unenviable position, but that he was *sharp*, and at the same time not to be depended upon. His Excellency could not understand how even the Oriental apathy had allowed the insurrection to acquire so much force as to encourage Servia to talk of taking part with the insurgents. The Porte must have the power to put down the rising, and it was scandalous that the Government had not shown more energy.

His Excellency went on to speak of the general condition of things in Turkey, and said that while it was eminently desirable that a solution of the present crisis should be promptly found, it was useless to try to hide from oneself that matters had come to an insupportable pass in that country. Things could not go on much longer as they had been doing of late years; if administrative reforms were practicable they must be set in hand without loss of time. Hungary and Austria had no possible interest in the reopening of the Eastern Question; the Empire wanted no annexation of Slav Provinces; but the idea that insurrections might be renewed from year to year was simply unendurable. Referring to the newspaper project of transforming Bosnia into a Vassal State, his Excellency said that he did not see how such a transaction was feasible, nor that it would be of any advantage even if it could be done, and if a suitable ruler could be found for the new Principality, which it was proposed to call into existence. Better government on the part of Turkey was what was wanted. The Christian populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina had real grievances; but if these were removed there would be no pretext for any dynastic rearrangements.

Reverting to the present state of affairs, Baron Wenckheim said that the influx of refugees, and the necessity of increasing the military force on the frontier, were most disagreeable incidents at this moment, involving as they must do an expenditure which Hungary can ill afford. But at the same time the sympathy felt for the insurgents by the

inhabitants of Croatia and Slavonia was too notorious and too marked to be neglected; and the Government must take every reasonable precaution.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 117.

Mr. Macdonell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 353. Confidential.)
Berlin, August 25, 1875.

My Lord,

TURKHAN BEY, the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires, informs me that he has communicated to Herr von Bülow the contents of a telegram, dated 22nd instant, addressed to him by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, setting forth the reasons which induced the Porte to accept the proposal concerted at Vienna by the three Northern Powers.

The telegram to which I allude appears to have been simultaneously addressed to the Turkish Ambassadors at the principal European Courts.

On receiving communication of the document in question, Herr von Bülow remarked that he was indeed glad that the Porte had met, and accepted the proposal in its true spirit, and without hesitation—as his Excellency felt confident that it was the right, and only step towards a re-establishment of order in the disturbed districts of the Turkish Empire. Moreover, his Excellency added, a more propitious moment could not have been chosen for taking this step which, a fortnight sooner, would have proved unsuccessful.

It is to be regretted that Turkhan Bey did not deem it prudent to seek an explanation of his Excellency's last words, as they tally little with the articles lately published by the "Post," and which are supposed to emanate from the Imperial Chancery.

These extracts, a precied translation of which I have the honour to enclose, may perhaps merit your Lordship's attention; they openly preach revolt and emancipation to the Slavs, and were it not for the fulsome praise of Count Andrassy with which they are interlarded, one might perhaps conclude that they are written with some special object, and are prompted by a desire further to complicate the position of the Austro-Hungarian Government at this critical moment.

I may here remark that the tone of the German press is, and has lately been, if not aggressive, most unfriendly towards England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 117.

Précis of Article in Berlin "Post" of August 27, 1875.

(Translation.)

"THE GREAT POWERS AND TURKEY."—The writer begins by pointing out that even should the present crisis pass, without any marked consequence, the result will bring into evidence the change which has arisen, since the Peace of 1856, in the relations of the great Powers with the Porte. In recent articles, it has been shown that Austria is the Power most vitally affected in the future of the Balkan Peninsula; the question is, whether Austria will assure to the Western Slavs "a civilising development, partly by her immediate, partly by her mediate rule;" whether Panslavism, that dream created by German philology, shall play a role in consequence of the mistakes of German policy.

If the Western Slavs have put before them a choice of Turkish barbarism—Magyar exclusiveness—or Cisleithanian preponderance, they will indubitably look to Panslavism as their only chance of salvation.

This, the greatest error which Austria's statesmen could fall into, will not be committed, in spite of what a part of the Austrian and Hungarian Press may say: we believe Count Andrassy to be fully alive to the importance of this, and therefore regard him as the appointed statesman of the crisis. It is laughable to suppose Andrassy to be the unconditional friend of Turkey, in the sense that the ultra-Magyar Press have tried to make out, and his policy has also the support of the Viennese Court, now "hovering over a strong line of action in Turkey."

Austria's traditional rôle, in Italy as in Germany, has ever been repression, and in our opinion, those are not Austria's friends who would now adopt that policy towards the Western Slavs. Austria is not by any means incapable of an "independent active policy," nor is it true that, if she acquired new Slav subjects, that she must fall back on Federalism, and on a concealed monarchial centralisation. Should Austria acquire a larger share of the Balkan Peninsula, the natural combination for her State would be a triarchy; Cisleithania would remain as she is, in spite of her manifold Slav elements; Hungary, with all her northern Slavs, Roumans, Germans, and other foreigners would be the same; and the third in the triarchy would consist of the Southern Slavs, a more compact nationality than either of the others: Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia would separate from Hungary and amalgamate with the South-Slavish division of the monarchy.

It has been said that Russia, and therefore Germany, would oppose such a policy on the part of Austria: the assumption that Russia must oppose all Austrian advance in the Peninsula can only be admitted on the ground that Russia covets the whole of Turkey for herself alone, and thinks of realising sooner or latter, Panslavanism:—

"And shall the German Empire hold back Austria's arms, so as not to disturb such a monstrosity (Ungeheuerlichkeit)?"

Moreover, it is a pure chimera that Russia would in any way oppose Austria's possible advance in the West of the Balkan Peninsula: Russia has proposed such a proposition years ago, and would back up such a policy, as a surer means of "sequestrating" Constantinople for herself.

Some such thought as this has lately disquieted the policy of England. One must bear in mind that Russia is said to have given assurances in London, that she wished to get no advantage for herself out of the present Slav movement. So says the "Times" article, thereby cheering up all Europe: "The gentlemen of the 'Times' are comforted that Russia will not yet lay her hand on Constantinople, even should the north western part of the Balkan Peninsula withdraw itself from Turkish rule: and now they are trumpeting forth to all the world:—Nothing would be easier than this!"

Inclosure 2 in No. 117.

Extract from the Berlin "Post" of August 25, 1875.

(Translation.)

THE vital interests of Austro-Hungary lie in the Balkan Peninsula. The Magyars should thank their stars that they have a far-sighted statesman who, in this for them most critical moment, directs the policy of Austro-Hungary.

Should the question of the emancipation of the Southern Slavs arise, and should this duty fall on Austria, this would be the most favourable opportunity to bring the new combination of the Balkan Peninsula into unison, so far as such a course be possible, with the interests of Hungary; and who will look after these interests better than a Magyar of high birth and ardent patriotism, as Count Andrassy has proved himself to be?

Why the same charges have been directed against Count Andrassy by a part of the Viennese press, as in Pesth, is less clear, so long as one assumes that these attacks are founded on real opinions.

More just is, perhaps, another anxiety, namely, that inactive foreign policy may transfer the preponderance, even in the internal State administration, from the Parliamentary Bodies to the side of the common Executive. In the face of great vital interests, however, such anxieties must precede, even if they be not altogether groundless.

Should the actual occurrences summon Austria, sooner or later, into a grand career of fresh activity, we trust that her people and statesmen may prove themselves competent for the work.

No. 118.

Mr. Effrench to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 268. Confidential.)
Vienna, August 26, 1875.

My Lord,

I REGRET to say that having been confined to my room by illness for the last ten days, I have been unable to see any member of the Imperial Government until this morning, when I went to see Baron Hofmann, who is acting as Foreign Minister during Count Andrassy's absence.

I immediately questioned his Excellency with regard to the accusation of "mobilisation" and "armed intervention" on the part of the Austrian Government in Herzegovina, conveyed to me in your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd instant,* and he assured me, on the authority of Count Andrassy, that such a proposition had never been entertained for a moment, and that only four regiments in all had been sent to Dalmatia for the protection of the Imperial frontier, which becomes every day more difficult from the increased numbers that tried to cross the frontier in search of safety, and that on more than one occasion the Austrian troops had been fired upon by the Turks, who were in pursuit of the natives.

Baron Hofmann also assured me that the Imperial Government had learned with great pleasure that Her Majesty's Government, as well as that of France, were about to concur in the proposals made by the Representatives of the Northern Powers at Constantinople.

He further touched upon the extremely critical position of the young Prince of Servia, which may end by his losing his throne, if not his life, the majority of the members in the Skupstchinn being decidedly in favour of risking everything and declaring war against Turkey, although conscious that they are utterly unprepared for carrying out any such rash measures. Still, as the majority of these have nothing to lose in the struggle, while thinking that they may have everything to gain, it is at present difficult to foretell what may come out of their deliberations.

The Prince has no personal power or influence, nor any party sufficiently strong to back him up. Should he be forced to flee, the immediate result would be anarchy and confusion, as the pretenders to the Throne are mere political adventurers of the worst type. It is, therefore, of great importance that he should be able to live through the present crisis.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. PERCY FFRENCH.

No. 119.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received August 30.)

Therapia, August 30, 1875, 3:45 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE sent the following to Her Majesty's Consul-General in Servia:—

"The Turkish Consul at Semlin, who was proceeding to Belgrade on private business, has been denied admittance into the Principality by the Servian Authorities, who informed him that he could not be admitted.

"The Porte has asked for an explanation of this proceeding."

No. 120.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received August 30.)

Therapia, August 30, 1875, 3 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me he was mistaken in saying that a body of Servians had penetrated to Novi-Bazar.

They have crossed the frontier and destroyed the telegraph between the Herzegovina and that place, but had not advanced upon it.

No. 121.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received August 30.)

Therapia, August 31, 1875, 6 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE sent the following to Her Majesty's Consul at Mostar:—

"The Grand Vizier gives me positive assurances that Server Pasha is authorised to accept all the demands sent here two months ago by the people of the Herzegovina.

"It may be useful that it should be known."

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* Repeating telegram from Mr. Macdonell of August 20; see No. 72.

† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Berlin, Vienna, Paris, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 122.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received August 30.)

No. 26. Political.)

Belgrade, August 18, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me on this day to Sir Henry Elliott reporting the return of the Prince to Belgrade, his engagement, and the accumulation of his political difficulties.

I have, &c,
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 122.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, August 16, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that Prince Milan of Servia returned here on Thursday last from his excursion to Vienna and received a very warm reception on landing in this his capital.

The return of his Highness was preceded by the official announcement of his engagement at Vienna to a lady of Russian birth, of excellent Roumanian connections, possessing a fortune in land in her own right in Moldavia and Southern Russia, besides considerable expectations.

Should this engagement have occurred at some other time it might have contributed to the stability of his dynasty, and smoothed some of the difficulties with which this young Prince is known to be beset on all sides.

Unfortunately by their duration the disturbances in the Herzegovina are enlisting the sympathies of the Servians; and these are, it is said, increasing, partly in consequence of exaggerated reports of victories proceeding from malcontents, and partly owing to the insinuations of evil disposed persons.

It is true that the advice given at Vienna to the Prince by Count Andrassy and by the two Ambassadors of the Empires with whom his Court is acting in concert, was strongly in favour of restraining Servia from any attempt to assist the insurgents, but it is very much to be feared that the general elections for the National Skoupstchina, which took place throughout Servia yesterday, may turn the scale in favour of a revolutionary propaganda, especially if the Prince of Montenegro should adopt such a course, or if the disturbances should extend to Bosnia, where the agitators are, it is asserted, preparing an outbreak.

I shall not fail to report to your Excellency all the information which I may succeed in obtaining, and I shall keep steadily in view the instructions which your Excellency was kind enough to convey to me by telegraph on the 11th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 123.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 1.)

(Confidentielle.)

Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, le 31 *Août*, 1875.

My Lord,

AYANT télégraphié au Gouvernement Impériale la substance de la dépêche télégraphique que votre Excellence a adressée à son Excellence Sir Henry Elliot pour l'autoriser à charger le Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique de se joindre à la démarche des Consuls des autres Puissances auprès des insurgés, dépêche dont Lord Tenterden a eu la bonté de me donner lecture, j'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à votre Excellence copie d'une dépêche télégraphique que je viens de recevoir de son Excellence Safvet Pacha, qui, en exprimant à votre Excellence la sincère reconnaissance du Gouvernement Impérial pour l'intérêt bienveillant qu'elle porte à ses droits et à son prestige, explique les raisons qui ont déterminé la Sublime Porte à demander la participation du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine à cette

démarche, et remercie le Cabinet Britannique de l'accueil qu'il a bien voulu faire à la demande du Gouvernement Impérial.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 123.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.)
(Confidentielle.)

Constantinople, le 31 Août, 1875.

LA manière dont Lord Derby envisage la démarche des Consuls auprès des insurgés témoigne de l'intérêt bienveillant qu'il porte aux droits et au prestige du Gouvernement Impérial; et, à ce titre, nous n'avons qu'à exprimer à sa Seigneurie notre sincère reconnaissance. La Sublime Porte, tout en pesant la portée de la proposition des trois Puissances du Nord, a été cependant amenée à y accéder par les deux considérations suivantes:—Si, contre toute prévision, les troubles actuels venaient à prendre une grande proportion, les Puissances dont nous aurions décliné les bons offices seraient les premières à nous accuser d'avoir refusé un moyen de pacification, et d'éviter l'effusion du sang; et, 2°, sachant l'influence morale qu'exercent la Russie et l'Autriche sur l'esprit des populations de l'Herzégovine, nous espérons que leur démarche ne peut que contribuer à la pacification. Quand nous avons vu la France et l'Italie s'associer à cette démarche, nous ne pouvions que désirer la participation du Gouvernement Anglais, dont l'amitié et la bienveillance à l'égard de la Turquie offrent plus de chances de succès à la tentative d'apaisement. Aussi devons nous remercier le Cabinet de St. James pour l'accueil qu'il a bien voulu faire à notre demande.

No. 124.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 1.)

Vienna, September 1, 1875, 3·45 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

WITH reference to your telegram to Mr. French of yesterday,* the Austro-Hungarian Government have learnt that Servian free corps have attempted to reach Serajevo and another point near the Bosnian frontier, but had been driven back into the mountains by Turkish troops, supported by population.

It would be considered here very unwise were the Porte, in consequence of these inroads, to take the initiative in hostilities with Servia; but as M. Ristich was probably a party to the Servian intrigues which have caused the insurrection, it is feared that he will be obliged, in his present position, to declare war to Turkey.

The Turkish force landed at Klek amount to 5,000 men, and will receive supplies through Ragusa.

It has captured a convent between Mostar and Trebigné, which formed the principal position of the insurgents, and contained large stores of arms.

No. 125.

Mr. Adams to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 748.)

Paris, September 1, 1875.

My Lord,

THE Duc Decazes having returned to Paris, I called on his Excellency this morning.

With regard to the Herzegovina question, the Duke said that, although he did not expect much result from the mission of the Foreign Consuls, he considered it important those of all the Great Powers should participate in it.

He also said that there appeared to be a considerable change of opinion at Vienna in the last forty-eight hours in favour of the Turk, and he attributed this to the Hungarian party, who are probably afraid of the insurrection spreading, to the benefit of the Slavs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

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* Repeating Sir H. Elliot's telegram of August 29, 1 P.M.; see No. 93.

No. 126.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 474.)

Therapia, August 25, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegram, authorising me to join with the other Ambassadors in the instructions to be sent to the Consuls, in reference to the insurrection in the Herzegovina, but stating that Her Majesty's Government have given their consent with reluctance.

The possible disadvantages of the present action are sufficiently evident, but they are probably less than what might have resulted from a refusal of the Porte to comply with the suggestion of the three Powers, for the attitude of Austria-Hungary has been so equivocal that it would, I think, have been dangerous for the Porte to reject her proposal when backed by Russia and by Germany.

The suppression of the insurrection, or the extension which it may acquire, will greatly depend upon the manner in which the Austro-Hungarian Government may proceed in restraining their own subjects from taking part in it, and it is evident that there has hitherto been no earnestness in preventing men, money, and ammunition from passing from Dalmatia into Turkey.

The insurgents are at present convinced that they can count upon the support of Austria, and if by means of a declaration made through her Consuls acting in concert with those of other Powers, they can be brought to see that they must not calculate on such assistance, an important point will have been gained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 127.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 476. Confidential.)

Therapia, August 25, 1875.

My Lord,

GENERAL IGNATIEW, whom I saw to-day, told me that he had been informed that the Prince Milan had agreed to comply with the earnest wish expressed by the Emperor that he should refrain from hostility towards Turkey, but he added that the general state of public feeling is so adverse to a pacific policy, that by following it he may be obliged to leave the country.

If the latter eventuality should occur, it would leave the Principalities entirely at the mercy of the Socialistic Committees.

General Ignatiew said that M. Ristich, who had spent some time at Berlin, was to a considerable degree open to the influence of the German Government, and that it would be most desirable that this should be exerted over him to the utmost extent, and that the other Governments should at the same time encourage the Prince to persevere in a pacific policy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

My Russian colleague and his Government appear, at present, as far as I can perceive, to be acting fairly.

H. E.

No. 128.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 478.)

Therapia, August 25, 1875.

My Lord,

THE instructions with which the Consuls who are to proceed to the Herzegovina have been furnished by their respective Embassies, and referred to in my despatch, No. 480, of although differing in words, have been drawn up in a similar sense.

While all appearance of identic action seemed to be undesirable, it was necessary that

any communications which they might be able to hold with the insurgents should be strictl confined to inducing them to return to their allegiance.

The French and Russian and Austrian Consuls at Scutari will be intrusted with this duty, Germany having instructed her Consul at Ragusa, and Italy her Danube Commissioner, to proceed to the scene of the conflict.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 129.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 479.) *Therapia, August 26, 1875.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the instructions which I have addressed to Mr. Consul Holmes, which are quite similar in substance to those of my colleagues to their agents.

I also inclose a second despatch with which I have accompanied these instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 129.

Sir H. Elliot to Consul Holmes.

Therapia, August 24, 1875.

Sir,

IT has been considered that a tranquilizing influence might be exercised over the Christian insurgents in the Herzegovina through the Consuls of the different Powers in the neighbourhood of the movement, and I have to request you to associate yourself with your colleagues in the task of conciliation entrusted to them by their Governments.

You will therefore concert with them as to the place in which it will be desirable to commence your operations, and where you may meet to exchange your ideas and compare your impressions.

Although the views and instructions of the different Governments are identic, you will at the same time take the greatest pains to avoid everything that, either in the eyes of the Turkish authorities or in those of the insurgents, might have the appearance of a united action; and you will therefore abstain from collective steps, but will rather act individually.

You will represent yourself as the agent of a friendly Government charged with a mission of conciliation, and your efforts must be directed to making the insurgents understand that they must not calculate upon the support of any Power, and to persuading them to enter into negotiations with the Imperial Commissioners, and to make known their grievances to them.

You will state to them that Her Majesty's Government will use their influence with the Sublime Porte in recommending that the legitimate grievances which may be established shall be remedied or removed, but you will be careful to avoid pledging Her Majesty's Government in regard to any measures to be taken, which must be the result of a direct understanding between the parties.

It may be impossible for you to prevent the Christians from making known to you the nature and extent of their grievances, but, without refusing to listen to what may be necessary to enable you to report to Her Majesty's Embassy in order that the insurgents may not delude themselves into supposing that the Powers guarantee the realization of the wishes which they may submit to the Imperial Commissioner, you will avoid provoking any discussion of their grievances.

The first object being to prevent bloodshed, you will urge the insurgents to avoid attacking the Imperial troops during the progress of the negotiations, but to disperse and return to their villages, and when you have fulfilled the duty thus confided to you, you will return to Mostar or Serajevo, or such other point in your district as you think most desirable, without waiting to know the result of the negotiations which you and your colleagues may have been the means of opening between the Turkish Commissioner and the insurgents.

Orders will be sent to the Ottoman authorities to offer you every facility in carrying out your instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 129.

Sir H. Elliot to Consul Holmes.

Sir, *Therapia, August 25, 1875.*

THE instructions which I have conveyed to you in another despatch will be found in substance similar to those which are being sent to the Agents of the other Powers, and I hope you will be able to act cordially with them.

The object of the step that has been resolved upon is, by a simultaneous declaration from all the Powers that no support is to be expected from them, to make the insurgents understand the hopelessness of engaging in a contest with the Imperial troops.

It has been consented to by the Porte, not from any doubt of its ability to quell the movement, but from a reluctance to adopt energetic measures of repression leading to the sacrifice of the lives of the Sultan's subjects as long as there was any prospect of arriving at a peaceful solution.

It will be your care and tact to prevent the present action of yourself and colleagues from being regarded as an intervention in the internal affairs of the Empire, but an impression has prevailed among the Christians that they enjoy foreign sympathy in the present movement, and that, if sustained, it will receive material support.

The task which you and your colleagues have before you is to put an end to this delusion, and to convince the insurgents that the Powers are unanimous in withholding all countenance from them.

The Governments possessing most influence with the Princes of Servia and of Montenegro are exerting it to the utmost to induce them to restrain their subjects, and their Highnesses appear to be doing their best to follow the advice, although, no doubt, natives of the Principalities will swell the ranks of the insurgents in defiance of the efforts of their Governments.

It is expected that the Imperial Commissioner will leave Constantinople to-morrow, and after his arrival, when your colleagues have had the time to reach the neighbourhood of the insurrection, you will be enabled to enter upon your duties.

The Austro-Hungarian, the French and Russian Consuls at Scutari, the German Consul from Ragusa, and the Italian Commissioner from the Danube, will be your colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 130.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 480. Confidential.) *Therapia, August 26, 1875.*

My Lord,

GENERAL IGNATIEW has allowed me to take the inclosed copy of the instructions he is sending to the Russian Consul at Scutari for his guidance in the course decided upon in reference to the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

General Ignatiew, having, he says, a dislike to seeing anything of his published in a blue book, has asked me to consider the communication confidential.

The instruction was to a great extent concerted between him and Safvet Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 130.

Instruction addressed to the Russian Consul at Scutari.

EN face du conflit survenu en Herzégovine, les Puissances ont pensé qu'il serait utile d'exercer de leur part sur les Chrétiens insurgés une action calmante et d'en charger leurs Consuls respectifs dans les localités les plus rapprochés du théâtre des événements.

Le Cabinet Impérial vous confie cette tâche de conciliation et d'humanité dont vous aurez à vous acquitter d'accord avec vos collègues étrangers.

A cet effet vous commencerez par vous aboucher avec eux dans une localité qui servirait de point de départ à vos opérations, en même temps que de centre de ralliement pour échanger vos idées et vos impressions au fur et à mesure que vous procéderez dans l'accomplissement de votre mandat.

En vous inspirant avant tout de l'identité complète des vues et des instructions des Gouvernements, vous aurez soin d'éviter cependant ce qui pourrait donner aux yeux des autorités Ottomanes comme devant les insurgés l'apparence d'une action en corps. Vous vous abstiendrez donc de démarches collectives, et vous tâcherez plutôt d'agir individuellement. Vous êtes autorisé à vous faire remplacer auprès des Chrétiens dans les occasions où vous le jugerez convenable par des délégués que vous choisirez, soit dans le personnel de votre Consulat, soit parmi d'autres personnes de votre confiance.

Vous vous conduirez en agent d'une Puissance amie, investi d'une mission *ad hoc* toute de conciliation, abstraction faite de votre caractère officiel.

Vous tâcherez de faire comprendre aux insurgés qu'ils ne sauraient compter sur aucun secours de la part des Puissances, et vous leur conseillerez de reprendre leurs négociations interrompues avec les Commissaires de la Porte, afin d'exposer à ces derniers leurs griefs et leurs besoins.

Vous leur direz, en outre, que le Cabinet Impérial prendra à tâche de recommander au Gouvernement Turc la satisfaction de ce qu'il y aura de légitime dans leurs vœux, sans toutefois assurer de garantie formelle pour le résultat, qui dépend d'une entente directe entre les deux parties.

Il va sans dire qu'il vous sera presqu'impossible de fermer l'oreille aux épanchements des Chrétiens sur la nature et l'étendue de leurs griefs. Sans refuser d'écouter, ce qui d'ailleurs est nécessaire pour vous mettre en mesure d'en référer à l'Ambassadeur Impérial à Constantinople, vous vous abstiendrez de provoquer spontanément l'exposé ou la discussion de ces griefs, afin de ne pas laisser subsister dans l'esprit des insurgés l'illusion comme quoi les Puissances se porteraient garantes de la réalisation des vœux qu'ils auraient formulés aux Commissaires Turcs.

Les Ambassades respectives à Constantinople ont été simultanément chargés d'aplanir les voies à votre mission et à celle de vos collègues.

Les autorités Ottomanes locales auront l'ordre de vous accorder toutes les facilités désirables pour l'accomplissement de votre tâche. Vous attendrez cependant pour entrer en mission un avis de l'Ambassadeur Impériale à Constantinople.

Votre action devant avoir pour premier effet d'arrêter l'effusion du sang, vous devez avant tout recommander aux intrigues de ne pas attaquer les troupes Ottomanes tant que dureront les négociations et de se disperser en rentrant dans leurs villages, sans toutefois exiger d'eux qu'ils déposent les armes.

Vos bons offices amèneraient par la force même des choses un temps d'arrêt dans la lutte, qui à son tour contribuera à calmer les esprits, et préparera les voies à la cessation des hostilités.

Nous espérons que le fait seul de votre apparition sera déjà d'un excellent effet pour l'apaisement des esprits, et que le succès de votre mission repondra au but élevé que le Gouvernement Impérial se propose en vous la confiant.

Dès que votre mandat sera fini vous devez vous retrouver à votre poste sans attendre le résultat final des pourparlers directs entre le Commissaire et les insurgés que vos efforts auront contribué à nouer.

No. 131.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 3.)

Therapia, September 3, 1875, 7 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

THE Servian Agent, by order of his Government, has begged me to urge the Porte not to collect troops at Nisch and other places on the frontier, which excited irritation in the Principality.

I declined to do so, and said that there was no suspicion or wish upon the part of the Porte to attack Servia, but that it was justified in adopting efficient measures of defence against attack from the Principality.

He had, he said, spoken to my Russian and German Colleagues, who had neither ejected nor acceded to his request, but said they would take it into consideration.

No. 132.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 141.)

Athens, August 22, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith an article extracted from the "Messager d'Athènes," on the attitude of Greece in relation to the revolt in the Herzegovina.

This article reproduces with fidelity the views on the subject expressed at Athens, both by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the public Press. It explains the want of sympathy which exists in Greece for the Slav populations, and it repeats the statement that, in case of a rising among the Greek populations similar to the one which took place in Crete, no Hellenic Government would be strong enough to prevent Greek subjects from flying to the assistance of their brothers; adding that national feeling will always triumph over the dictates of prudence and interest.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 132.

Extract from "Le Messager d'Athènes" of August 22, 1875.

Athènes, le $\frac{10}{22}$ *Août*, 1875.

LA GRÈCE ET L'HERZÉGOVINE.—Des journaux étrangers se sont livrés à des conjectures sur l'attitude de la Grèce dans les troubles de l'Herzégovine, dont la Press Ottomane elle-même reconnaît la gravité. Ils sont tombés dans des erreurs d'autant plus excusables que l'Europe semble ignorer le travail qui se fait en Orient depuis une trentaine d'années environ. On s'imagine volontiers—nous ne savons trop pourquoi—que cette partie de l'Europe est encore aujourd'hui ce qu'elle était à la fin de la Guerre de l'Indépendance Hellénique et que les populations Chrétiennes ont, comme alors—qu'on nous passe le mot—une base commune d'opérations.

Avant 1840, en effet, tous les Chrétiens de l'Orient, désignés sous le nom de Grecs, n'avaient qu'un seul but, leur affranchissement et leur union sous un Prince Chrétien. Par ses nobles souvenirs et son éternelle protestation contre la conquête Musulmane, la Grèce exerçait une espèce de fascination sur toutes les populations Chrétiennes de la Péninsule Hellénique, soumises d'ailleurs à la juridiction spirituelle de l'Eglise éminemment Grecque de Constantinople.

D'autres aspirations, d'autres intérêts ont modifié depuis d'une manière sensible les anciennes relations entre Grecs et Slaves et, par conséquent, la situation politique de l'Orient. C'est une conséquence inévitable du réveil des nationalités dont les Slaves de Turquie n'avaient jusqu'alors qu'une notion vague et imparfaite.

L'antagonisme des races a été habilement exploité par la Russie. Depuis trente ans tous les efforts de sa politique en Orient tendent à creuser un abîme infranchissable entre les Grecs et les Slaves de la Turquie. Longtemps dupes des déclarations platoniques de la diplomatie Russe, les Grecs ne sont revenus de leur erreur qu'en voyant la Russie toujours disposée à faire cause commune avec leurs ennemis et tirer avantage de ses bonnes relations avec la Porte, afin d'obtenir pour les Slaves des concessions désastreuses à l'Hellénisme, ou pour que les sacrifices des Grecs dans leurs luttes constantes pour la liberté de l'Orient ne profitassent qu'aux Serbes, aux Monténégrins, et aux Bulgares

La révolution de Crète, pour ne citer qu'un exemple, nous a ouvert les yeux sur la politique Orientale des Russes, des Serbes, des Bulgares et des Monténégrins Tandis que la Russie faisait tapage de ses sympathies pour la Grèce et les Crétois, les Serbes faisaient des ouvertures d'alliance offensive et défensive, mais sans jamais rien conclure, et les Monténégrins se préparaient toujours à envahir la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine.

Pendant trois ans nous avons prodigué notre sang et notre or sur les champs de

bataille de Candie en attendant le concours de la Russie et la mise en campagne des Serbes et des Monténégrins ; pendant trois ans nous avons, avec nos seules ressources, tenu tête à toutes les forces de la Turquie, usé ses meilleurs généraux pour nous voir imposer par les Puissances de l'Europe, réunies en congrès, une déclaration humiliante que la Russie, la première, nous a conseillé de signer.

Dans cet intervalle, la Russie, tout en nous encourageant dans la lutte, nous représentait, à Constantinople, comme les seuls, les plus redoutables ennemis de la Turquie. Au contraire, les populations Slaves étaient ses alliés natures contre l'ambition démésurée des Grecs et dignes, par conséquent, de toute sa sollicitude. Aali Pacha acheta la neutralité de la Serbie par l'évacuation des forteresses que la Turquie occupait encore dans ce pays, et celle des Monténégrins par la destruction des blokhaus qu'elle avait élevés dans leur territoire après la désastreuse campagne de 1859. Il élaborait, en même temps, sous l'inspiration du Général Ignatiew, le fameux Firman qui consacrait en principe la création d'un Exarchat Bulgare indépendant de l'Église Œcuménique de Constantinople et qui devait, deux ou trois ans plus tard, provoquer le schisme qui a consommé la séparation définitive des Grecs et des Bulgares.

Ces concessions obtenues, la Serbie et le Monténégro rompirent toute négociation avec la Grèce, et la Russie nous désavoua hautement. Décidément nous avions été les dupes d'une politique peu généreuse puisque, grâce au sang que nous versions à flots pour la cause commune, les Slaves arrachaient, sans coup férir, ce qu'ils n'avaient jamais pu obtenir par les armes.

La conduite de la Serbie produisit en Grèce le plus mauvais effet. Aussi malgré les avantages d'une alliance avec ce pays le sentiment public se révolte encore au souvenir de la conduite du Cabinet Serbe devant la Crète expirante.

Même déception dans la question Bulgare. Derrière les Bulgares nous avons rencontré les Russes, les Serbes et les autres Slaves de la Turquie. Et cela est si vrai que la lutte a été un moment engagée entre l'Hellénisme d'une part et les nations Slaves de l'autre. Ces dernières élèvent, en effet, des prétentions imaginaires jusques sur la Macédoine et se disent les compatriotes d'Alexandre le Grand et d'Aristote ! Ils ne se contentent pas des vastes domaines occupés par leur race nombreuse, ils songent encore à expulser l'Hellénisme des contrées qu'il a illustrées et où il a eu la gloire de jeter les assises de la civilisation moderne. Ce serait là, aux yeux de tous ceux qui savent encore apprécier les services rendus à l'humanité par la race des Hellènes, une véritable, une odieuse profanation.

Tel était l'état des relations entre les Grecs et les Slaves de la Turquie au moment où le télégraphe nous a apporté la nouvelle de l'insurrection de l'Herzégovine. Cette nouvelle on le comprend bien après ce que nous venons d'exposer—n'a pas été accueillie avec l'intérêt, l'enthousiasme qu'elle aurait excité il y a dix ans.

Aujourd'hui l'idée que domine chez les Grecs est d'entretenir les relations les plus amicales avec la Turquie. La politique de l'intérêt, que les Slaves nous ont si bien enseignée, a remplacé la politique de sentiment, et presque tout le monde est convaincu qu'il est de l'intérêt de l'Hellénisme, menacé par la marée montante du Panslavisme, de ne rien faire qui soit de nature à affaiblir l'Empire Ottoman en Europe.

Cette idée n'est pas née d'hier, et il ne faudrait rien moins qu'une insurrection des populations grecques de la Turquie pour nous entraîner à une guerre contre la Porte. En 1866, le Gouvernement Hellénique a tout fait pour prévenir la révolution de Candie et ce n'est que lorsque les Crétois, nos frères, ont tiré l'épée que la politique de sentiment, l'élan du cœur a poussé nation et Gouvernement à prendre hautement la défense du peuple de Candie. En pareil cas, aucun Gouvernement ne sera jamais assez fort pour empêcher les Hellènes de voler au secours de leurs frères, et le sentiment national l'emportera toujours sur les calculs de la prudence et de l'intérêt.

Cependant, il ne faut pas se le dissimuler, le sort des insurgés de l'Herzegovine ne trouvera pas indifférent un peuple dont le cœur vibre à toutes les infortunes. Quels que soient les torts des Slaves à leur égard, les Hellènes ne sauraient oublier que les Herzégoviniens luttent pour recouvrer leur indépendance et que, comme tels, ils ont droit aux sympathies de tous les amis de la liberté. Un sentiment inné de justice poussera toujours les Hellènes à se prononcer pour les opprimés, et si les Slaves n'avaient rompu les liens de solidarité qui existaient autrefois entre tous les Chrétiens de l'Orient, des bataillons de volontaires Grecs auraient déjà volé au secours de l'Herzégovine, quoique pas un seul Slave ne se soit enrôlé dans les rangs des défenseurs de l'insurrection Crétoise.

La Presse Grecque s'est bornée à reproduire les nouvelles des journaux étrangers sur l'insurrection—voulant laisser au Gouvernement la plus entière liberté d'action dans une question qui ne touche, comme on vient de le voir, que de loin aux intérêts de l'Hellénisme. De notre côté nous avons, pour couper court à toute conjecture, tâché de donner une

idée exacte de notre situation actuelle devant la Turquie et les populations Slaves qui l'habitent.

No. 133.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 4.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 4, 1875, 7 P.M.*

THE Servian Agent has urged me to press for the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the frontier.

I declined to do so, as they had been sent as a measure of necessary precaution.

The Grand Vizier gives positive assurance that they will abstain from all aggression, but the Porte must be in a position vigorously to repel attack.

There will soon be 60,000 men between Widdin and Novi-Bazar, and the number will be increased if attack seems probable.

No. 134.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 5.)

(No. 1.)

My Lord, *Mostar, August 22, 1875.*

A FEW days ago I telegraphed to your Lordship that the Governor-General of Bosnia had been ordered to proceed to Mostar, and that therefore I should also go there.

I have now the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived here on the 20th.

I would beg your Lordship to inform me whether I am to draw for my expenses on the Foreign Office or on the Embassy at Constantinople, as when I was sent here in 1861.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 135.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 5.)

(No. 2.)

My Lord, *Mostar, August 22, 1875.*

I HAVE just telegraphed to Sir Henry Elliot as follows :—

"Two battalions have landed at Klek, ten or eleven more are expected shortly from various points. Lubinié has been relieved. Insurgents have destroyed everything about Bilekia, and all that neighbourhood, and behaved with revolting barbarity."

Reinforcements are now being sent from Constantinople, Salonica, Volo, Prévesa, and other places to the Herzegovina without stint, and there is henceforward a hope that plenty of troops will be forthcoming. There will be some difficulty, I fear, in providing for those which arrive.

As soon as the two first battalions from Constantinople landed at Klek they were sent with some others to relieve Lubinié. This has been effected without fighting, as the insurgents retired as soon as the troops appeared.

The insurgents are reported to be destroying everything they can. They burn Christian and Musulman houses indiscriminately, and lay waste the crops which they cannot carry away. They behave most barbarously to all Turks, men, women, and children, who may fall into their hands, and Dervish Pasha assured me that, in one case, they spitted and roasted two children before their parents, whom they afterwards murdered. While speaking of these and other atrocities, and of the wide-spread devastation and ruin which was going on, his Excellency was much moved, and tears ran down his cheeks.

The struggle is now becoming a civil war. The Turkish population capable of bearing arms take part in it as well as the Imperial forces. The insurgents are supported, armed, and reinforced by their friends and sympathizers in Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Servia, though the Governments of Austria, Montenegro, and Servia are all professedly friendly to Turkey. It is, however, easy to understand that they may be all quite sincere, and yet not able wholly to control the political tendencies of the more turbulent portion of their subjects.

As it may be interesting to your Lordship to know the present condition of the opposing forces in the Herzegovina, I will endeavour to show it as nearly as possible.

At the commencement of the insurrection the military force existing in the Herzegovina was distributed as follows:—

		Men.
1 Battalion at Trebigné and Zubci (about)		500
1 " Bilekia		500
2 " Dougn		1,000
1 " Nikshick		500
1 " Piva		600
1 " Teherkvitza (near the Montenegrin frontier)		500
2 Battalions of the frontier guard in block-houses. One battalion is composed of the inhabitants of Nikshick		1,200
These nine battalions, to whom are confided the defence of the military positions situated along the Montenegrin frontier, and in the old revolted districts, and also the safety of the communications with these districts, cannot be moved.		
1 Battalion at Mostar		500
2 Battalions from Bosnia		1,100
At the commencement of hostile operations a reinforcement of two battalions were sent from Bosnia, one of which was moved on Stolatz, and the other divided between Gabella and Novessin, where there were already four companies of the battalion of Mostar.		
There was also a police force of about		250
And about 100 pandours and as many other men from different sources, say		200
There were also two mountain guns.		
12 Battalions.		6 750

Thus the campaign was opened with only three battalions of 400 fighting men each, and the Pandours and Zaptiehs.

Subsequently the following reinforcements were ordered, and are gradually arriving:—

		Men.
	Brought forward	6,750
1	Battalion of redif (reserve) from Serajevo	800
1	" Travnik	800
1	" the line from Touzla	600
1	" Constantinople	2,000
4	" redif from Mostar (the other half of the men are comprised among the revolted districts)	400
½	" Zaptieh (police) in all the Herzegovina	400
1	" redif now being called out to be sent to Mostar	1,000
2	"	50
½	a squadron of cavalry to serve as escort	500
1	regiment of cavalry expected from Roumelia	
		13,300
To this may be added the inhabitants taking part in the war, about		2,000
	Total force	15,300
From this must be deducted the nine battalions in garrison		4,700
For invalids and non-combatant services, say		1,000
Troops required to keep open the roads and protect convoys and towns		2,000
Also the two battalions not yet arrived from Constantinople, the regiment of cavalry still on the march, and the two battalions of Bosnia not yet ready to take the field, altogether		3,100
Making		10,800

Which being deducted from 15,900 leaves Dervish Pasha at present only a disposable force for offensive operations of 5,100 men.

The insurgent forces may be reckoned as follows, considering that almost every person capable of carrying a weapon is engaged:—

		Men.
1. Novessin, from a population of 6,200 Christians		1,500
2. Bekekia " 10,000 "		2,200
3. Trebigné " 25,000 "		7,500
4. Stolatz " 12,000 "		2,700
The number of strangers and those from the districts formerly in revolt, at the lowest estimate, may be counted at (and this number is daily increasing)		1,000
		15,900
From this I may deduct 25 per cent. for sick and non-combatants		3,750
Which gives a total force of		11,200

Now it is evident that a force of 5,100 regulars and irregulars is not sufficient to put down an insurrection supported by 11,200 men, whose number is constantly increasing, who hold difficult wooded passes and almost inaccessible mountains, who know every inch

of the country, and who maintain a guerilla warfare, avoiding open conflict with the troops, over an extent of some 120 square leagues. If the old revolted districts join the insurrection, which is highly probable, the situation will become more serious; and, though Dervish Pasha is esteemed a clever commander, and I know no better, or any so perfectly acquainted with the country, the reinforcements lately announced will not be excessive.

The Governor-General informs me that the whole of the Redif of Roumelia have been ordered under arms, and I think now that the gravity of the situation is fully understood.

I informed your Lordship by telegraph that insurrection had broken out in Bosnia, near Gradiska and Priedor and the neighbourhood of Banialuka. Mr. Freeman will, doubtless, keep your Lordship informed on this point, but I may say that the Governor-General tells me it is in the way of being put down, if not entirely so, and that communications are now quite open in those localities.

I shall not be able to give these details to Sir H. Elliot till next Thursday, as there is no post for Constantinople until then.

Before Dervish Pasha arrived here, an outbreak of the Musulmans against the Christians was apprehended. The excitement was very great. The Turks declared that their Government had abandoned them. People are now more calm, and, moreover, all the more turbulent Turks have been sent to the scene of action.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 136.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 5.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 5, 1876.*

THE Turkish Ambassador has received the following telegram to-day from the newly-appointed Governor of Bosnia: "Since some days number of bands of Servians make incessant inroads into districts of Novi-Bazar, Wichgrad, and Zwornick, where they commit acts of pillage and cruelty beyond all description."

My Turkish Colleague presumes that object of these proceedings is to exasperate Turkish population and to provoke a conflict.

No. 136 A.

Mr. Scott to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 268. Confidential.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 31, 1875.*

I SAW Baron Jomini last Wednesday, and learnt from his Excellency that he had heard with satisfaction, that your Lordship had authorized Sir Henry Elliot to join the representatives of the other Powers at Constantinople, in sending their Consuls to the scene of the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

I said that I was aware that instructions in this sense had been sent to Sir H. Elliot, but I believed that Her Majesty's Government, while anxious not to hold aloof from a collective action in the interests of peace, which seemed to meet the wishes of the Porte, would have preferred that the Porte should have been able to deal with the insurrection without resorting to foreign intervention of any kind.

His Excellency remarked that the Porte was greatly to blame for the abuses which had led to the insurrection, and that since its outbreak it had not shewn sufficient energy in coping with it, and he feared that if the insurrection were to continue, it would be almost impossible for Prince Milan and Prince Nicholas to keep the Servians and Montenegrins quiet. He sincerely hoped for the success of the Mission of the Consuls, but he did not disguise from himself the difficulties connected with it,—for instance, he said, the insurgents might ask for some pledge that the grievances would be listened to and redressed, and this could not be given. He also did not know if the insurgents had any responsible or acknowledged leader who could treat for them.

Baron Jomini proceeded to say that his own opinion was, that, when the time came for devising remedies for the abuses in the Provinces, the Porte would do well to consider

* Repeated to Mr. Adams, Sir A. Paget, Sir H. Elliot, Mr. Doria, and Mr. Macdonell.

the expediency of granting some sort of fiscal autonomy to them, the present mode of farming out the taxes was one which had been abandoned on account of its inevitable abuses by other nations who had all, at one time or another, resorted to it, and he instanced the history of Russia as affording a case in point. The Porte, he thought, could very well let the Provinces employ some machinery of their own for collecting the required amount of taxation, in the least burdensome manner, an equitable figure of taxation, being assessed by taking the average value of the yields of a given number of past years.

His Excellency told me that he had himself been an eye-witness of the extent to which the evils of this system of collecting the taxes were carried in Bulgaria. He had been greatly struck by the fertility of that Province, through which he travelled some time ago, and by the richness of the crops, which equalled any that he had seen in Germany, but on expressing this opinion to the Russian Consul, he was told that those crops, which were quite ready for cutting, could not be cut until the tax-collector chose to come and value them, and that that, as frequently had been the case to the Consul's knowledge, might not be until the crops were rotting in the ground.

He added that he had reason to think that the Turkish Government had already in contemplation some reform of this system, as the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires had been lately instructed to ask him for some information in regard to the measures taken by the Russian Government when abolishing a similar system.

I saw Baron Jomini again yesterday, when he informed me that he was to see the Turkish Ambassador that evening, who had just returned to St. Petersburgh, having been recalled here by order of his Government from Kissingen, where he had been spending his leave of absence. His Excellency admitted to me that he was not over sanguine as to the ultimate success of the Consuls' mission to the Herzegovina, and added, "In proposing this step to the Porte, we felt we were making a considerable concession in the interest of Turkey, and we have, therefore, a right to expect that the Porte will appreciate this step, and act loyally in regard to the insurgents, not evading promises, nor allowing atrocities to be committed by its troops, otherwise we should feel that, having done so much for Turkey, the rest of our sympathies were due to the disaffected Provinces."

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES S. SCOTT.

No. 136 B.

Mr. Scott to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 269. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 1, 1875.

I MENTIONED confidentially to the French Ambassador that I had heard a report that large quantities of specie were being sent by the Slavonic party at Corfou to the Epirus, and asked his Excellency if he had any news on this subject.

General Seftô said he had not, but that he much feared some complication from any action of Slavonic sympathisers in Greece and elsewhere in regard to the insurrection in Turkey, but now that the Russian Government had committed itself to so decided an attitude in discouragement of the insurrection, he felt convinced that they would put a stop to any attempt of the kind wherever they could.

The chief aim of the Russian Government, his Excellency added, is at present to strengthen their alliance with Austria, and they feel that this can only be done on the basis of a strict maintenance of the *status quo* in the East. His Excellency expressed himself as perfectly reassured as to the sincere desire of both these Powers to see the insurrection promptly quelled.

But General Seftô was evidently far from being equally reassured as to the loyalty of the Porte in the present question, and he told me that there was an impression abroad which the information he had received from different quarters rather tended to confirm, that, in accepting the friendly intervention of the foreign Consuls in the Herzegovina, the Porte was playing a deep game, being confident itself of the failure of this intervention from a conviction that the insurgents would never consent to lay down their arms on the bare chance of the success of their negotiations with the Turkish Commissioner without any guarantee from the Consuls that their grievances would be redressed. By accepting the intervention, it was argued, the Porte would have gained time to collect sufficient forces in the provinces, not only to quell the insurrection, but also to intimidate Servia and Montenegro, and would have the further advantage of appearing to have done all in its power by accepting the good offices of the Powers, for the failure of which the insurgents would be held responsible.

His Excellency said that he felt convinced that, if any attempt was made by the Porte to coerce Montenegro, it would seriously affect the attitude of Russia in the present question, and he feared that every day the insurrection lasted would tend to enlist the sympathies of the European public in favour of the insurgents.

He then alluded to the scheme for giving fiscal autonomy to the disaffected provinces, which, as reported in my despatch No. 268, Confidential, of yesterday, Baron Jomini had mentioned to me, and said that he had been so much struck by it that he had at once reported it to his Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES S. SCOTT.

No. 136 C.

Mr. Scott to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 270. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 1, 1875.

I FOUND, on calling on Baron Jomini this morning, that his Excellency had no official intelligence from Constantinople of any invasion of Turkish territory by Servians, such as was reported in Sir Henry Elliot's telegram of the 29th August. The latest telegram which he had received from Constantinople was of the 28th. It said that Count Zichy had been requested by the Porte to re-assure Prince Milan in regard to the despatch of Turkish troops to the neighbourhood of the Servian frontier, and to assure His Highness, in the most positive language, that no menace or demonstration was intended against Servia, and that the Porte expected and trusted that the Servian Government would restrain any act on the part of Servian officials or subjects likely to complicate matters.

Baron Jomini observed that Prince Milan was in a most difficult position at present, in consequence of the strength of the Radical party, which were most warlike, and hard to keep in hand; but the Russians, as well as the Austro-Hungarian Government, had told the Prince, in the most decided manner, that any attempt on the part of the Servian Government to assist the insurrection in the Turkish Provinces would entirely estrange from them the sympathies of Russia and Austria, and he hoped the Prince would be able to use this argument to the Skouptchina with success.

His Excellency said that he had seen the report of Servians having crossed the Turkish frontier and destroyed the telegraph lines, in yesterday's paper, but as he had no news from Constantinople, he had hoped the rumour was unfounded or grossly exaggerated. He presumed that if any such incursion had been made, it was wholly unauthorized by the Servian Government; and he said that the Porte would do well to repel and punish rigorously any such invaders upon its own soil, but that it ought not to undertake any retaliatory measure, for if Servia or Montenegro were induced by any act of Turkey to join the insurrection, Albania and Epirus would probably rise, and then the affair would entirely change its aspect, and become a general question.

Baron Jomini said that the Porte had expressed great satisfaction to Count Zichy at the harmonious action of all the Powers in the interest of pacification, and at the friendly disposition of the Austrian Government.

While on this subject, his Excellency told me that the Russian Government were so convinced of the loyalty of Count Andrassy and his honest determination to do everything that could be done to prevent a complication of the Herzegovinian question, that they had told his Excellency that they left the immediate direction of this matter in his hands, and that he might count on their cordial support of his policy in regard to it, as they were confident that what he would do would be right.

I have thought it my duty to report these words of Baron Jomini as exactly as I can recall them, as they appeared to indicate the extent of the understanding between the two Imperial Governments in regard to their policy in the East.

His Excellency also said that Austria was in a difficult position. There was a strong feeling in some of her own provinces in favour of the insurrection; and the concession lately made to the Turkish Government, in permitting the disembarkation of Turkish troops at Klek, had caused such a feeling in Dalmatia, that the Porte had been told that no further disembarkation would be permitted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES S. SCOTT.

No. 137.

Mr. Macdonell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 366. Confidential.)

Berlin, September 4, 1875.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 353 of the 25th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the German Press continues the publication of a series of articles on the insurrection in the Herzegovina. The subject is generally treated with marked hostility towards Turkey. As I have already stated to your Lordship, some of these articles openly advocate a general Slav movement; others urge upon Austria to annex the disaffected provinces; whilst others, again, accept of no other solution but that of placing those provinces on the same footing as Servia, &c.

I should not have troubled your Lordship with further extracts from the newspapers on this subject, were it not that the German Foreign Office persistently deny all complicity in their authorship, whilst public attention is every day called to the equally persistent manner in which the semi-official journals reproduce them.

The fact of these articles being most ably written, and ascribed to the pen of two former German Diplomatic Agents in the East, justifies the value attached to them; but it is difficult to say whether this Government really advocates the views therein expressed, and intentionally leads the public to suppose it. Such, however, has been on former occasions the mode of proceeding of the Imperial Chancery when it has been deemed advisable to guide and prepare public opinion, pending the moment when the Government have thought proper to proclaim their policy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

Inclosure in No. 137.

Précis of Article in the Berlin "Post" of September 1, 1875.

ANNEXATION SCHEMES IN AUSTRIA.—Referring to the scheme of a projected annexation, which rumour has attributed to the Austrian Government, the article allows that the number of politicians in favour of such a policy is but small. Germans and Magyars are equally opposed to it. The German-Austrian is prompted to this, not merely by his hatred to the Slav; he thinks that as he succeeded in separating the Dalmatian from the Czech —inducing the former to accept the Constitution, and hold aloof from the political strike organized in Bohemia—so he would be able to lend the semi-civilized Bosnians, and direct the policy of an enlarged Slavonia. No, it is not for any such reason that the German-Austrian is against annexation, but from a motive of a far more material nature, namely, the cost such a policy would entail on Cisleithania. He knows what Dalmatia entails on his taxation, and is in no hurry to see that amount tripled or quadrupled.

As for the Hungarians, they know well enough that they are, as it is, in a minority in the Kingdom of St. Stephen—Croats, Serbs, Roumans, and Transylvanian Saxons are only kept down by barefaced Chauvinism, and wear the Magyar yoke with no little grinding of teeth. Were the frontiers of the Empire to be enlarged, Slav agitation could no longer be kept within bounds, and the arrangement of 1867, assuring to Hungary a Suzerainty in Transleithania, would be inevitably upset.

At Agram, a half bankrupt agitator (Makaux), one of an opposition which is numerically very small, has only to get up and allude to "our struggling brothers," to carry the majority of the Croatian Landtag with him, and to be immediately the idol of the land. This is naturally very unpleasant to politicians at Pesth.

But the scheme of annexation is the dream of all the Austrian Slavs, who look for the regeneration of their race in a triuno-federalism, in which the German, Hungarian, and Slavonian nationalities shall have each its due part, with the Hapsburg Monarchy as the common point of union.

Besides these three groups is a fourth, composed of those politicians who consider that sooner or later Herzegovina and Bosnia must gravitate to Austria. They recognize as a fact that Turkish rule in Europe is inevitably condemned, that the Turkish provinces must unavoidably be divided. They foresee that, should the provinces in question fall to the share of any other Empire, or form the nucleus of a new and vigorous Slav State, that Dalmatia is lost for Austria, and the command of the Adriatic abandoned. Nor would the mischief stop here. The hold of Hungary on Croatia, the military frontier, and Slavonia, would become most problematical. They acknowledge the attraction which an independent southern Slav kingdom would hold out to all these provinces, and it is the love of

self-preservation alone which forces such politicians to take into earnest consideration the eventualities of an annexation.

Which of these political currents will eventually win the day remains to be seen; as the Latins would have said, "Adhuc subjudice lis est."

No. 138.

Mr. Macdonell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 367. Confidential.)

Berlin, September 4, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE this day been confidentially informed that M. de Bülow has notified to the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires that advice has been received at the German Foreign Office of a threatened rising of the Montenegrin population in favour of the Herzegovina insurgents, and that Prince Nicholas feels no longer able to constrain the popular movement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

No. 139.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 6.)

(Telegraphic.)

Therapia, September 6, 1875, 4·20 P.M.

I HAVE this day sent the following to Mr. White, at Belgrade:—

"The Acting Consul at Bosna-Serai reports that a large band of Servians, who crossed the Drina below Losnitza, has been annihilated by the Turkish troops.

"He states also that six guns and 500 breech-loaders, sent from Servia, and landed near Graditza, have been seized by the Ottoman authorities.

"Endeavour to ascertain the truth of these reports, and to find where the guns came from."

No. 140.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 7.)

(No. 485.)

Therapia, August 27, 1875.

My Lord,

WHEN the language is remembered in which the Sultan spoke of Mahmoud Pasha upon his dismissal three years ago, the inclosed Hatt nominating him Grand Vizier, and speaking of the confidence with which he had inspired His Majesty when last he held that office, will hardly be read without surprise.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 140.

Newspaper Extract.

L'INSTALLATION DU NOUVEAU GRAND-VÉZIR.—Hier, dans l'après-midi, son Altesse Mahmoud Nedim Pacha a été installé dans ses nouvelles fonctions de Grand-Vézir; Server Pacha, Ministre des Travaux Publics et Commissaire Impérial en Herzégovine, a été nommé en même temps au poste vacant de Président du Conseil d'Etat.

La cérémonie de l'installation a eu lieu vers les trois heures de l'après midi. Le nouveau Sadrazam, accompagné du Chéikh-ul-Islam et de Server Pacha, est arrivé en *caïk* à 5 paires de rames à l'échelle de Sirkedji-Iskélé, où il a été reçu par plusieurs hauts fonctionnaires et où un détachement de troupes lui a rendu les honneurs militaires d'usage. Puis son Altesse est montée à cheval, et le cortège, précédé d'une compagnie d'infanterie, musique en tête, s'est rendu à la Porte. Après la réception d'usage, le *hatt* Impérial dont nous donnons ci-après la traduction, y a été lu en présence des Ministres et hauts fonctionnaires des divers Départements:—

"Mon Illustre Vézir,

"Ayant jugé nécessaire de relever Essad Pacha de ses fonctions de Grand-Vizir, nous vous avons appelé à ce poste éminent à cause de la confiance que nous avons en vous, ainsi que des qualités dont vous avez déjà donné les preuves.

"Ayant à pourvoir en même temps à la nomination d'un titilaire pour la présidence du Conseil d'Etat, nous avons nommé à ce poste Server Pacha, qui possède les capacités voulues pour l'occuper.

"La bonne gestion des affaires de notre Empire et la prospérité du pays, ainsi que le bien-être de la population, étant l'objet de toute notre sollicitude, notre ferme volonté est qu'une protection efficace et qu'une justice absolue soient assurées à toutes les classes de la société indistinctement, de façon que l'honneur et le droit de chacun soient sauvegardés.

"Comme le Ministère de la Justice créé dans cette pensée salutaire constitue l'un des Départements les plus importants, il est indispensable que ce département agisse en conformité de nos intentions bienveillantes. Nous ordonnons donc que ces intentions soient promulguées et qu'elles reçoivent une pleine exécution.

"Que le Très-Haut daigne accorde le succès à nos efforts."

No. 141.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 7.)

(No. 489.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 27, 1875.*

THE Servian Agent called upon me to-day and expressed some anxiety about the proposed collection of an imposing Turkish force at Nisch, which he said would have an irritating effect upon his countrymen.

I told him he might make himself perfectly easy on the score of any aggressive designs against Servia which might be attributed to the Porte.

There was not a person in Turkey who entertained any such design, which would not be tolerated by the European powers; but unfortunately there was in Servia a powerful party quite ready to embark in a crusade against Turkey, which was not only justified but called upon to be prepared for any emergency.

His Government would do well to reflect that, while the Powers would not allow any aggression upon Servia, if the Principality engaged in an unprovoked attack upon the Suzerain State, they could not interfere to prevent the Porte from adopting the measures which it thought necessary to repel it, or to protect the Principality from the consequences of its own act.

M. Magazinovitch observed that an article of the "Times," of which the telegraph appears to have given the substance, would be a great encouragement to his countrymen in their national and warlike aspirations.

He would, however, telegraph what I had said to his Government, who, he hoped, would abstain from any rash action.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 142.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 7.)

(No. 495. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 29, 1875.*

ON account of the Ministerial changes, Count Zichy did not have till yesterday the usual audience with the Sultan, upon his return from leave of absence.

I saw him shortly after he had left the Palace, when he told me that the Sultan had several times over expressed his acknowledgment for the step taken by the Powers with the view of contributing to the pacification of the Herzegovina.

The Grand Vizier, with whom I had a long conversation a few minutes later, conveyed to me, on the other hand, a very different account of His Majesty's feelings on the subject.

The Sultan had told him, he said, that he had consented with the utmost reluctance to the proposal of the three Powers, and had deferred doing so until he had been assured that Her Majesty's Government concurred in it.

I told him that nothing could be more completely incorrect than such an assertion, for the proposal had been made certainly without the concurrence, and, as far as I knew, without the cognizance of Her Majesty's Government.

For my own part the first I heard of it was from Count Zichy, who told me he had made the proposal with which he was charged, which had been agreed upon by the three Powers, and was supported by his two colleagues.

I repeated to Mahmoud Pasha the terms in which your Lordship had conveyed to me the unwilling authorization to join with the other Ambassadors in the instructions to be sent to the Consuls, which was not received till the 25th and was given, as I had at once informed the Minister for Foreign Affairs, only at the express request of the Porte.

He professed the utmost surprise, and asked me to give him in writing the substance of your Lordship's telegram, in order that he might communicate it this morning to the Sultan.

The change of Government may account in part for some misunderstanding, but it is impossible to suppose that Essaad Pasha would have ventured so far to deceive his Sovereign as to give him to understand that the Powers were unanimously favourable to the proposal.

I do not, however, feel so thoroughly convinced that this may not have been insinuated from other quarters, and that the proposal may not have been represented to the Sultan by the Russian Ambassador in such terms that His Majesty imagined the other Powers to have concurred in it.

This, however, is a mere possible surmise, and may be groundless; but if the surprise of the Grand Vizier at what I told him was genuine, it would imply that he had not had much communication with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was thoroughly informed of how the matter stood. His Excellency had, it is true, been very unwell, and hardly able to appear at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 143.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 7.)

(No. 496.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 29, 1875.*

I HAVE more than once made mention of the Croats who have joined the insurgents of the Herzegovina.

Count Zichy assures me that the people who are known here as Croats, and who have gone to the scene of the movement, are not so in reality, but are exclusively Bocchese, as the inhabitants of the district round the Bocca di Cattaro are called. They are Austrian subjects, but Montenegrins by race. Of real Croatians few, he says, have taken part in the movement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 144.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 7.)

(No. 501.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 30, 1875.*

SAFVET PASHA, whom I saw this morning, tells me that he was mistaken in saying that a body of Servians had crossed the frontier and penetrated to Novi-Bazar. It is true that they had crossed the frontier and destroyed the telegraph wires between the Herzegovina and Novi-Bazar, but they had not advanced upon that place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 145.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 7.)

(No. 503.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 30, 1875.*

I LEARN from Safvet Pasha that the Ottoman Consul at Semlin, whilst proceeding to Belgrade on private business, was prevented by the authorities from entering Servia.

M. Bizzo, the Consul in question, was formerly dragoman to the British Consulate General at Belgrade, where has connections and business to transact.

The Porte has requested the Servian Agent to obtain explanations of an act for which there would appear to be no justification.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 146.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 8.)

(No. 445. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 17, 1875.*

THE Sultan having received me in private audience on Thursday, I told His Majesty that the discussion which had taken place in the British Parliament in reference to this Empire made me desirous that he should be correctly informed of the sentiment which had inspired the speakers who had taken part in it, and of that which prevailed generally in England.

The Sultan immediately answered that many things had been said which, if they had fallen from Her Majesty's Ministers, would have given him much pain; but they, on the contrary, had spoken of Turkey in terms for which he was glad to express his acknowledgments.

Those who had spoken in disparaging language had he believed been influenced by what had occurred when the deputation of the Evangelical Alliance came here last winter.

To those gentlemen Hussein Avni Pasha, the then Grand Vizier, had acted with the want of tact, which he had exhibited on so many other occasions, and a false and mistaken impression had been produced.

I replied that things had been said in the debate which I must not be supposed to wish to justify; but I was anxious that His Majesty should feel convinced that, even when the speakers had been misled and inaccurate, the sentiment which animated them was one of interest in the Turkish Empire.

This feeling of interest was accompanied by a sense of disappointment that of late years the progress of reform in the administration and of the development of the country had not been greater.

The difficulties in the way of this progress had not been sufficiently appreciated, but if His Majesty would allow me to speak with the frankness which he had often encouraged he would perhaps permit me to mention some matters which had been too much neglected by the recent administrations.

The most important of these questions was that which related to the judicial organization and the administration of justice, which were at present so defective that the distrust felt by foreigners in the Tribunals had done more than anything else to deter them from embarking in useful enterprises the large capital which, with the prospect of being fairly treated, they would be glad to invest in many ways that would have rapidly advanced the national riches and improved the financial position.

The reform of the judicial system was, in my opinion, the very first thing that was called for; for upon it every branch of the administration must more or less depend. The influx of foreign capital and enterprise had, moreover, been checked in other ways.

Of late years all projectors had found themselves exposed to so many vexations annoyances from the Government that people now shrank from exposing themselves to them.

The Sultan attempted no defence of the present judicial organization, but said the subject had been too much neglected.

With regard to enterprises of public utility, His Majesty confined his remarks to questions relating to some of the railway projects, in which he said there had been much mismanagement; and I cannot say that he appeared at all sensible of the manner in which useful works of all descriptions had of late been impeded by the Government.

In speaking of the finances, the Sultan said that the former Budgets had been deceptive, but that now things were known as they really are, which is the first step towards improvement.

I alluded to the question of slavery, and said that a painful impression was produced upon Her Majesty's Government and upon those who perceived how frequently it had of

late been allowed to be carried on in defiance of the Imperial laws, the execution of which should be enforced upon the more distant authorities.

The Sultan bore evidence to the measures which had been taken by the Viceroy of Egypt to stop this traffic, a portion of which had thus been diverted to Tripoli.

I said it was precisely to Tripoli, or rather Bengazi, to which I was alluding, as well to the trade in slaves which was abusively allowed to continue from the Arabian coast, of which his Majesty professed ignorance.

The Sultan discussed the various points upon which I touched, without impatience, and I believe he understood that I was intending to convey to him that, if the interest of Great Britain in Turkey is to be kept alive, it will be necessary to give some evidence that serious efforts were being made to raise it in public estimation by a more vigorous prosecution of the promised reforms.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT

No. 147.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 8.)

(No. 463. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August 22, 1875.*

IT appears that when Count Zichy first communicated to Safvet Pasha the nature of the instructions from his Government in reference to the affairs of the Herzegovina, the Minister declared them to be inacceptable.

The following morning the Russian Ambassador came to his house, and the German Ambassador arriving there almost at the same moment, Safvet Pasha then understood how the question stood, and that the Austro-Hungarian Government was acting in concert with the other two, and in discussing the matter with General Ignatiew, he consequently showed himself less disposed summarily to reject the proposal, provided he could be assured that the action of the Consuls was not to have the character of an interference in the internal affairs of the country.

He wrote a note in this sense to the Grand Vizir, whom General Ignatiew was about to call upon, and his Highness concurred in considering that there was no insuperable objection to the adoption of the course proposed.

The next day the General had an audience of the Sultan, upon his return from leave of absence, and mentioned to His Majesty what had been suggested, with the view of bringing the disturbance in the Herzegovina to an end

The Sultan replied that the Grand Vizir had informed him of it, and he had no objection to offer.

Such I find from Safvet Pasha to be the steps by which an understanding has gradually been come to, and although, as I have said, he was not in the first instance favourable to the Austrian proposal, he now considers that it may possibly prove beneficial without being open to serious objection, if the action of the Consuls is strictly confined within the limits agreed upon.

General Ignatiew, on the other hand, tells me that the proposal of the Austro-Hungarian Government, as first submitted to the Porte by Count Zichy, was not such as it was likely to accept, and that he had himself brought it into its present shape.

I am inclined to believe that this is correct, for it agrees with the course which I informed your Lordship a few days ago that the Russian Ambassador was likely to follow, and although the initiative was taken by Count Zichy, the prosecution of the arrangement immediately passed into the hands of his more able colleague.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 148.

Consul Taylor to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 8.)

(No. 8. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, August 25, 1875.*

THE neutrality, however honestly proclaimed by Austria, Servia, and Montenegro, does not seem to be much respected by the subjects of those States.

From Cattaro, Austrian subjects well armed in considerable numbers have, after eluding the authorities, coalesced with Montenegrin sympathisers coming from the country about Cettingni, and crossed the frontier into Turkey to aid the insurgents in the Herzegovina. They effected a junction in the vicinity of Trebigné, six hours from this, which they hold in close blockade so effectually, that Turkish officers detailed from the Monastir army corps for Trebigné have, after several days delay here, been forced to take the very circuitous route by Klek, Metkovich, and Mostar, in an endeavour to reach the vicinity of their station.

From Servia, a band of forty men, heavily armed with breechloading guns, arrived here last Friday week, and proceeded the next day, without any hindrance from the local authorities, to aid the rebels in Turkey. These men are retired artillerymen of the Servian army, and among them were two Servian officers. It is said they succeeded in conveying two mountain cannon safely across the border. Since then other small parties of Servians have pursued the same route; but the last batch was compelled to leave their arms here. They all come from Servia *vid* Trieste or Agram, and are conveyed to Gravosa, the port of Ragusa, by the Austrian Lloyds' steamboats. Later Servian arrivals did not disembark here, but proceeded to Cattaro, where, it seems, their movements are less restricted, so that their entry into Turkey is easier than from this quarter. Cases, containing three hundred and sixty breechloaders, were sequestered here for two days, but, being re-registered for Cattaro, were allowed to proceed, and have since been transported into Turkey for the use of the insurgents by that route.

The combined insurgents and foreign sympathisers are directed by five old Servian officers, namely, Zarko Lesovich, Golub Babich, Gioco Vhigovich, Stratimirovich, and Loobobralich, the latter a Russian pensioner, for some time resident in Montenegro under Russian protection.

A steamer, with two battalions of Turkish troops on board, consisting of one thousand and thirty men under the command of Brigadier-General Nejib Pasha, a most able, talented, and honest officer, whose intimacy I have enjoyed for many years, passed Ragusa ten days ago for Klek. They only succeeded in effecting a landing there yesterday, having been detained by numerous bands of insurgents, who were ready to oppose their disembarkation. Troops were sent from Mostar to relieve them and facilitate their disembarkation. Two Turkish soldiers fell victims and three were wounded on the very first commencement of the march up country, from an ambuscade of the insurgents; and it is believed here they will be sorely tried in their further progress from the coast to their destination. But I feel nearly certain that the energy and manner of dealing of Nejib Pasha—if the Porte heeds his suggestions—so very different from other Turkish commanders, will in the end triumph over all obstacles, and perhaps ensure, without much more bloodshed, a successful and speedy termination to the present troubles. The Porte could never have selected a more competent officer for this very delicate enterprise.

Unhappily the Opposition party has now got the ascendency in the Belgrade Skupstchtina; therefore we may look for a larger influx than before of active Servian sympathisers in this lamentable rebellion, if indeed, also, Prince Milan himself is not compelled by that party to take an open decided part in sustaining it. Should he not do so (it is believed here) he is likely to risk, or even lose, his present position.

Trebigné is still besieged, and the insurgents seem to be gaining ground everywhere. An engagement has been going on there since yesterday, but no reliable details have reached this, although it is reported the Christians are driving the Turks back at all points. Other detailed information from the neighbourhood of Gadzkow, north-east of Nevisinje, states that the rebels have captured the following Turkish forts:—Batovagoblje, Krstaz, Zlostup, Smedervo, Nozdra, Presjeka, Ojinapoljana, and Var; and that they have compelled two Turkish battalions to lay down their arms. There is also a report, as yet requiring authentication, of a rising having taken place in Bosnia. If true, Mr. Consul Holmes will have already apprised your Lordship of the fact.

It really behoves Turkey to do all she can to crush or conciliate the rebels at once. A protracted continuation of the present state of affairs cannot but increase public sympathy for the rebels, and neither Austria, Servia, nor Montenegro will then be able to prevent a general uprising of their subjects to aid them. I can predict this from the strong public feeling expressed everywhere in my district in their favour, and the opprobrious epithets applied by all classes to the Austrian Government for having publicly proclaimed the neutrality that thwarted the hopes of the Slavs as to the issue of this insurrectionary movement.

It really seems the best remedy the Porte could employ to end these troubles would be to cut the ground from under the rebels' feet, and grant at once a full unconditional amnesty, with a promise, under guarantee, to remove the enhanced rates of tithes and

sheep dues lately imposed upon all classes in Turkey, and which originally furnished a plausible excuse for the present outbreak. The saving in blood and money will be great, while the loss of prestige that may be urged against this measure cannot, under Turkey's present circumstances, be very compromising for her. Economical considerations, in her present financial poverty, as forming her only means of salvation, ought to rule all other objections to a peaceful, indulgent, and conciliatory bearing towards her subjects—Rayas and Moslem—for, however humiliating for a time to the Porte, if not pursued, the present troubles will assuredly develop far greater difficulties and wide-spread ulterior complications, I dread to contemplate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

No. 149.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 8.)

(No. 13. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, August* 27, 1875.

THE insurrection in Bosnia has apparently made no progress during the last week, but, on the other hand, no energetic measures seem to have been taken for its suppression. There have been skirmishes at various places between the insurgent Christians and the Mussulman population and Bashi-Bozouks, but without any decisive result. The most serious one took place at Silich Khan, midway between Banaluka and Gradishka, in which there were many casualties on both sides. The regular troops as yet seem to have taken no part in any of these conflicts, and it is difficult to understand the reason. Mehmet Ali Pasha, who is on his way from Thessaly, *vid* Trieste, is expected shortly to arrive in Bosnia, and orders await him at Gradishka to take command of the operations in that direction. Good results are expected from the known energy and military capacity of this officer. Many of the insurgents are reported to have passed over to Austria with their families, but it is supposed their object is merely to place the latter in safety, and that they will then return to the revolted districts.

There are rumours of a projected rising in the neighbourhood of Livno, on the Dalmatian frontier, and orders have been given to the Mutesarif of Travnick to proceed thither immediately, with all the force at his disposal, and endeavour to prevent any outbreak by the timely seizure of all arms and ammunition in the possession of the peasants.

Bands of Servians have also attempted to cross the Drina at several points in the Sandjak of Svornik, but have been driven back by the irregular troops levied in the district.

Considerable excitement prevails in and about Serajevo. The Christian inhabitants of the town are in great fear of the Mussulmans, and, on the other hand, the Mussulmans seem to dread a rising of the Christian peasants in the surrounding villages. Myself, I have every confidence that tranquillity will be preserved in the town, and precautions have been taken by the authorities to ensure this desirable result, but in the present excited state of public feeling it is just possible that some untoward incident might cause an outbreak. I think it is unfortunate that such a general arming of the Mussulmans has been permitted and even encouraged by the authorities, as it only serves to increase the existing agitation, which it should be their special aim to calm and allay.

News was received here yesterday that Ahmet Hamdi Pasha, late Minister of Police, had been named Governor-General of Bosnia. I am inclined to think it was unwise to remove Dervish Pasha at this moment. If the Porte has not confidence in him, he should have been recalled earlier, but any delay in now attacking the insurgents should be avoided, and much valuable time may be lost by effecting this change of Governor at the present critical moment. If, however, the removal of Dervish Pasha was considered imperative, a better man could hardly have been selected than Ahmet Hamdi Pasha to succeed him. He was in Bosnia some years since as Commander of the Forces, and is therefore acquainted with the country, and he was looked upon here as an honest and energetic officer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 150.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 8.)

(No. 50. Political.)
My Lord, *Bucharest, August 26, 1875.*

THE insurrection in the Herzegovina is now attracting attention here, and the local press reproduces prominently the articles in foreign newspapers, particularly in the "Times" and the "Nord," which reflect upon Turkish misrule, laying stress upon the evident change of feeling in England with respect to Turkey. But the general opinion seems to be that the substantial grievances of the insurgents will be redressed and the insurrection put an end to through the intervention of the three Powers, and as yet there is no sign of any strong feeling in their favour.

The unofficial Government press writes in a cautious and reserved tone that self interest and a respect for Treaties dictate a neutral attitude to Roumania; that she cannot afford to risk in rash adventure the independence she is laboriously and peacefully regaining; that she must continue her task of internal reform and re-organization, limiting her ambition to making her position under existing Treaties acknowledged and respected; and that she cannot lightly or suddenly abandon the wise and peaceful foreign policy she has consistently pursued of late years.

This is the language of the inspired press, and any intrigue or action against the Porte would require to be prompted by the Government in a country where, as the Turk is unseen and his misrule is unfelt, there is no national irritation or feeling against him beyond vexation and occasional slights and assertions of suzerainty, and where there is little sympathy for the Slavs.

But I have no doubt that the party of which the Prince and M. Boerescо are the leaders are attentively watching the course of events with no friendly feeling towards Turkey, and if Servia were to throw in her lot with the insurgents and there seemed a probability of their success, the Prince might be disposed to seize the opportunity, on some pretext or other, to declare his independence. His desire to do so I do not doubt—it is his fixed and cherished idea—but unsupported by any strong national feeling or by a foreign Power his ambition would certainly be controlled by the Government unless the road to success was very clear.

The opposition might try to force the hands of the Government, but they must first repudiate the foreign policy they have advocated of a closer alliance with Turkey. I therefore doubt the accuracy of a report that has reached me from Belgrade that a decision is already taken here to declare the independence of these Principalities if ever the insurrection extends to Servia.

The Prince is away at his country place in the mountains, and most of the Ministers, with the exception of M. Catargi and M. Boerescо, are abroad, while all my colleagues, except the Russian and Italian Agents, are absent on leave.

In a conversation yesterday the Russian Agent said to me that, although he agreed with my views upon the state of affairs and attitude here, he would not answer for the action of the Prince or his Ministers in certain eventualities, and that without wishing to alarm his Government he had reported the political contingencies that might possibly arise, and which did not allow him to absent himself from his post for the moment.

The Servian Agent here has been suddenly recalled to Belgrade, probably in consequence of the Ministerial crisis there.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 151.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 8.)

(No. 275. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 4, 1875.*

WITH reference to Lord Lyons' despatch No. 703 of the 20th ultimo, marked Very Confidential, of which a copy was inclosed in your Lordship's despatch No 201, relative to the insurrection in the Herzegovina and the opinion prevailing at St. Petersburgh on the subject, I find that the French Chargé d'Affaires here is apprehensive lest armed assistance to the insurgents from Servia and Montenegro might lead to a change in the friendly relations at present existing between Russia and Austria and cause serious complications in

the East. He says that a difference in the views of the two Governments being already apparent, and no common action having been agreed upon between them for the eventuality of Servia and Montenegro declaring war to Turkey, the interests of Austria may induce her, should that eventuality occur, to adopt measures against these Principalities, which Russia, considering her past policy towards them and the sympathy of her population with the Slavonic subjects of the Porte, could not see with indifference.

I have asked Baron Hofmann whether the change which would be effected in the character of the question by the Slav Principalities making common cause with the insurgents, has been considered in the communications which have taken place between the Northern Powers, and he assures me that it has not. He hopes, however, that though the refusal of the Servian Government to allow the Turkish Consul at Semlin to enter Belgrade may be considered in some degree as an act of hostility, the war party will be restrained by the Government. And that the Consuls who have arrived at Mostar may succeed in inducing the insurgents to seek a pacific arrangement with the Turkish authorities. He said that the Italian and French Consuls at Scutari are believed to be at Cettigné endeavouring to support Prince Nicholas' efforts in favour of the maintenance of peace, but he did not seem to think that they would exercise much influence on the result. In speaking of the complaints which are daily brought to him by the Turkish Ambassador of large bands of sympathisers passing from Austrian territory into the insurgent provinces, he said, these reports were entirely false, though the local authorities could not be expected to prevent such persons crossing the frontier during the night; and, as if to show how little Turkish statements are worthy of credence, he said that Raschid Pasha had yesterday expressed an opinion that the question would be more easily settled if Servia and Montenegro took a part in the conflict, as the Turkish Government had a force of 80,000 men ready to occupy these provinces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 152.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 8.)

(No. 276. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 4, 1875.*

I HAVE asked my Russian colleague whether the Consuls at Mostar may not have some difficulty in executing their instructions, if it be true that, in consequence of the capture of Dusi, the convent referred to in my telegram of the 1st instant, the insurgent bands had retired to the mountains. M. de Nowikow said that if the primates of the villages could be communicated with, and made to understand that it was only through a pacific arrangement with the Turkish authorities that their grievances could be redressed, they might be expected to exercise sufficient influence with the insurgents to induce those among them who are natives of the province to return to their homes; and that if the "Garibaldians" from Servia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, who had instigated the insurrection, with a view to ulterior objects, were abandoned to themselves, it might be hoped that, when unsupported by the country, they would soon be obliged to quit it by the Turkish troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 153.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 8, 1875, 10 P.M.*

THE Porte publishes a report from the Governor-General of Bosnia, stating that the insurgents, who had attempted in large numbers to take possession of certain defiles, had been completely routed, with the loss of 150 killed, and as many wounded, by Imperial troops sent from Gatcha, which have occupied the defiles.

No. 154.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 8, 1875, 10·30 P.M.*

I HAVE learnt most confidentially that Server Pasha has given a lamentable account of the state of the Herzegovina. The country had been devastated by the insurgents, who had destroyed about seventy villages, and the generals complain that they have not sufficient troops, and no money.

No. 155.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 9, 1875, 6·30 P.M.*

I HAVE sent the following to Mr. White at Belgrade:—

It was reported here to-day that the force now being despatched to the frontier, was to proceed to occupy Servia in retaliation for the incursions from the Principality.

I have received positive assurances that there is no truth in it.

No. 156.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 10.)

(No. 504. Confidential.)

Therapia, August 30, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAD this morning a very confidential conversation with Safvet Pasha, about the belief, which the Grand Vizier said was entertained by the Sultan, that the proposal of the three Powers had been concurred in by Her Majesty's Government, and I alluded to the satisfaction that Count Zichy said His Majesty had expressed at what was being done.

Safvet Pasha answered: "My dear Ambassador, you have been here long enough to know that the great object of the Sultan is, that an Ambassador who has an audience of him, should go away satisfied, even if it should be at the expense of his Ministers."

The surprise of the Grand Vizier upon learning that Her Majesty's Government had not concurred in the proposal made by Count Zichy, Safvet Pasha attributed to the fact of His Highness having only taken office when it was already accepted, and to his ignorance of the steps which had led to it.

I asked, very confidentially, whether he thought it at all probable that General Ignatiew had insinuated that all the Powers were agreed.

He said that he had little doubt that the Ambassador had not allowed it to appear that there was any difference of opinion, and that he had spoken of the proposal as being that of "the Powers" in general.

The Sultan goes in general, he observed, very superficially into the questions that arise, and had attached no importance to what was passing in the Herzegovina.

I said I had been much struck with this at my audience a fortnight ago, when His Majesty had treated the matter as if it were too insignificant to discuss.

I believe the truth to be that none of the Ministers venture, in their communications with their Sovereign, to dwell much on any unpleasant subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 157.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 10.)

(No. 506.)

Therapia, August 31, 1875.

My Lord,

THE Grand Vizier, speaking of Server Pasha's mission to the Herzegovina, said that he should be glad that Mr. Holmes should be made aware that the Commissioner was authorized to promise the acceptance of all the demands which had been embodied in a petition from the inhabitants of that district to the Porte two months ago.

His Highness was ready, he said, to give me this assurance in the most formal manner, and it might have a good effect if it was known through Mr. Holmes that this promise had been made.

I said I should acquaint Mr. Holmes with the nature of this communication that His Highness had just made to me.

In speaking of this afterwards to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I could not refrain from pointing out what a deplorable evidence it afforded of the manner in which the administration was conducted.

Here was a statement of grievances, the existence of which must long ago have been perfectly known to the Porte, and which were embodied in a petition, the terms of which must, from their present acceptation, be presumed to be reasonable; but no attempt was made to remedy them till the people rose in insurrection.

Discontent, provoked by similar grievances, prevailed extensively throughout all the other provinces, and the Porte would, in my opinion, do well to show a determination to remedy the abuses, by despatching Commissioners to the parts where no insubordination had been exhibited, with orders to investigate closely the complaints of the people.

Safvet Pasha said he would convey the suggestion to the Grand Vizier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 158.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 11.)

(No. 34. Consular.)

Scutari, le 31 Août, 1875.

My Lord,

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à votre Excellence copie de la dépêche en date d'aujourd'hui que je viens d'adresser à l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté la Reine à Constantinople, au sujet des derniers événements de l'Herzégovine.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure in No. 158.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Scutari, le 31 Août, 1875.

Excellence,

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence qu'une parfaite tranquillité règne jusqu'à présent dans cette Province, et malgré l'insurrection de l'Herzégovine, la tranquillité publique n'est point troublée même dans le Monténégro, où le Prince semble avoir jusqu'aujourd'hui la ferme volonté de ne pas sortir des devoirs de la plus stricte neutralité, puisque chaque jour on envoie librement des vivres pour les troupes Ottomanes qui se trouvent à Niksitch par voie de Monténégro, et c'est contre les ordres du Prince que de Monténégrins sont passés sur le territoire Ottoman pour combattre avec les insurgés, et au sujet de ces événements M. Wassitch, Consul-Général d'Autriche-Hongrie, et M. Yastrebor, Consul de Russie, residents ici, ont reçu l'ordre de leurs Gouvernements de partir pour Raguse, où ils trouveront leurs instructions; en effet, hier ils sont partis, et j'ai crû de mon devoir d'en informer votre Excellence, en lui envoyant hier le télégramme suivant:—

"Consul-Général d'Autriche et Consul de Russie partent aujourd'hui pour Raguse, où recevront instructions au sujet des affaires d'Herzégovine."

On ne peut pas prévoir le résultat de leur mission; cependent si les insurgés de l'Herzégovine n'ont d'autre aide que les volontaires qui viennent chez eux des contrées voisines, ils ne gagnernient rien et ils seront écrasés par les troupes Turques que l'on a envoyées contre eux et qui ont débarquées dans l'enclave de Klek.

Les Consuls de France et d'Italie n'ont reçu jusqu'à présent aucun ordre de départ et j'attends les instructions que votre Excellence voudra bien me donner à ce sujet pour m'y conformer entièrement.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 159.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 12.)

Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 11 September, 1875.

My Lord,

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence, pour son information, la copie ci-incluse d'une dépêche que je viens de recevoir de son Excellence Safvet Pasha, relativement à la mission de son Excellence Server Pasha comme Commissaire Impérial en Herzégovine, ainsi que la copie y annexée des instructions concernant cette mission.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 159.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

Le 2 Septembre, 1875.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

PAR ma dépêche télégraphique du 22 Août, je vous ai communiqué la proposition que les Grandes Puissances ont faite à la Sublime Porte relativement aux affaires de l'Herzégovine.

Dans sa sollicitude paternelle, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan a usé de la plus grande modération vis-à-vis des insurgés; il ne leur a épargné aucun conseil pour les ramener dans la vie de l'obéissance. Notre Auguste Maître a daigné envoyer à Mostar son Excellence Server Pacha, Président du Conseil d'Etat, en qualité de Commissaire Impérial. Il lui a donné le mandat de s'enquérir des griefs formulés par les rebelles, de les redresser, s'il y a lieu, et de faire disparaître promptement les abus qui pourraient exister dans l'administration locale. Je vous envoie, ci-joint, pour votre information, les instructions données à son Excellence Server Pacha; elles contiennent plus d'une preuve de la bienveillance de Sa Majesté le Sultan pour ces populations égarées, et nous aimons à espérer que la voix du Commissaire Impérial sera dûment écoutée. Pour ce qui est de la démarche à faire par les Consuls des Grandes Puissances, nous les envisageons comme pouvant contribuer à pacifier la révolte. Dans le cas contraire, nous aurons écarté toute responsabilité, et personne ne pourra nous rapprocher d'avoir repoussé un moyen qui pouvait tout terminer sans effusion de sang. Je dois ajouter qu'en même temps toutes les dispositions ont été prises, et des troupes en nombre suffisant concentrées sur les lieux, pour pouvoir, au besoin, accomplir la tâche qui leur incombe.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) SAFVET.

Inclosure 2 in No. 159.

Instructions addressed to Server Pasha, Imperial Commissioner in Herzegovina.

L'INSURRECTION qui a éclaté du côté de l'Herzégovine vous étant connue, il est superflu d'entrer dans des détails à ce sujet. Les pièces relatives aux plaintes et aux réclamations des habitants à propos de certains actes d'illégalité et d'injustice qui auraient eu lieu en Herzégovine vous ayant été remises, il est également inutile d'en parler ici.

Vous n'ignorez point que les lois et règlements de l'Empire, dont les dispositions reposent sur la base de la justice et de l'équité, s'appliquent à tous les sujets de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan indistinctement, et qu'ils ne peuvent subir aucune modification exclusivement en faveur d'une seule localité. Par conséquent, si la mise à exécution laisse à désirer, ou s'il existe un abus quelconque, le Gouvernement Impérial, dans sa sollicitude paternelle pour ses populations, a le devoir sacré d'y remédier.

La base fondamentale de votre mission, c'est donc de redresser immédiatement les abus, s'il en existe, de rassurer les esprits, et de rétablir la tranquillité.

Comme les actes d'arbitraire et de vexations signalés dans les pièces susmentionnées sont contraires à la volonté de notre très-gracieux Souverain, Sa Majesté vous autorise à proclamer que désormais ils ne se renouvelleront plus; à donner à cet effet les assurances les plus formelles, à destituer, à punir et à corriger, après enquête, ceux des employés ou des habitants qui auraient commis des actes contraires aux lois et règlements de l'Empire; à instituer un Tribunal Extraordinaire pour rendre justice aux personnes qui auraient été

victimes de pareils actes de vexations; à exécuter les sentences rendus à la suite de l'examen équitable de ces plaintes et réclamations; à transporter dans d'autres localités les personnes dont l'influence a pu réellement troubler l'ordre public et la sécurité des habitants; à faire mettre en liberté ceux des habitants qui, d'après les plaintes formulées, auraient été envoyées en exil, illégalement, et sans être convaincus d'un crime. En un mot, Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan vous autorise à exécuter tout ce qui sera jugé nécessaire, dans les limites des lois et règlements de l'Empire.

Dès votre arrivée à Mostar, vous porterez à la connaissance de tout le monde l'objet de votre mission. Vous devez faire bien comprendre que le vœu de notre Auguste Maître, c'est de ne laisser molester aucunement ses sujets fidèles, mais bien d'accroître progressivement leur repos et leur prospérité. Néanmoins, si, malgré tout cela, les habitants qui, sans attendre les résultats de leurs réclamations, ont pris les armes, et ont osé commettre des actes illégaux en opposition avec leurs devoirs de sujets; si, tout en méritant d'être punis, ils ne savent pas apprécier les bienfaits de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan et s'en montrer reconnaissants; si, disons-nous, ils continuent à persévérer dans la voie de la révolte, il ne restera plus qu'à employer, à regret, la force contre de pareils récalcitrants.

Vous leur ferez comprendre également ce dernier point. Vous agirez en conséquence, le cas échéant, et en informerez la Sublime Porte.

No. 160.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 12 Septembre, 1875.

My Lord,

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence la copie ci-jointe d'une dépêche télégraphie que je viens de recevoir de son Excellence Safvet Pacha, et qui explique les raisons de la concentration d'un certain nombre de troupes à Nisch et à Vidin, cette concentration de troupes étant une mesure de précaution, purement défensive, et destiné à repousser toute agression venant du côté de la Servie ou du Monténégro.

Votre très dévoué,

(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 160.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 9 Septembre*, 1875.

EN présence des événements de l'Herzégovine, et en vue de faire face à toutes les éventualités auxquelles les dispositions actuelles des esprits en Servie pourraient donner lieu, le Gouvernement Impérial a dû concentrer un certain nombre de troupes à Nisch et à Vidin. A la suite de cette mesure de précaution et purement défensive, les Représentants des trois Puissances du Nord ont cru devoir présenter à la Sublime Porte certaines observations. Nous leur avons répondu que l'envoi de troupes dans cette partie de la Bulgarie n'a jamais eu pour but d'intimider ou d'occuper la Servie, et que la présence de ces troupes ne pouvait aucunement être considérée comme une démonstration hostile à l'égard de la Principauté, ayant uniquement pour mission de repousser toute agression venant du côté de la Servie, et de maintenir la tranquillité intérieure.

Ces déclarations ont satisfait les Ambassadeurs. Vous aurez, de votre côté, à tenir, le cas échéant, le même langage au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Suite à la Dépêche Télégraphique ci-dessus.

Constantinople, le 11 Septembre, 1875.

Les assurances données aux Ambassadeurs des trois Puissances du Nord concernent aussi la Servie que le Monténégro.

No. 161.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.[a]—*(Received September 12.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 12, 1875.*

BARON HOFMANN said yesterday to Hobart Pasha on his way to Constantinople that he might tell the Turks that Russia and Austria are entirely agreed not to tolerate longer the misgovernment of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and that they will insist on the position of the Christians being sufficiently ameliorated to prevent the probability of future disturbances.

No. 162.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 3.) *Mostar, August 26, 1875.*

My Lord,

I HAVE to-day telegraphed to Sir Henry Elliott that the old insurgent districts have now all joined the revolt. They have burnt all the blockhouses along the Montenegrin frontier. Selem Pacha, with three battalions, has reached Gasko without fighting. Troops and provisions are fast arriving at Klek. Governor-General has gone to Stolatz to direct the advance of troops.

The Governor-General told me he had scarcely believed that the old revolted districts of Bagnam, Piva, Drobniak and others, which, since the last war, had enjoyed privileges practically exempting them from all taxation, and which left them as independant as a people could wish to be, would have joined the insurrection. These privileges, he declares, they will now forfeit, as, when affairs are rearranged, the whole of the Herzegevina must be placed on the same footing.

Reinforcements are rapidly arriving. At Stolatz there are now eight battalions, and Dervish Pasha left this morning for that place to direct them on those points which may be necessary. Three battalions are expected to arrive at Klek to-day from Dratch. Selem Pasha has made his way to Gasko without opposition from the insurgents, who, as usual, retired as he advanced.

The battalion in Piva, at a place called Goransko, is surrounded by the insurgents, also the battalion at Tchorkvitza, but both are considered safe, being sufficiently fortified and supplied with ammunition, also with provisions for two months.

Some time will elapse before the troops now arriving can be utilised, as there is a great difficulty in finding sufficient transport animals. The Pasha has as yet only about 1,500 at his disposal, and is rather embarrassed as to the means of moving on the troops as they arrive at Klek. This matter of transport will, I think, be one of his greatest difficulties.

The "Talia" steamer has arrived at Klek with flour, biscuits, and ammunition.

His Excellency tells me that at Lashlidgé, in Bosnia, there has been an attempt at insurrection, but he thinks it either has or will be immediately suppressed. A band of Servians also crossed the Drina near Svorrick, but they were driven back and several of them killed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 163.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 4.) *Mostar, August 30, 1875.*

My Lord,

I HAVE to-day telegraphed to Sir Henry Elliot as follows:—

"On the 28th, Nevessin was burnt by the insurgents. Excitement here would have caused an outbreak but for the Governor-General. Server Pasha arrives here 31st instant."

Last night news arrived of the destruction of Nevessin. There are as yet no reliable details, but it was reported that numbers of Turkish women and children had been killed

[a] Repeated to Sir H. Elliot and Mr. Doris.

or carried off. There is probably some exaggeration, but the excitement of the Mussulmans was so great that they armed and assembled in numbers, and it was only owing to the influence Dervish Pasha has over them that an onslaught on the Christians was prevented. His Excellency sent off 150 of them at once to Nevessin. It is known that the telegraph station and the clerk there were burnt.

It would appear that the insurgents have long been watching for an opportunity to burn and pillage Nevessine, and this was unfortunately afforded them by Selim Pasha unwisely taking with him to Gasko nearly all the troops there, leaving only three companies. During the attack these three companies were only able to defend themselves and preserve the depôt of ammunition. Dervish Pasha, on hearing that Nevessin had been thus denuded of troops, had sent forward three or four companies to reinforce the garrison, but they arrived too late, a few hours after the place had been burnt and the insurgents had retreated. Dervish Pasha tells me that this affair had doubtless been all concerted between the Christian inhabitants and the insurgents. The former had made an appeal to the Governor-General to be furnished with arms, declaring that they were faithful subjects of the Sultan, willing to defend their homes and oppose the insurgents. Their protestations were believed and weapons were put into their hands, which they made use of as soon as the occasion offered against the Turks.

The Governor-General declares, and I am quite of his opinion, that the atrocities which have been committed by the Christians, and, perhaps, in some cases in retaliation, by the Turks, have established such a blood-feud as will henceforward render it impossible that the two people can live in peace together; one or the other must quit the country; and after the affair is at an end he sees no hope of permanent tranquillity unless all the turbulent part of the Christian population be deported to some other locality far from their homes and from the neighbourhood of those who sympathise with them and continually excite them to disturbance. However, there will be occasion to revert to this subject hereafter.

His Excellency Server Pasha arrives here to-morrow as Imperial Commissioner. The Governor-General this morning warmly expressed to me his great satisfaction that your Lordship had authorized me to come to Mostar, as he said that my presence, as one well acquainted with the affairs of the country, would be a great support and comfort to him in Council.

His Excellency returned from Stolatz on the evening of the 29th, having dispatched four battalions to Bilekia and three to Trebigné. As yet, he has no tidings of the result of their march. It is his intention to place strong bodies at Stolatz, Trebigné, Bilekia, Gasko, and Nevessine, and then to send troops from all these positions to attack the rebels in the country surrounded by them, which is the centre of the revolt. The insurgents must then either escape into Dalmatia or Montenegro, or surrender, and he hopes in about a month's time to see the end of the matter.

Dervish Pasha's news from Bosnia is that the rebels along the Save have been driven across the river. The Servian frontier is quiet. Of the disturbances in the neighbourhood of Tashlidjé he has no news, further than that the telegraph wires on the road to Constantinople have been cut.

Mehemet Ali Pasha, who has long been engaged in extirpating the brigands in Epirus and Thessaly, is on his way to Novibazar to take the command there. He is a Prussian by birth, and a good and active officer. There is a kind of panic at Serajevo, and numbers of Austrian subjects and Christian families are quitting the place. I think there is no occasion for alarm, but the fact of the Austrian Consul-General having sent away his family, followed by the immediate departure of Miss Irby with her schoolmistresses and pupils, made people imagine that there must be danger.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 164.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 5.) *Mostar, September 5, 1875.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the latest despatch I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot.

Since the burning of Nevessin nothing has occurred in the Herzegovina on the part of the insurgents. Troops are still arriving, and are sent to the most important points. News has arrived to-day of a skirmish with the Servians and insurgents near Belina, in

which the Governor-General assures me the troops were successful. Reinforcements are said to be rapidly arriving at Yenibazar, and a certain anxiety which has lately been felt for the safety of Serigevo will, I think, be relieved.

Servir Pasha reached Mostar on the evening of the 3rd, and brought me my instructions as Member of the Commission for the Herzegovina. My Russian, German, and Austrian colleagues arrived last night, and those of France and Italy are expected this evening.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 164.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Mostar, September 2, 1875.

Sir,

ON the 31st August I telegraphed to your Excellency as follows:—

"Dervish Pasha is removed. Nothing could be more mistimed and injudicious. The revolution will acquire strength and the Turks be discouraged. Nobody is so fit to command here at this moment as Dervish. The Government should give him high rank and order him still to conduct operations here. Trebigné is relieved. Several thousand Servians are ravaging the Bosniac frontier. A capable Governor is required at Serajevo."

This unfortunate decision of the Porte changes the whole aspect of affairs. Ahmit Hamdy Pasha, who replaces Dervish Pasha, is a good man, and would have done exceedingly well as Civil Governor of Bosnia and military-lieutenant to Dervish Pasha, but Hamdy Pasha has neither the experience nor the prestige of Dervish Pasha, who knows every person as well as every locality in the Herzegovina, and has great influence with the people, who both fear and like him. His idea was to have sent Hamdy Pasha to Serajevo and to have continued operations here himself. All was going on as well as possible, but now I fear everything will be thrown into confusion. I have some hopes that the Government will, as I have suggested to your Excellency, continue Dervish Pasha in the supreme command here, and it would be politic, I think, to give him the title of Sirdar, which he covets. This would stimulate him to renewed exertion, increase his influence here, and proportionately discourage the rebels. If he goes, however, to Monastir, as muchir of the third army corps, the insurgents and their abettors will rejoice at having got rid of perhaps the only man among the Turkish generals who has a practical knowledge of their country and their affairs, and will gain fresh courage in calculating on the comparative inexperience of his successor.

On the 30th I wrote to your Excellency that the Servian frontier was quiet. On that evening, however, Dervish Pasha received half-a-dozen telegrams informing him that the Servians had passed the frontier in force with artillery, and had surrounded Yenivarosh, Preboi, and other places, and were burning and destroying in the same way as the rebels in this quarter. The district of Chainitzá had also risen in revolt, and there are several thousand insurgents at Tashlidge, and the situation of Bosnia is becoming very critical.

The struggle now takes the character of a war of Sclavism against Mussulman domination in Bosnia, and is no longer a local insurrection. It seems to me that the matter must now be settled at Belgrade, and if the Prince Milan cannot control his people the Turks must do it for him, by marching into Servia. The fact of the Servians actually taking part in the insurrection is a complication which upsets all previous calculations, and it is impossible now to predict what may happen, particularly when, at this critical moment, the conduct of affairs is given into the hands of persons without intimate knowledge of the country and with little or no influence over the people.

No one here can understand the mission of Server Pasha. The rebels were offered by Constant Effendi every possible concession, but evidently would accept none. What more can Server Pasha offer? Now that they have been murdering, burning, and robbing in all directions, and have inflicted all the misery and destruction in their power on the Mussulman population, any talk of concessions to them would be felt by the Turks here as a humiliation not to be endured, and, as Dervish Pasha said to me, all control over them would probably be lost, and each would seek his own vengeance as best he might. I think Servir Pasha will at once see that he has no work to do here at present. He might, on the contrary, be useful if sent at once to Belgrade with an ultimatum.

I have just seen a recent letter from the Secretary of Prince Nicholas to Constant Effendi, in which His Highness in most friendly terms thinks it best for all parties to defer the settlement of the frontier question until peace is restored, and reiterates his

assurances of neutrality. I may here state that when Constant Effendi visited the Prince three months ago, he came to the conclusion that from the commencement the insurrectionary movement had its origin at Belgrade. The disaffected inhabitants of Nevessin were thence directed to go to Grahovo in Montenegro, rather than to Servia, and also the Herzegovina was chosen for the outbreak, among other reasons, for its vicinity to Montenegro. Money was sent there from Belgrade to the malcontents at Grahovo, and the Prince expressed to Constant Effendi how much he was dissatisfied with these proceedings, and the evident intention to direct public notice regarding these affairs to Montenegro rather than Servia.

It must be remembered that a very great advance in civilization has been made in Montenegro since the last war, and everything he saw convinced Constant Effendi that the Prince had no idea of taking part in any hostilities. Whether at length he will be more able to restrain his subjects than the Prince of Servia, remains to be seen.

I received to-day your Excellency's telegram of the 31st August, and immediately despatched the following telegram, which the foregoing remarks will sufficiently explain:—

"Prince of Montenegro repeats promises of neutrality. Server not yet here. His mission seems useless humiliation for the Government. Every possible concession was made by Constant Effendi. The affair seems a war of Slavs against Ottoman rule in Bosnia. The Government should treat the matter at Belgrade."

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 165.

Consul Taylor to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 9. Political.)

My Lord, *Ragusa, August* 30, 1875.

THE "Correspondenz Bureau" of Vienna has circulated among its subscribers here a very complete résumé of the "Times" leading article on the Herzegovina, that appeared in its issue of the 23rd instant. That part of it relative to Server Pasha's mission and his probable consent under instructions from the Porte to transform Bosnia and the Herzegovina into a tributary principality, has met with a very qualified approbation from the Slavs. They pretend to all or nothing, meaning thereby complete separation from the Porte, and amalgamation, as a separate independent Power, with Servia and Montenegro, or a continuance of the rebellion, supported by the sympathizers from those vassal States, and others this side the border. Therefore, they do not regard with much favour the appointment of a Mixed Commission to dispose of their self-presumed interests, without their having a voice in the matter.

The French Consul for Mostar, just returned from Paris, the Russian Consul for Scutari, the Austrian Consul-General for the same place, and the Prussian Consul for Ragusa, leave on the 1st proximo for Mostar, to assist on Server Pasha's Commission.

General Mehemed Ali Pasha (Detroit), coming from Thessaly and Janina, arrived at Ragusa on the 27th, *en route* for Klek, to join the main army at Mostar; but, on the 28th, received telegraphic instructions from Constantinople to retrace his steps to Antivari, and from thence proceed to take up a separate command near Novi Bazaar, not far from the Servian frontier, where a considerable Servian military force has been collected. At and about that point, large bodies of sympathizers from that State have succeeded in crossing the border, and now swell the insurgent ranks.

From this side eight or ten Garibaldians (Italians) attempted to cross the Austrian frontier into Turkey; but, being prevented by the local gendarmerie, a conflict ensued, when the chief of the latter was shot dead by one of the Italians. His companions were captured. The unfortunate victim was buried yesterday with military honours.

Trebigné has at length been relieved, and the blockade raised by Dervish Pasha, who burnt all the Christian villages in the vicinity—a barbarous act—but the insurgents succeeded in carrying off all the cattle, horses, and sheep belonging to the Moslems, which they are selling openly at Metkovich, here, and other places in Austrian territory. The repulsed insurgents, preserving their arms, have taken refuge at Brenno, an hour from this.

From all accounts, it would seem the native insurgents now are positively dispirited, and willing to accept any terms; but the real abettors of this rebellion in Dalmatia, Servia, and Montenegro, still hope to keep up the conflict with brilliant results—a delusion for

which I am glad to say at present there seems little hope, if the Servians do not actively intervene.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

No. 166.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 14. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna Serai, September 3, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch which I have just addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, regarding a revolt that has broken out in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 166.

Acting Consul Freeman to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Bosna Serai, September 3, 1875.*

ON the 29th instant I telegraphed to your Excellency that a revolt had broken out in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar; that there were large numbers of insurgents in the neighbourhood of Tashlidjeh; that Priboi was surrounded by bands of armed Servians and insurgents; and that the telegraph wire had been cut.

The details received here of this insurrectionary movement are very meagre, but as far as can be gathered from various conflicting statements, it would appear that it commenced in the vicinity of Tashlidjeh, and in a very short time large bodies of insurgents, amounting in all to several thousands, congregated near that town. There were some rather sharp encounters between them and the irregular troops, in which the latter are said to have had thirty killed and upwards of forty wounded. The loss of the insurgents is not known.

About the same time armed bands coming from Servia raised the Christians in revolt around Priboi, an exclusively Mussulman village, which they completely invested. They have since burnt it, but it is not known here what was the fate of the inhabitants.

The insurgents have now advanced as far as Chainitza, in the Sandjak of Seragevo, and are joined by the Christian peasants as they advance. It is thought that Vishegrad will be the next place attacked, and already the Mussulmans are said to be leaving the town in anticipation of such an event.

A regiment of cavalry coming from Sienitza fell into an ambuscade, and an officer and two privates were shot down at the first discharge. They then succeeded in effecting a retreat, and a battalion of infantry, also from Sienitza, was sent to their relief, but the whole force is now said to be hemmed in by the insurgents somewhere near Nova-Varosh. The Constantinople road is intercepted, the post has been unable to pass, and telegraphic communication is interrupted.

The question now is, what is the plan of these insurgents; are they merely endeavouring to effect a junction by way of Focha with those in the Herzegovina, or is their object to advance on Seragevo, to which the road is quite open once they have crossed the Drina and passed Vishegrad? It is not very probable that they would ever succeed in entering the town, although the whole military force now here consists of only half a battalion of Redif and a few artillerymen, but their presence even in the vicinity of the capital of the province would produce the worst possible effect throughout the country. A sort of municipal guard has been raised here of the Mussulman townspeople, to the number of about 800, under the command of two Bosnine notables, and 300 irregulars have arrived from the district of Visoka. This force will be sent towards Vishegrad to-morrow.

Altogether the situation is very critical. No troops arrive in Bosnia, and there is no efficient officer to take the direction of affairs. The Mussulmans are quite discouraged, and ask why the Government shows so little concern for them, while it must be said, to their honour, they have throughout shown a spirit of incontestable loyalty to the Porte. The Redif have everywhere been embodied without difficulty; large numbers of irregulars are enrolled with the greatest facility; and hitherto I have heard of no disorder of any kind having occurred, nor of any excesses or acts of violence having been committed.

The arrival of Ahmet Hamdi Pasha is anxiously awaited, and the Turkish population of Seragevo have telegraphed to his Excellency at Mostar, begging him to hasten his departure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 167.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 42. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, September 6, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the words of a telegram in cypher I addressed yesterday afternoon (the 5th instant) to Sir Henry Elliot, in reply to one received from his Excellency:—

"All manner of arguments employed by the new Ministry for the demonstration of the danger that may arise from the concentration of the Turkish force on this frontier. It appears a most salutary check if discreetly employed by the Porte."

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 168.

Mr. Macdonell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 382. Private and Confidential.)
My Lord, *Berlin, September 9, 1875.*

THE Turkish Ambassador, Aristarchi Bey, returned to Berlin a few days ago. His Excellency had lately proceeded on leave of absence, but was directed by his Government to return to his post without delay.

His Excellency called upon me yesterday on his way to visit M. de Bülow, and said that, before speaking to the German Secretary of State, he was most desirous to know your Lordship's views with regard to the present crisis in Northern Turkey. The more immediate object of his Excellency's visit, however, was, if I am not mistaken, to ascertain the nature of the reports I have addressed to your Lordship with regard to the part taken by Germany in her joint action with Russia and Austria in the affairs of Turkey.

I limited myself to communicating to his Excellency those portions of your Lordship's telegrams and despatches which I thought your Lordship would wish the Turkish Ambassador to know, observing to him at the same time that it was impossible to ascertain the course the German Government were following, or intended to follow, owing to the marked silence they observe with regard to his country, and that indeed I should feel grateful if he could enlighten me on the subject. His Excellency then asked me how far Her Majesty's Government approved the proposal of the Northern Powers, and under what circumstances Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople had been authorized to join in that step. I replied that I had no other information but that which I had derived from the correspondence which had passed through my hands, and which led me to conclude that Her Majesty's Government were certainly not favourable to the plan concocted at Vienna. Moreover, I had reason to believe that the Turkish Government had been made aware that Her Majesty's Government doubted the expediency of the Consular intervention, and in consenting to join in it, they did so at the last moment with reluctance, and at the special request of the Porte, who, they were of opinion, ought to have dealt with the insurgents without foreign intervention.

Evidently Aristarchi Bey is not kept regularly informed by his Government, for his Excellency assured me that what I had stated to him would prove of the greatest value, as he had reason to believe that M. de Bülow was under the firm impression that Her Majesty's Government had no serious intention of upholding Turkey, beyond a certain safe limit, in her present or future complications, or interfere with the joint action of the three Imperial Governments in the affairs of Turkey. As the above impression is preva-

lent here in official circles, I availed myself of that opportunity to state to Aristarchi Bey that I could safely assure him, and he was at liberty to repeat it, that Her Majesty's Government were determined to maintain towards Turkey the position they had always held, namely, to support all necessary or desirable reforms, but to do all in their power to keep the Turkish Empire together.

His Excellency then referred to the unfriendly tone of the German press, and expressed regret that the English newspapers and certain influential persons should think fit to prejudge the question by openly sympathizing with the insurgents. I pointed out to him that as in England we had no Press Bureau, Her Majesty's Government could not be held responsible for the opinions expressed by the newspapers, and still less could they prevent the indiscretion of private individuals, the best proof of which was the unreserved assurance I had ventured to give him.

On his return from visiting M. de Bülow, Aristarchi Bey again called to inform me that he had thought proper to communicate to the Secretary of State what I had stated, as his Excellency affected to ignore altogether that any difference of opinion existed between Her Majesty's Government and the three Northern Powers with regard to the Consular mediation, and that M. de Bülow had observed that he could not understand what was meant by "England maintaining the position it had hitherto held towards Turkey," the more so, as his Excellency was not aware that the policy of Her Majesty's Government in the East would be affected by the perfect cordial understanding existing between the three Powers, whose object was to secure peace in Europe by demanding of Turkey salutary reforms for her disaffected provinces. Aristarchi Bey expressed some surprise at the very marked manner in which M. de Bülow spoke of the "parfaite entente cordiale" existing between the three Imperial Governments, the more so as he (the Turkish Ambassador) is confident that so perfect an understanding does not really exist. Moreover, this Government, he thinks, is guided by no fixed plan of action, but only prompted by the desire to sow discord between Russia and Austria, which may eventually serve Prince Bismarck's purpose.

In support of this opinion, he added, I can state to you very confidentially that the German Government must have been aware before the outbreak that an insurrection was preparing in the Herzegovina, for the names of the individuals connected with it, the places at which arms and ammunition had been stored, and, in fact, many valuable details, were made known to me here, which I promptly communicated to my Government; and had, therefore, the German Government been desirous to maintain peace, it was in their power to do so.

In reply to my question why the Turkish Government had not themselves taken the necessary precautions, his Excellency said that, strange to say, his communications were left unanswered until the appointment of the present Grand Vizier; and this fact, connected with the manner in which the Sultan was led to believe that the Vienna proposal came jointly from the signatories of the Treaty of Paris, proves that an act bordering upon treachery must have been practised at Constantinople.

I may here add that the Berlin journals attach great importance to a Communiqué which lately appeared in the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" (a copy of which I have the honour to inclose). Great stress is laid on the words in italics, "*statu quo* amélioré."

This idea of improving the *statu quo* in Turkey has likewise, it appears, been taken up here, since the Press Bureau has communicated to the papers an article in that sense ending as follows:—

"The Turkish Authorities have now by an express provision guaranteed the blessings of peace to their disturbed provinces. This task requires the particular attention of the Turkish Government, for it is due to the successful interference of European diplomacy that the neighbouring States have been prevented from making common cause with the insurgents, and that the insurrection has not taken greater proportions. This binds Turkey by a moral obligation to the whole of Europe."

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. G. MACDONELL.

Inclosure in No. 168.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of September 7, 1875.

NOUS croyons savoir que l'initiative de l'action diplomatique est venue de St. Pétersbourg. L'Autriche-Hongrie étant intéressée en première ligne dans les événements survenus à sa frontière, le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg lui a offert son concours sur le terrain

diplomatique, persuadé que la Cour de Vienne, tout comme lui, ne pouvait avoir en vue que l'apaisement et le *statu quo* amélioré. Le Cabinet de Berlin en a agi de même. L'accord se trouvant établi sur ce terrain on a proposé aux autres Gouvernements de s'y joindre, dans la conviction que ce double but répondrait à leurs vœux unanimes et que l'action diplomatique serait d'autant plus efficace qu'elle procéderait d'un accord général.

D'après cela, il nous paraît peu probable qu'on ait voulu exercer une intervention, ainsi que l'affirme le correspondant de l'Agence Havas. L'entente des Cabinets n'a pu se faire que sur un terrain de modération et de respect des Traités. C'est aussi sur le même terrain que la Porte s'est placée en acceptant la médiation officieuse des Consuls.

Il y a de part et d'autre un désir d'apaisement, de conciliation et d'améliorations pratiques, qui, il faut l'espérer, portera des fruits satisfaisants pour tout le monde. On peut d'autant plus le croire que la prolongation et le renouvellement périodique de ces troubles sanglants n'est dans l'intérêt de personne.

No. 169.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 280. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 9, 1875.*

THE Russian Ambassador here considers that Europe, and especially the Ottoman Empire, owe Russia a large debt of gratitude, for having prevented Servia and Montenegro declaring war against Turkey, and given the Porte time to collect troops for the suppression of the insurrection in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

In reply to his self-laudation on the subject, I said that of course the correct conduct of his Government in the question would be duly appreciated; but as, on its being intimated to the Principalities in question that they would not be protected from the misfortunes which a war with Turkey might bring upon them, the event had proved that they were aware of their own impotence, it might be hoped they would never endanger the peace of Europe without having reason to expect foreign sympathy and support.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 170.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 281.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 9, 1875.*

AS Mr. Consul-General White does not refer in his despatches, which I forward to-day, to the Servian authorities having prevented the Turkish Consul at Semlin from landing at Belgrade, as reported in Sir Henry Elliot's telegram of the 30th ultimo, I may mention that I have learnt from my French colleague that the Turkish Consul was subsequently informed that he might visit Belgrade if he thought fit, but that the authorities could not be responsible for his safety, in consequence of the excitement prevailing among the people.

I also learn from Mr. Heneage, who arrived here yesterday, that when he left Belgrade the Turkish Consul had apparently deemed it imprudent to renew his attempt to enter the town.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 171.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 282. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 9, 1875.*

I LEARN from Baron Orczy that Turkish troops continue to arrive at Klek, and that the number landed there now amounts to 6,000. According to the reports, however,

which have been received by the Austrian Government, the Turkish force which is being concentrated at Nish will not exceed 10,000 men.

Baron Orczy has also assured me that, as arms carried by the Austrian steam-packets appear to have found their way into the Herzegovina, strict orders were given, about a fortnight or three weeks ago, to prevent the embarkation on these steamers of any arms which could possibly be intended for the insurgents, and that a contractor for arms at Trieste had consequently been obliged to throw up his contract.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 172.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 283. Confidential.)
Vienna, September 9, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE been informed by Baron Orczy that 20,000 refugees from Bosnia have crossed the frontier into Croatia, and that 5,000 from the Herzegovina have sought safety in Dalmatia. They consist almost entirely of old men, women, and children, and the greater part of them are Roman Catholics.

Those who crossed into Croatia brought with them a quantity of cattle, for which—though a part of them are believed to have been stolen—they found a ready market at low prices among the Croat peasantry.

It is said, however, that they imported the cattle-plague at the same time into the Province, as the disease has reappeared in some districts which had been previously free from it.

I am told that General Molinari reports from Croatia that some of the refugees have returned to their homes since the rising in Bosnia has been suppressed.

On the outbreak of the insurrection committees were formed in Dalmatia and Croatia to collect subscriptions for the insurgents; and, on the Government prohibiting any assistance in money or arms being sent to them, it was intimated to these committees that they might collect money for the refugees, which the Government would undertake to distribute. Collections, however, for this charitable object did not suit the taste of the public.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 173.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 284. Very Confidential.)
Vienna, September 9, 1875.

My Lord,

MY Russian colleague takes great credit to his Government for the service it has rendered to the Porte, by preventing any movement on the part of Servia or Montenegro in aid of the insurrection in Bosnia and the Herzegovina; but he says, unless something is done to protect the Christian peasantry in the provinces from the extortion and tyranny of the Mussulman landholders, the present outbreak will only be suppressed to recur again when the Turkish garrisons have been reduced to their normal strength, a measure which he believes the financial position of Turkey will soon force the Government to adopt.

M. de Novikow spoke of the necessity of a less onerous system of taxation being established, together with rules by which land should be let to the cultivator for a proportion of the produce, which could not be exceeded, and which should be payable in kind and not in money.

As, however, he also said that the practical state of slavery in which the Christians live could no longer be tolerated, and referred to what had been done by the Emperor Alexander for the peasantry in Russia, it appeared to me that he looked to some radical change being adopted in the position of the Christian population; and from what I subsequently learnt from Baron Orczy, I shall not be surprised if a proposal is brought forward for a portion—perhaps a third—of the land being secured to the peasants in fee, for which an indemnity should be paid by the Government to the landlords, in the same manner as the

landlords were compensated, when the peasants in Hungary and Russia became proprietors of their holdings.

I am told that an arrangement of this kind was introduced into Bulgaria about a century ago, to which the comparative well-being and contentment of the Christian peasantry in that province are to be attributed.

Should the suggestion be made and be favourably considered at Constantinople, the measure, which was nearly equivalent to confiscation in Hungary and Russia, could not, I presume, considering the circumstances of the country, be carried out in a Turkish province with much regard to the rights or the interests of the landholders, or with any probability of their ever receiving the indemity which might be promised for the portion of their estates appropriated to the peasants.

I have asked Baron Hofmann whether there is any serious intention of recommending a reform of this kind at Constantinople, and he denies that it has been under consideration; observing, however, that the neighbouring States cannot consent to continue to be exposed to the inconveniences which they suffer from frequent insurrections in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and that the Porte must devise some means of preventing the Christians from being driven to revolt by the exactions of the Beys, and by being obliged to pay the State taxes more than once.

Since writing the foregoing, I received this morning Mr. Holmes' despatch of the 31st ultimo, in which he reports Dervish Pasha to have expressed an opinion that the Christians and Mussulmans in the Herzegovina can no longer live peacefully together; but his Excellency will probably find that, if tranquillity is only to be secured by the expatriation of one element in the population, it will not be the Christians who will have to leave the country.

The last telegraphic intelligence received here from Mostar reports the Consuls as being about to proceed, after concerting measures with Dervish Pasha, to the districts in which insurgent bands are likely to be met with.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 174.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 14.)

(No. 13. Political.)
Salonica, August 29, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for the information of your Lordship, copy of a despatch I have this day addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting incursions recently made by Montenegrins and Servians into Turkish territory, and the concentration of Turkish troops at Novi-Bazar and Sienitza, in the south of Bosnia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 174.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Salonica, August 29, 1875.

Sir,

I ADDRESSED your Excellency the following telegram (in cypher):—

"*August* 28, 1875.

"Official reports received here yesterday state that Servians crossed frontier on Wednesday last, and attacked, near Nova-Warosh, in Bosnia, a squadron of Turkish cavalry, killing captain and several men. Same day Montenegrins made irruption into Ottoman territory; they were repulsed, leaving seventy-four men killed and wounded.

"This morning orders were received here from the Porte to dispatch immediately all enrolled Redifs to Novi-Bazar, instead of the Herzegovina."

The above information, with the following particulars, was furnished to me from a sure source:—

The squadron of Turkish cavalry was surprised and fired upon by parties of armed Servians, who had crossed the frontier on Wednesday, the 25th instant. Its captain and lieutenant, besides two troopers, were killed, and it had to retreat, in view of the position and force of the aggressors.

The report from Novi-Bazar does not state whether the Servians recrossed the frontier.

The affair near Popova, close to the Montenegrin border, appears to have been far more serious. According to the official report wired to the Minister for War, a body of insurgents, reinforced by armed Montenegrins, under the Chiefs Milan and Potta, was attacked and defeated by a battalion of Turkish troops in the vicinity of Popova. The conflict lasted four hours, and the report adds that the long range of their rifles enabled the Imperial troops to inflict on the enemy a loss of thirty four in killed and forty wounded, without their losing a single man.

A Montenegrin On-bashi (corporal) was taken prisoner by the Turks.

The Ottoman authorities, anticipating further aggressions on a more formidable scale from Servia and Montenegro, are concentrating troops in the vicinity of Sienitza and Novi-Bazar. Both here and at Monastir stringent orders have been received from the Porte to dispatch with all possible speed to the above localities the Redifs originally destined for the Herzegovina.

The Monastir battalion was dispatched yesterday by train from Kiupruli. The Istip and Uscup battalions will start to-morrow, and those being enrolled here, Serres and Drama, will leave this in three or four days; the railway will carry them as far as Mitrovitza, 250 miles distant from here, and about three days from Novi-Bazar.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 175.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 14.)

(No. 14. Political.) *Salonica, August* 30, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose in copy a further despatch which I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting military movements in connection with the insurrection in the Herzegovina, and adverting to the sentiments of the Christian inhabitants, and to the revival of brigandage in my Consular district.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 175.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Salonica, August 30, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency the following information on the military movements in Thessaly, furnished to me by Mr. Vice-Consul Suter, under date Larissa, August 23, 1875:—

"The total forces in Thessaly consist of—

"One battery, six guns of field artillery, stationed at Larissa.

"Four squadrons of cavalry (lancers) in barracks at Tirnova.

"One battalion, eight companies, half cantoned at Volo, half at Armyro, of infantry.

"One battalion, eight companies, distributed between Larissa and Tricalla, of infantry.

"One battalion, eight companies, distributed between Farsala, Denoco, and Feneri, of infantry.

"The artillery and cavalry have not moved.

"Recent telegraphic orders to hasten off all the infantry, which was not to have started for ten days to come, have hurried matters; and last night the two battalions collected here commenced their march to join the one mustered at Volo, whence the whole will embark in Government steamers expected there for them, to be landed, I believe, at Antivari.

"The infantry thus disposed of is to be replaced in Thessaly, for the present, by the local Redifs, now being called out."

Mr. Vice-Consul Blakeney writes to me, under date Prevesa, August 22, 1875, that "all troops at present in Epirus are ordered to leave for the Herzegovina."

Yesterday evening the Provincial authorities received renewed orders from the Porte to expedite the levy of Redifs. These orders are executed with great energy by the Pasha of Salonica. Fully 20,000 men it is estimated will be enrolled in Provinces of Salonica, Thessaly, Epirus, Monastir, Serres, Drama, and Uscup.

The withdrawal of so many hands, chiefly from the agricultural class, when harvest is barely completed and the vintage is approaching, will inconveniently interfere with the industry of these provinces; but the recruitment is proceeding very satisfactorily, and the different districts are furnishing their quota of men with promptitude, if not enthusiasm.

These warlike preparations, the anxiety of the Ottoman authorities at the situation of affairs in the Herzegovina, and the great uncertainty which the public feels with regard to the issue of the present crisis, contribute in no small degree to the excitement of the people, and to the circulation of all sorts of reports. The latest is that the Latin or Roman Catholic Albanians of Miridit—a very warlike people—are disaffected, and waiting for a favourable opportunity to make common cause with the insurgents; but the Ottoman authorities here have received no information whatever in confirmation of this report.

In Macedonia no event has as yet taken place to illustrate the sentiments of the Bulgarian inhabitants at the present juncture.

My informants represent them as very quiet, and actively engaged in harvesting their abundant crops. The Greeks, less numerous than the Bulgarians in the rural districts, are also quiet and similarly occupied; but those in this town, especially of the trading class, forming by far the most important element of the population next to the Jews, appear to take an intense interest in the events of the day; and, from all I see and hear, there is no doubt that their sentiments are in favour of the insurgents.

Their leading men do not believe that Austria is acting loyally towards the Turks; they think that she has secretly fomented the insurrection; and they hope and expect that with her support this movement will extend to proportions which will enable Candia, Thessaly, and the other Greek provinces of Turkey to realize their aspirations—incorporation with the Hellenic kingdom!

At present, I do not apprehend any serious troubles in these frontier provinces further than a revival of brigandage, of which already, I am sorry to say, there are very strong indications.

Almost immediately Mehmed Ali Pasha was transferred to the Herzegovina, the robber Chief Stratzo, who had taken refuge in Greece, crossed the border into Thessaly to renew his former courses; and two other Chiefs, Caloyers and Rappos, have also begun to give signs of activity.

Caloyeros with seven confederates has made his appearance in the district of Carditza, in Thessaly, and has already captured one hostage.

In the district of Dorian, in Macedonia, the brigands have very recently perpetrated most atrocious outrages. They seized, about five days ago, a wealthy Turk and his wife, and after subjecting them to gross indignities, they gouged out the man's eyes, and then hacked him to pieces in his wife's presence! the latter they mutilated by cutting and maiming her hands! She is still alive, and has given information which it is hoped will lead to the apprehension of the authors of these horrible outrages. The Pasha of Salonica has dispatched after them the colonel commanding the provincial police.

In adverting to the revival of brigandage in my Consular district, I should add that the Pashas of Janina and Salonica have been recently authorized by the Porte to offer an amnesty to all brigands who surrender themselves to the authorities.

Brigands against whom no accusers appear within a given date after they surrender are not to be subjected to punishment, but only to two years' police supervision; those against whom accusers can prove their crimes will undergo two years' imprisonment and two years' police supervision.

This measure, I fear, will only tend to foster the evil from which these frontier provinces have suffered so much and so long.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 176.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 15. Political.)
Salonica, September 2, 1875.

My Lord,

INTELLIGENCE reached here yesterday from Novi-Bazaar that armed parties of Montenegrins had again crossed the frontier, menacing Gusinje, a small town not far from Ipek, an Albanian town in North Albania, included in my Consular District; and that at the same time large bodies of armed Servians appeared on the frontier, not far from Nova-Bazaar; and that some of them have made inroads into Turkish territory. My informant further tells me that the official telegrams conveying the above intelligence to the Ottoman Government add, that the Christian and Mahomedan peasants in the vicinity of the frontier had retired for safety into the town of Novi-Bazaar. I have every reason to believe that the above information is correct.

The General in command of Novi-Bazaar has telegraphed for reinforcements; and my correspondent at Mitrovitza writes, under date the 29th ultimo, as follows:—

"On our arrival here* the soldiers had hardly prepared their tents and beds for the night when a telegram from the Commander at Novi-Bazaar ordered them off at once to that place, and the whole battalion left three hours after its arrival. They say that Yeni-Varosh (Nova Varosh), beyond Sienitza, a small town near the Servian frontier, has been blockaded by Servians, and that there was hard fighting going on. This is getting rather close."

In the meantime most active efforts are made by the provincial authorities to dispatch the Redifs to the scene of disturbances. The Monastir, Uscup, Istip, and Salonica battalions, representing a force of 3,200 men, fully equipped and armed with breech-loaders, have reached Novi-Bazaar. The Serres battalion, 800 strong, is expected here to-night, and will be conveyed to-morrow by railway to Mitrovitza. Two further battalions from Drama and Guimorjina will embark on Saturday the 4th instant at Cavalla, in Government steamer; they will be here on Sunday night and start on Monday the 6th instant for Mitrovitza. A battalion of Broussa Redifs is daily expected here *en route* to Uscup, to be stationed there, at which place, I am assured, large supplies of military equipments and provisions are being collected.

Fresh orders have been received by the military authorities at Monastir from the Ministry of War for the additional levy of Redifs; and large contracts for biscuit and flour have been made by the authorities of Monastir, Salonica, and Uscup. I am also happy to say that, with a view to get rid of the odious system of embargo, the authorities are purchasing 1,000 horses for the transport service of the troops at Novi-Bazaar.

On the whole, it appears from these preparations that the Ottoman Government are increasing to the utmost extent that is practicable their forces in the disturbed districts.

Omer Pasha, the Governor-General of Salonica, a military man, seems to think that the object of the Montenegrins and Servians is to get possession of the strip of country in the south of Bosnia which separates Servia from Montenegro, and thus close the door into Bosnia from Roumelia. But as far as I can recollect the topography of this part of Turkey, and the spirit of its inhabitants, I do not think that such a result can be easily effected. The country in question is mountainous, occupied by Albanians, of whom fully eight-tenths are staunch Mahomedans, who are accustomed to desultory warfare, and from whose assistance the Government will derive great advantage in any emergency in which they may feel that the existence of the Empire is at stake.

Already those in the town of Ipek and Jacova have taken up arms, and marched to the assistance of Gusinje: and the military authorities at Monastir and Salonica have received from there and from Prisrend, Pristina, and other towns and villages, pressing applications for rifles and ammunition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

* With the Uscup battalion of Redifs.

No. 177.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 14.)

(No. 511.)
Therapia, September 3, 1875.

My Lord,

THE Grand Vizier has repeated to me, what he has already said, that the instructions to Server Pasha were to grant to the Herzegovina populations every demand compatible with their position as subjects of the Sultan.

If, however, in spite of this, the insurgents should still show themselves determined not to disperse, he trusted that no impediment would be offered to the Sultan's Government in taking such means as they might find necessary to bring them to submission.

I reminded him that from the first Her Majesty's Government have had no wish to be in any way mixed up in the question, and I was convinced that in the eventuality he had alluded to they would be found indisposed to interfere with the free action of the Porte.

It might be hoped that the Governments whose advice had been followed in regard to the mission intrusted to the Consuls would feel themselves equally bound to abstain from further action.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 178.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 14.)

(No. 512.)
Therapia, September 3, 1875.

My Lord,

THE Greek newspapers, which formed the inclosure to Mr. Malet's despatch to your Lordship No. 141, contained an article upon the Herzegovina which well deserves the attention of those who wish to understand the feelings of the Christian populations of the East, which, in spite of some inaccuracies, I have never yet seen so correctly stated in a public print.

I have no doubt that Mr. Malet is justified in saying that this article correctly represents the public feeling in Greece, and it certainly very truly reflects the views of the Greeks of the Turkish Empire.

Those who regard the movement in the Herzegovina as being seen with favour by the whole Christian population of Turkey, are deceived by an imperfect acquaintance with the real state of affairs.

Most persons must feel a sympathy for Christian populations rising against Mussulman domination and misrule, but it would be a complete mistake to attribute the present movement to the grievances of which the populations of the Herzegovina may have a legitimate right to complain.

Those grievances are the pretext much more than the cause of the insurrection, which must be traced to the great national Slav movement, so long fostered by Russia, and for the last few years so unaccountably encouraged by Austria.

A mere movement for the redress of grievances in the Herzegovina would not have excited the people of Servia and Montenegro as we now see them, and what renders the present position critical, is the fact that the Slavonic populations believe the moment come for striking a blow for the attainment of the object of their national ambition.

The Servians, with the insignificant exception of the question of Little Joornek,* have no single ground of complaint against the Porte, and yet we see the whole people ready to declare war against the Sultan, and none but very superficial observers can attribute this enthusiasm to a sympathy with a resistance against tithe exactions or acts of fiscal extortion in a neighbouring province.

What I have above stated is amply confirmed by the attitude of the Greek Christians, even in the provinces in the vicinity of the insurrection.

Hitherto no sign of sympathy in the movement has been given by them, and a letter which I have received to-day from a remarkably well-informed correspondent from Athens states that its success would give no satisfaction in Greece.

The ignorance which is shown even by the most influential portion of the European press upon a question upon which it professes to enlighten the public is as great as the remedies proposed are chimerical; for ingenuity would scarcely devise a more efficacious

* A border fortress in the hands of the Turks.

mode of perpetuating internecine war and utter disorganization than by the erection of Bosnia and the Herzegovina into an autonomic tributary State.

It requires no great sagacity to predict what would be the condition of a province of mixed Christians and Mahomedan semi-savage populations upon the withdrawal of all restraining power over them.

If the Turks are to be expelled, there are, in my opinion, but two alternatives which could offer the slightest prospect of the maintenance of order and tranquility in the province.

The one is by its annexation to Servia, which would, no doubt, be resisted by Austria, and is open to many obvious objections, and the other is by its incorporation with Austria, which would be opposed by the inhabitants, and probably objected to from other more influential quarters.

That the Porte would submit to the erection of the province into a tributary State, except under the compulsion of overpowering European pressure, is not to be expected: and it can hardly be said that the gratification of the ambition of the Slavs would be a justification for the application of such pressure.

Bosnia may be of no great financial benefit to the Empire, but it furnishes a considerable number of the best troops in the Imperial service; and nothing but the direst necessity would induce the Sultan or his Government to consent to sacrifice an important Mussulman population by leaving them at the mercy of a hostile Christian majority, eager for an opportunity of wreaking vengeance upon them.

Your Lordship will not understand me as trying either to palliate or to underrate the abuses and maladministration which have existed under the Turkish rule, but I wish to point out that, even were we free from all international engagements towards Turkey, any attempt to withdraw the northern provinces from the direct administration of Constantinople would be as undesirable, as regards its own interest, as it would be impolitic, as necessarily leading to further dismemberment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT

No. 179.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 14.)

(No. 515.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 4, 1875.*

M. MAGAZINOWITCH, the Servian Agent, called upon me yesterday, and, by order of his Government, begged me to urge upon the Porte the inexpediency of irritating the Servians by a menacing concentration of troops at Nisch and other places on the frontier.

M. Magazinowitch pleaded that the Government which was just formed had no hostile intentions towards Turkey, and that there was a more pacific tendency in the country, but that an accidental collision might easily occur if the Ottoman troops remained near the frontier.

I said that I regretted being obliged to decline to accede to his request.

There was no suspicion of an intention on the part of the Porte to attack Servia, but, considering the warlike attitude which had been assumed in the Principality, common prudence made it necessary for the Sultan's Government to be prepared for any eventuality, so that they might not be taken unawares.

The reports from Her Majesty's Consuls of the bands of Servians already joining the insurgents, the activity of the revolutionary agents, and the doubt whether war against Turkey might not be immediately proclaimed, would have rendered it unpardonable on the part of the Porte to leave the frontier open.

M. Magazinowitch had spoken, he said, to my German and Russian colleagues, whom he had found together, but they had neither of them refused his request so categorically as I had, only answering that they would take it into consideration.

I spoke upon the subject this morning to the Grand Vizier, who said that, M. Magazinowitch having communicated to him the instructions of his Government, he had given him the most formal assurances that Servia had nothing to dread from the neighbourhood of the Imperial troops, who would scrupulously abstain from every act of aggression, but the Government could not think of withdrawing them.

Their numbers would, on the contrary, be increased, and there would soon be above 60,000 between Widdin and Novi-Bazaar. I told his Highness of the language I had held to M. Magazinowitch, with which he was gratified, but I added that I hoped if Servian

bands crossed the frontier, the troops would be satisfied with driving them back, and would not take it as a pretext for invading Principality.

His Highness assured me that this was his determination.

I did not ask what he would do if a regular Servian force were to attempt an invasion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 180.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 14.)

(No. 516.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 4, 1875.*

THE Firman, of which the translation is inclosed, has been addressed to the Governors-General of all the provinces, ordering them to carry out the provision of the late Hatt by a close attention to the administration of justice, and holding them responsible for any negligence.

I have likewise the honour to inclose the translation of a letter by which the First Secretary of the Sultan conveys to the Grand Vizier His Majesty's orders that instructions shall be sent to the provinces to put an end to the exactions in the collection of the revenue, it being, his Majesty states, unfortunately true that "the causes which have led to disturbances among peaceable populations are due in a great degree to the improper conduct of some incapable functionaries, and to the exactions of revenue 'farmers greedy of gain.'"

These exactions must, his Majesty says, be put a stop to under penalty of the heaviest punishment which the law permits for them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 180.

Newspaper Extracts.

Firman Impérial expédié à tous les Gouverneurs-Généraux des Vilayets.

(Traduction.)

IL est hors de doute que la prospérité du pays et le bien-être de ses populations ont pour base générale la garantie des biens, de la vie et de l'honneur de chacun. Cette garantie ne peut résulter que de l'administration d'une bonne et impartiale justice, tel a été le sens de notre Hatt Impérial adressé en dernier lieu à notre illustre Grand Vézir ainsi conçu :—

"La bonne gestion des affaires de notre Empire, la prospérité du pays ainsi que le bien-être de la population, étant l'objet de toute notre sollicitude, notre ferme volonté est qu'une protection efficace et que justice absolue soient assurées à toutes les classes de la société indistinctement, de façon que l'honneur et le droit de chacun soient sauvegardés.

"Comme le Ministère de la Justice constitue l'un des Départements les plus importants, il est indispensable que ce Département agisse en conformité de nos intentions bienveillantes.

"Nous ordonnons donc que ces intentions soient promulguées et qu'elles reçoivent leur pleine exécution."

Nos ordres et nos nouvelles instructions ne sont édictés aujourd'hui que pour confirmer, en les développant, nos dites intentions souveraines, dont la réalisation dépend des efforts sincères et réels que tous les fonctionnaires appartenant tant à la magistrature qu'à l'ordre administratif auront à déployer dans leur exécution, comme aussi de leur application à opérer une transformation salutaire dans les idées.

Tous les fonctionnaires publics, et surtout ceux qui sont investis des fonctions judiciaires dans les Tribunaux du Chéri et les Tribunaux Civils, soit dans la capitale, soit dans la province, doivent porter toute leur attention à ce que les procès soient jugés avec impartialité et conformément aux dispositions de la Loi du Chéri, et des autres lois en général, afin que tous nos sujets jouissent indistinctement de la plus grande somme de justice et de sécurité. C'est là notre ferme volonté Impériale.

Ce qui précède étant porté à la connaissance de chacun de mes Gouverneurs-Généraux, notre présent ordre souverain a été émané de notre Divan Impérial, et en même temps que cet ordre vous est adressé également en votre qualité de Gouverneur-Général, vous recevrez un aperçu des actes qui ont été commis au su de tout le monde contrairement aux lois de mon Empire.

A l'arrivée de notre présent firman Impérial, vous vous empresserez à porter textuellement ces dispositions à la connaissance de la magistrature aussi bien que des fonctionnaires administratifs et à tous nos sujets tant dans le chef-lieu du vilayet que dans les arrondissements qui en dépendent, et vous veillerez à l'exécution ponctuelle de nos ordres. Il est bien entendu que les fonctionnaires seront traités suivant leur bonne ou mauvaise conduite.

La Sublime Porte procédera aux mesures pour s'enquérir régulièrement de la marche des affaires publiques. Sachant que la moindre infraction ou négligence à nos ordres impérieux attirera sur vous une grave responsabilité, vous devez conformer votre conduite en conséquence. Vous aurez soin de signaler sans exception à notre Sublime Porte tous fonctionnaires contrevenant à nos présents ordres souverains.

Donné le 1 Chaban, 1292 (1 Septembre, 1875).

Lettre du Premier Secrétaire de Sa Majesté le Sultan à Son Altesse le Grand-Vézir.

(Traduction.)

VOTRE Altesse sait combien Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, notre très-gracieux Souverain, porte un sollicitude constante à l'accomplissement de tout ce qui constitue la garantie des droits, de l'honneur et de la vie de ses sujets, ainsi que la prospérité en général du pays.

Sa Majesté a proclamé tout récemment encore ses intentions paternelles et magnanimes dans son dernier Hatt Impérial.

Bien qu'on ait tout lieu d'espérer que grâce aux mesures à prendre, le but proposé sera complétement atteint, il n'en est pas moins vrai que les causes qui amènent le trouble parmi les populations paisibles sont dues en grande partie à la conduite inconvenante de quelques fonctionnaires incapables, et surtout aux exactions auxquelles se livrent les fermiers avides dans l'espoir d'un plus grand profit.

Il importe sans doute que le recouvrement des revenus de l'Etat s'effectue régulièrement, mais il n'en est pas moins essentiel de faire attention à ce que ce devoir de l'administration ne dégénère en abus de nature à donner lieu à des troubles qui entraînent des dommages plus considérables que ces revenus ne lui procureraient d'avantages.

En conséquence, Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, notre auguste Maître, ordonne que les Gouverneurs-Généraux des vilayets, les Préfets des départements, ainsi que toutes les autres autorités compétentes, reçoivent des instructions formelles pour s'abstenir d'une manière absolue des procédés dont il est question comme aussi pour éviter l'application des peines plus fortes que la loi ne prescrit, et des détentions illégales.

Les contrevenants à ces ordres souverains seront sévèrement punis.

No. 181.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 14.)

(No. 518. Confidential.)

Therapia, September 5, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAPPENED this afternoon to meet the German and Russian Ambassadors, who spoke with apparent disapproval of the concentration of troops upon the Servian Frontier, which was, they considered, quite unnecessary, since the pacific assurances of the Government of the Principality made it certain that there was no danger to be apprehended from that quarter.

I reminded General Ignatiew that it was not many days since he had himself felt extremely uneasy and doubtful of the course that would be followed by Servia.

He had, in fact, told me, as I reported to your Lordship, that when Prince Milan promised to follow the advice urged upon him by the Emperor of Russia, he had added that he believed it would lead to his leaving the country, as his people were resolved upon war with Turkey.

General Ignatiew said he did not blame the Porte for having at that time taken precautions against attack, but now that the danger of it was past, the Turkish armaments

were being unwisely continued, and he was particularly distressed at the expense into which the Porte was running in pursuing them.

I said I was very glad to hear him speak with so much confidence of the pacific attitude which would be observed by Servia, but, for my part, I had no information which would justify me in representing to the Porte that the preparations which had been commenced could safely be discontinued.

He was, I thought, premature in assuming that the insurgents would act upon the advice of the Consuls, and accept the overtures of Server Pasha, which appeared to me extremely problematical; and if the Porte were to be obliged to resort to vigorous measures of repression, it was desirable that it should have on the spot a sufficient force to carry them out quickly and efficaciously.

The General enumerated the strength which, he said, had been collected in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, which he regarded as much more than sufficient for the purpose, and altogether his present tone was one of treating the movement as an insignificant affair.

The German Ambassador did not take any active part in the conversation, and confined himself to uttering an emphatic "Amen" at the conclusion of each of the General's observations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 182.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 14.)

(No. 519. Confidential.)

Therapia, September 5, 1875.

My Lord,

WHEN the Servian agent was endeavouring, two days ago, to convince me that there was no occasion to fear that the Principality would commit any act of hostility against Turkey, he made use of an argument which shows the thread upon which the tranquility of the East depends.

He said with much emphasis that there was no danger of his countrymen provoking hostilities as long as they were convinced that they could count upon no foreign support.

They were perfectly aware of the helplessness of contending single-handed against the power of Turkey, and as it had now been made clear to them that no assistance was to be expected they would certainly not move.

The confidence expressed to me to-day by General Ignatiew of there being no further danger from the side of Servia is probably derived from a similar calculation, but his Excellency also said that it had been necessary for his Government, and for the Emperor himself, to pronounce themselves at Belgrade in a tone that had never before been adopted.

That this should have been required is the consequence of the impression produced in Servia and among all the other Slav population by the alliance of Austria and Russia.

The reports from her Majesty's Consuls have been unanimous in representing that it was universally believed that the present movement was encouraged by Austria, and they were not likely to think that it would, in that case, be opposed by Russia, whom they had so long regarded as their special protector.

Under these circumstances it was natural that nothing short of very plain language on the part of the latter Power would suffice to convince them that they would be left without support.

My own impression has been, as your Lordship knows, that Austria had no deliberate intention of bringing about a movement in the Christian provinces, although Count Andrassy was pursuing a policy which must inevitably lead to one, and that Russia desired rather to keep alive discontent than to provoke insurrection.

This view was confirmed by an account given to me a few days ago by General Ignatiew of a conversation he had had with Count Andrassy shortly after that Minister adopted his new policy towards the Slavs.

The General had, he said, warned the Count, that not being accustomed, like the Russian Government, to mete out to the Slavs their expressions of sympathy with such caution as not to raise unfounded hopes, he would probably "give them a dose beyond what their constitutions would bear," and "stimulate them into some rash movement."

This was, he said, precisely what had happened.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 183.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 14.)

(Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.)

Therapia, September 14, 1875, 3·30 P.M.

GENERAL IGNATIEW has told me very confidentially that information of the intention of 6,000 old soldiers of the Austrian military frontier to enter Bosnia had been received only just in time to prevent the execution of the project, which must have had very serious consequences.

No. 184.

Mr. Adams to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 15.)

(No. 764. Very Confidential.)

Paris, September 13, 1875.

My Lord,

I SAW the Duc Decazes this afternoon for the first time since his return from Switzerland.

His Excellency volunteered to speak to me, confidentially, of his meeting with Prince Gortchakow in that country.

Affairs in the Herzegovina had naturally been much discussed between them, and the Duke expressed himself exceedingly satisfied with the views and language of the Russian Chancellor. He found him, he said, much engrossed with the Eastern question, and strongly in favour of a concert of the six Powers, rather than of a concert of three alone. The Duke observed that he believed the Chancellor to be perfectly sincere in this, which was (as, indeed, he has already stated both to Lord Lyons and to myself) the great object of his own policy. France, as he had told the Prince, had, he considered, really but this one interest in the matter; she would, indeed, be content if nothing were done; but if anything was to be done, he could only repeat again and again that he begged it should be done in concert by all the six Powers.

Another satisfactory explanation which, according to the Duke, he had received from Prince Gortchakow was on the subject of a possible armed intervention by a foreign Power in Turkish dominions; for he had always before his eyes the fear that such an intervention might take place, and eventually give rise to complications ending in a European war.

The Chancellor, however, he said, had told him that he had every confidence in Count Andrassy, that there was a perfect understanding and agreement between Russia and Austria as to their policy, and that he did not believe there would be any intervention by the latter; that, as far as Russia was concerned, there was no intention on her part to proceed to an armed intervention, and it was only in case another Power were to intervene that she would feel herself obliged to adopt a similar course, for she certainly could not allow any intervention to take place without her participation.

The Duke also said that he believed the Chancellor to have been quite sincere when he assured him that at this moment Russia was bent upon maintaining the territorial integrity of Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

No. 185.

Mr. Adams to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 15.)

(No. 765. Confidential.)

Paris, September 13, 1875.

My Lord,

IN the course of the conversation which is the subject of my immediately preceding despatch, the Duc Decazes said that he had remarked to Prince Gortchakow that the first act of the drama would be over when the foreign Consuls returned from their mission to the insurgents in the Herzegovina; but, even if the insurrection were quelled, the curtain would rise again, and what would be the second act!

The Chancellor answered, as I understood, that there was no doubt that the Christian subjects of the Porte had serious grievances to complain of; that Russia must feel for her co-religionists, and must think of some means to be devised for ameliorating their condition; but the Chancellor did not seem to have developed any particular plan for attaining the desired object.

The Duc Decazes said that he was particularly desirous of learning the views of Her Majesty's Government on this question. He did not, he said, suppose that they shared the opinions hostile to Turkey which had lately appeared in leading articles of the "Times," nor those of Earl Russell—alluding to his Lordship's late letters in favour of the insurgents.

But he would be glad, he said, if your Lordship could inform him of the views of the English Government, and whether they favoured any particular project for the amelioration of the condition of the Christain subjects of the Porte.

I alluded to the plan of fiscal autonomy mentioned in Mr. Scott's despatch No. 268, Confidential, of the 31st ultimo, a copy of which was inclosed to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 574 of the 11th instant.

His Excellency was well aware of this suggestion, and told me that he thought it was quite worthy of consideration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

No. 186.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 279.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 15, 1875.

I NOTICE in the copy of the instructions issued by the Russian Ambassador to the Russian Consul at Scutari respecting the Herzegovinian insurrection, which is inclosed in your Excellency's despatch No. 480, Confidential, of the 26th ultimo, the following passage:—

"Vous êtes autorisé à vous faire remplacer auprès les Chrétiens dans les occasions où vous jugez convenable par des délégués que vous choisirez soit dans le personnel de votre Consulat soit parmi d'autres personnes de votre confiance."

As the understanding come to with the Porte by the Powers was that they should desire their respective Consuls to proceed to the head-quarters of the insurgents at Mostar, I should be glad to have your Excellency's views as to the precise meaning and object of this instruction to the Russian Consul.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 187.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 280.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 15, 1875.

I APPROVE the instructions which you addressed to Mr. Holmes, instructing him to proceed to Mostar, with a view, if possible, to induce the insurgents in Herzegovina to suspend hostilities and lay their complaints before a Turkish Commission, copies of which are inclosed in your despatch No. 479 of the 26th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 188.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 281.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 15, 1875.

I HAVE to convey to you my approval of the language which your Excellency used at your audience of the Sultan, as reported in your despatch No. 445, Confidential, of the 17th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 189.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 282.) *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1875.

Sir,

I APPROVE the language which your Excellency used to the Grand Vizier respecting the proposal of the three Powers for settling the affairs of the Herzegovina, as reported in your despatch No. 495, Confidential, of the 29th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 190.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Odo Russell.

(No. 323.) *Foreign Office, Septemrer* 15, 1875.

My Lord,

I APPROVE the language held to the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin by Mr. Macdonell, as reported in his despatch No. 382, marked Private and Confidential, of the 9th instant, relative to the understanding of the three Northern Powers with respect to the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 191.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September* 15.)

Therapia, September 15, 1875, 5·15 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

THE accounts received by the Porte from the insurgents' districts are meagre.

In Bosnia, it is stated that no insurrection now exists, the only danger to be apprehended being from bands coming from "Austria" or Servia.

In the Herzegovina the insurgents are said to be in small parties, which do not attempt to attack the troops, and the communication with Novi-Bazar is open.

Complaints are made of the continued passage of bands from Servia.

No. 192.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 284.) *Foreign Office, September* 16, 1875.

Sir,

I APPROVE the advice which your Excellency tendered to Server Pasha with respect to the expediency of dispatching Commissioners to the disaffected provinces in Turkey, with a view to the alleviation of the grievances complained of by them, as reported in your despatch No. 506 of the 31st ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 193.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(No. 523.) *Therapia, September* 6, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE received from the Acting Consul at Bosna-Serai a report that a band of Servians, said to amount to a thousand men, which had passed into Bosnia, crossing the Drina below Losnitza, had been completely annihilated by the Ottoman troops.

Mr. Freeman likewise stated that 6 guns and 500 breechloaders, which had been sent

* Repeated to Sir A. Buchanan, Sir A. Paget, Lord Odo Russell, Mr. Doria, and Mr. Adams.

from Servia by the Save, and landed near Graditza, had been seized by the Turkish Authorities.

The Porte has received no information of either of these circumstances, and I have telegraphed to Mr. Consul-General White, directing him to endeavour to ascertain the truth of the reports, and to find out where the guns came from, if any really had been seized.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 194.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(No. 526. Confidential.) *Therapia, September* 7, 1875.

My Lord,

SAFVET PASHA mentioned to me yesterday that the three Northern Ambassadors had been to him in the morning, and had told him that they had received instructions to protest against any attack being made against Servia.

He replied, that as the Porte had not the slightest intention of attacking Servia, they had better reserve the execution of their instructions till the case should seem to call for it.

He asked me what I thought of these orders thus sent to the Embassies.

I said I presumed that they had been sent with a view of keeping up an appearance of strict impartiality, and as a satisfaction to Servia.

The three Governments having, like those of other countries, strongly urged Prince Milan to avoid attack upon Turkey, may have considered themselves bound to use the same language here.

Safvet Pasha mentioned on this occasion what he considered the shameful defencelessness in which Nisch had been when Servia had first begun to show signs of hostility.

Notwithstanding its important and exposed position, there were not, he said, at that time more than 300 men and some 700 old rifles.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 195.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(No. 528.) *Therapia, September* 7, 1875.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 503, I have the honour to inclose the copy o a despatch from Mr. Consul General White, stating that, upon his representation, th order had been cancelled for refusing to allow M. Fitzio, the Turkish Consul at Semlin, to enter Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 195.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, August 31, 1875.

Sir,

WITH reference to the proceedings of the Servian authorities respecting the Turkish Consul at Semlin, I have the honour to report to your Excellency that, as soon as I was informed that he had been refused admittance to Belgrade, I spoke at the Foreign Office here on the subject; and I expressed my opinion that there must be some error or misunderstanding which had better be removed at once, so as to prevent the Porte from taking offence at so unusual a measure.

In the course of the afternoon, the late Servian Foreign Minister, M. Boghichevitch, sent me a message, thanking me for having called his attention to the matter, and informing me that the refusal of M. Fitzio's admission to this Principality had arisen partly from a misunderstanding, and had been revoked. I suggested that a message

should be sent to that gentleman at Semlin by the police, for the purpose of letting him know how the matter stood, and I believe that this was done. I likewise suggested that it would be an act of courtesy towards the Porte if the Servian Agent at Constantinople were instructed to give proper explanations there, without waiting for any being asked from that quarter; this was on Saturday the 28th instant, but I hear that the Turkish Consul has refused to avail himself of the permission to come over here till he hears from his own Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 196.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(No. 529.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 7, 1875.*

MR. ACTING CONSUL FREEMAN, in a recent report from Bosna-Serai, mentioned that there had been an enrolment of Bashi-Bozouks in Bosnia.

I took the first opportunity of remarking to the Minister of War that this appeared a very undesirable proceeding, as the known habits of these irregulars would lead to excesses which must bring discredit upon the Government. Hussein Avni Pasha positively denied that any Bashi-Bozouks had been called out. The only thing which could have given rise to the supposition that it had been done was, he said, the fact that some Mussulman villages, who conceived themselves likely to be attacked by the insurgents or by bands of Servians, had formed themselves into bodies for purposes of defence.

The Mussulman population being mostly armed, the explanation may be correct, but while the people cannot be blamed for preparing themselves against attack, they are not likely to be behind their Christian enemies in their savage way of conducting themselves, and whenever the Porte has collected the necessary number of regular troops, these bodies should not be tolerated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 197.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(No. 533.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 18, 1875.*

WITH reference to my preceding despatch, I have the honour to forward the copy of the telegram from the authorities in Bosnia, published by the Porte, stating that in an attempt to take possession of certain defiles, the insurgents had been completely routed by the Imperial troops, with the loss of 150 killed, and as many wounded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 197.

Safvet Pasha to Ahmed Hamdi Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Le 6 Septembre, 1875.*

Il résulte d'un Rapport de Selim Pacha, Commandant des troupes Impériales à Gatchko, que les insurgés qui s'étaient portés en grand nombre aux environs de cette ville, dans le but de s'emparer des défilés de Sotska-Mazaloun, viennent d'être mis en déroute complète, par les deux bataillons expédiés de Gatchko. A la suite de trois combats livrés contre les insurgés, les troupes Impériales ont occupé ces défilés. Les insurgés ont pris la fuite en laissant sur le terrain 150 morts et autant de blessés. Les troupes Impériales ont eu cinq hommes de tués et un sous-officier blessé.

No. 198.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(No. 536.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 8, 1875.*

SAFVET PACHA, in speaking of the affairs of the Herzegovina, asked me to take particular note of the manner in which the whole movement had taken its rise.

Some time ago, as I was aware, about 160 persons, of whom some were accused of the most serious crimes, had taken refuge in Montenegro, representing themselves as being persecuted or maltreated by the Turkish authorities.

Certain Embassies advocated their cause, and interceded with the Porte to allow them to return, under a promise of not being molested; and these representations were continued till the Imperial Government consented to do what was asked, and the refugees in question returned to their villages.

Then the Governor-General of Bosnia reported that they had come back, wearing the national Montenegrin costume, that they had been received with salutes of firearms, and that they had immediately proceeded to expel from their villages the Turkish police kept in them for the maintenance of order.

They sent emissaries round to the other villages, which thereupon followed their example and drove away the police; and the Governor-General requested permission to despatch a few troops to the scene of this insubordination, to arrest the ringleaders and restore order.

This information was communicated to the Russian Embassy, which decried compliance with the Governor-General's request. It was represented as only in accordance with the ordinary habits of the country that satisfaction at the return of the refugees should be exhibited by the discharge of firearms. Their appearance in the national Montenegrin garb was explained by the supposition that they had been in rags, and that the only clothes which could be supplied to them in Montenegro were those worn by its inhabitants, and the expulsion of the police was accounted for by a possible grudge against the individuals for some past ill-treatment.

The Government having promised that the refugees should not be molested, feared to sanction any measure which might be represented as a violation of their engagement, and, accepting the explanations of the Russian Embassy, refused to allow the Governor-General to proceed as he had proposed; and a movement which might at that time have been put an end to without the slightest difficulty was thus allowed to acquire its present serious proportions.

As there can be no doubt of the literal accuracy of every word of this statement, which was made by Safvet Pasha with much moderation and temper, it will not be easy to avoid the conclusion that in the present case, as in most of those which have preceded it, the dangers with which we are threatened are due to the inveterate habit of meddling in the internal affairs of the Empire, which some Governments are so fond of indulging in.

Among the refugees in whom those Governments showed so much interest were some of the active agents of the Panslavist movement.

They returned to their villages, well knowing through whose intercession they had been allowed to do so, and with the conviction that those Governments sympathized with and favoured their designs, which they accordingly lost no time in endeavouring to carry out.

Their hopes had been raised ever since the adoption by Austria of the traditional Russian policy, and by her persistent efforts to undermine the authority of the Sultan and to weaken his hold over the northern populations.

Her conduct in the affair of Banialuka, in that of Podgoritza, and in reference to the Roumanian Treaties, seemed only open to one interpretation; and when the three great military Powers were seen to be acting as one in all these questions, the moment for striking a blow seemed too favourable to be allowed to pass.

I have, &c,
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 199.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(No. 539.)
Therapia, September 9, 1875.

My Lord,

I WAS informed this morning from a quarter usually well informed that arrangements had been made at the railway for the conveyance of a large number of troops towards the Servian frontier, and that it was resolved that they should occupy the Principality in retaliation for the continued inroads which are taking place from the Principality.

I sent immediately to the Porte to express the hope that the report was incorrect, and received assurances that it is destitute of all foundation.

The inclosed report from Mr. Sandison gives the numbers and distribution of the troops to be placed along the frontiers, which are very much what was originally settled.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 199.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Therapia, September 9, 1875.

Sir,

IN obedience to your Excellency's instructions, I inquired to-day of the Grand Vizier whether there was any truth in the report that preparations were being made for the conveyance by rail of fifty more battalions of troops to the north-western provinces of European Turkey. His Highness stated, in reply, that there was some exaggeration in the number of battalions mentioned, and that though the Government had decided upon sending further reinforcements by the railway from Constantinople, the step was about to be taken in pursuance of the Porte's original programme, by which 45,000 men were to be dispatched to Nisch, 15,000 to Widdin, 12,000 to Novi-Bazar, and 26,000 to the Herzegovina; first, as a check upon any aggressive designs on the part of Servia, secondly, in order to restore tranquillity in the Herzegovina, and thirdly, with the view of maintaining it in the other disaffected provinces of European Turkey.

His Highness did not specify the exact number of battalions which are about to be dispatched from Constantinople, but I have been told by the Imperial Commissioner of the Roumelian railways that he has received orders to see that arrangements are made for the transport of thirty battalions, reckoned on an average at 650 men each, to the nearest point towards Nisch, and twenty battalions from Salonica to Mitrovitza, whence some of them, but in what proportion I am not able to say, would be directed upon the south-eastern localities of the Herzegovina, and the rest upon the western portion of Servia.

Under the present organization of the Seraskeriat, the transport of troops and artillery by the railway appears to be conducted with much order and punctuality. It may be gratifying to hear at the same time that, whilst the troops are in general in good condition, properly provided with all requisites for taking the field, the composition of the military and medical staffs is represented as combining efficiency with many other desirable qualities for the occasion.

With regard to my next question as to any intention of a Turkish military occupation of Servia, I have once more been desired by the Grand Vizier to assure your Excellency that no such design is entertained by the Turkish Government, which, having decided on confining itself strictly to the defence, will abstain from overstepping the limits of the Turco-Servian frontier, even in repulsing any aggressive attack which might be made by the Servians.

His Highness concluded by saying that the only way he could account for the idle report or supposition that Turkey contemplated an invasion of Servia was by attributing it to his enemies, who were, perhaps, in hopes of complicating matters with Servia, and of thus adding to the difficulties of his position.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 200.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(No. 540.)
Therapia, September 9, 1875.

My Lord,

MR. MALET, by his despatches to your Lordship, Nos. 134 and 135, represented that M. Tricoupi considers that the Porte does not sufficiently respond to the desire shown by the Greek Government to cultivate good relations between the two countries.

I have several times spoken with M. Coundouriotti, the Greek Minister here, upon the subject of the three particular questions upon which M. Tricoupi touched to Mr. Malet, and he says he will endeavour to remove from that Minister's mind any impression that he may entertain, and which he knows to be confounded, that their not being settled is any sign of coldness on the part of the Porte.

In the matter of the Roumanian Treaties, which is one of the three instances brought forward by M. Tricoupi, Greece is in precisely the same position as England, France, and other countries, and the Porte cannot make an arrangement with one without being prepared to extend it to all.

M. Coundouriotti is quite aware of this, and sees that his Government have no cause of complaint.

In regard to the Salonica Railroad, it is also clear, in the present state of the Turkish finances, a project of very secondary importance to this country could not be seriously entertained by the Porte, and upon this point likewise M. Coundouriotti is satisfied that M. Tricoupi's complaint is uncalled for.

My colleague spoke to me a few days ago about the nationality question, and showed himself satisfied with the spirit in which the Porte is disposed to treat it, although it is not a matter which can be expected to be quickly arranged.

I have supported the representations which he has made to the Porte of the necessity for the adoption of measures to prevent the revival of brigandage on the frontier, which the removal of Mehemet Ali Pasha and the state of the northern Provinces render probable, and Safvet Pasha has promised that they shall not be neglected.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 201.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)*

(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, September 16, 1875, midnight.

A SEMI-OFFICIAL newspaper says to-day that the insurgents in arms having declined the proposals of the Consuls, the Powers who offered their good offices to the Porte, and have rendered her important services at Belgrade and Cettigné, must employ diplomatic means at Constantinople with a view to obtain material guarantees, as long as the passions of the Mussulmans continue excited, for the safety of the 100,000 refugees in Austria and Montenegro, whom the Austro-Hungarian Government cannot support for an indefinite period, and who are willing to return to their homes if insured the protection which the Turkish Government, however willing, cannot at present give them in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

No. 202.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(No 148. Confidential.)
Athens, September 4, 1875.

My Lord,

SIR CHARLES SEBRIGHT, in his despatch marked Confidential and Political of the 24th ultimo, informed your Lordship that a few days previously the Russian Consul at Prevesa had been at Corfu, and, after remaining twenty-four hours, had returned to his post, taking with him between 20,000 and 30,000 dollars in specie.

On receiving this news from Sir Charles, I had telegraphed it to your Lordship and

* Repeated to Sir H. Elliot, Lord Odo Russell, Sir A. Paget, Mr. Doria, and Mr. Adams.

to Sir Henry Elliot. His Excellency, it seems, mentioned it to M. Condouriotis, Greek Minister at Constantinople, who wrote to M. Tricoupis on the subject, and M. Tricoupis telegraphed to the Nomarch at Corfu to ask whether there was any truth in the statement. As usual, after passing through so many hands, the news had become slightly changed, and the question which the Nomarch was called on to answer was whether it was true that the Russian Consul had been to Corfu to collect large sums of money for the insurgents in the Herzegovina. M. Tricoupis read to me this afternoon the answer from the Nomarch which denies categorically that there can be any truth in the statement. He says that subscriptions could not be raised secretly, and that he should certainly be aware of it if any movement of the sort were on foot. He also goes on to say that the feeling of the people is not such as to lead them to subscribe for such a purpose; that Greeks do not forget that those who are now in revolt abandoned them in their hour of need.

Having read me the telegram, M. Tricoupis said that he continued to receive satisfactory reports from his Consuls as to the tone of the Greeks in reference to the outbreak, and that he thought that the Turkish authorities in the Turco-Greek provinces were beginning to find that they might rely upon the Greeks in some of their districts not only to remain tranquil, but even to support the Turks in their present difficulties.

M. Tricoupis informed me that he had inspired the article in the "Messager d'Athènes," which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship in my despatch No. 141 of the 22nd ultimo, and that he had induced the influential Greek newspapers at Athens to write in the same strain.

The confident tone of M. Tricoupis in regard to the sympathies of the Greeks is not re-echoed from Corfu or from Salonica; and though I believe him to be sincere, I do not attach very much value to the denials of the Nomarch or the tranquillizing reports of the Greek Consuls in the Turko-Greek provinces, for Greek employés, like Orientals, write what they believe their Chiefs will be glad to read.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 202 A.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 17.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Therapia, September 17, 1875, 5.30 P.M.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW tells me that he has received from his Consul at Nevessin satisfactory accounts of the way in which the insurgents have listened to him and his two colleagues; but that the German and Austrian Consuls, who went towards the Dalmatian frontier, report that the insurgents refuse to entertain any proposition from a Turkish Commissioner.

No. 202 B.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Adams.

(No. 590.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 18, 1875.*

I HAVE received your despatches No. 764, Very Confidential, and 765, Confidential, of the 13th instant, reporting a conversation which had taken place between the Duc Decazes and yourself on the subject of the insurrection in the Herzegovina. In the latter of these despatches you state that the Duke expressed his great desire to learn the views of Her Majesty's Government on this question, and whether they favoured any particular project for the amelioration of the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

I have to request you to inform his Excellency that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has strongly represented to the Porte the necessity of redressing grievances before they produced insurrections, and of performing faithfully the promises made to the subjects of the Sultan; but they are not desirous of seeing any direct intervention in the internal affairs of Turkey undertaken by all or any of the Great Powers, unless the necessity for such intervention should be more clearly made out than it at present appears to be.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 203.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 151. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, September 7, 1875.*

M. TRICOUPI informed me this morning that the inclosed article from the "Messager d'Athènes" had been written at his instigation.

It speaks in bitter terms of the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Russians, and it states that the Foreign policy of Greece is to recommend the Greek population in Turkey to abstain from all revolutionary agitation; to refrain, herself, from any act which could trouble the peace of the East, and to cultivate good relations with those Powers who favour the development of Hellenism.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 203.

Extract from the "Messager d'Athènes" of September 6, 1875.

LA GRÈCE EN ORIENT.—L'opinion publique de l'Europe a été si souvent égarée, pervertie de notre temps que nous ne nous étonnons plus de la confusion qui règne, dans la presse comme dans les cercles diplomatiques, sur les relations mutuelles des Chrétiens d'Orient et sur la situation et les ressources de la Grèce que ses détracteurs se plaisent à placer au-dessous des Serbes et des Monténégrins.

Les journaux étrangers ne sont guère mieux renseignés lorsque, sur la foi de la presse Russe, ils viennent nous accuser d'être hostiles à l'émancipation des Bulgares. Il y a là une erreur matérielle qu'il importe de dissiper.

Jamais l'Hellénisme n'a été hostile aux Bulgares. Ici, comme à Constantinople, l'opinion s'est montrée favorable à leur autonomie religieuse, régardée comme un acheminement à leur autonomie sinon à leur indépendance politique. Aussi le Firman qui instituait un Exarchat Bulgare a-t-il été accueilli à Athènes par des démonstrations de joie non équivoques.

L'Article 10 du Firman a rencontré, il est vrai, la plus vive opposition; il ne tendait rien moins qu'à créer un antagonisme de races qui pouvait, à la longue, avoir des conséquences désastreuses pour l'avenir des deux nationalités.

Ici, comme à Constantinople, les Grecs avaient exprimé le désir de donner à l'Exarchat des frontières qui ne pourraient jamais s'étendre sur les pays habités par des populations d'origine Grecque. Ils désiraient, en d'autres termes, la création d'une Bulgarie à frontières délimitées, fixes et non à frontières variables, indéterminées.

Les Bulgares auraient peut-être accepté cette solution, la seule que les Grecs pouvaient proposer sans s'exposer à d'éternels regrets, si les Russes ne leur avaient suggéré la cupide pensée de réclamer toutes les contrées qui avaient fait—pendant quelques années seulement—partie du Royaume Bulgare au moyen âge. Des prétentions aussi ridicules ne pouvaient naître que dans l'esprit d'un peuple enfant. Est-ce que les Grecs, qui ont si longtemps régné sur les Bulgares, occupé l'Asie jusqu'au Gange, l'Afrique jusqu'à Tripoli, et presque tout le littoral de la Méditerranée et de la Mer Noire ont jamais songé à asseoir de nouveau leur domination sur ces contrées?

Et cependant—chose incroyable—les Bulgares s'obstinèrent à faire valoir leurs prétendus droits historiques sur des pays où ils n'ont été ni les premiers ni les derniers occupants. Ils ne tendaient rien moins qu'à limiter dans les murs de Constantinople la juridiction spirituelle du Patriarche Œcuménique et à étendre celle de leur Exarque sur la Macédoine, y compris la ville de Thessalonique, le nord de la Thessalie et de l'Épire, Alexandre, Pyrrhus et Aristote, dont ils se disent les descendants, ayant illustré ces contrées!

Un peuple éclairé n'aurait pas tardé à s'apercevoir qu'il faisait fausse route, que les titres historiques des Grecs sont écrits sur des monuments autrement solides que des chants populaires apocryphes ou des alphabets de la propagande Panslaviste. Malheureusement le petit nombre des Bulgares que savent lire est à la solde ou à la dévotion des Russes, dont les efforts tendent à briser les liens politiques et religieux qui existent encore entre les populations Chrétiennes de l'Orient.

Le fait seul de l'humixtion de la Turquie, Puissance Musulmane, dans une question d'ordre religieux avait causé la plus douloureuse impression. Le Général Ignatiew, pensant que l'Eglise de Russie gagnerait à l'humiliation du Patriarche Œcuménique, n'eut pas

de peine à persuader aux Bulgares qu'ils pouvaient se passer de la reconnaissance de la Grande Eglise et que celle de la Porte suffisait à assurer leur indépendance spirituelle. Les Bulgares ne reculèrent même pas devant l'énormité d'accepter de la Porte des privilèges que le Patriarche Œcuménique seul avait le droit de leur conférer. Ils savaient pourtant que les Turcs empiétaient sur les droits du chef de l'Eglise, dont ils se disaient les enfants obéissants et dévoués, droits officiellement reconnus par Mahomet II, le lendemain de son entrée à Constantinople, et que ses successeurs avaient toujours respectés.

Les autres dispositions du Firman avaient été, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit, favorablement accueillies par les Grecs. Ils désiraient pour l'Exarchat de la Bulgarie l'indépendance religieuse accordée au Synode de Grèce par la Grande Eglise de Constantinople. Mais, encore une fois, ils ne poussaient pas l'abnégation jusqu'à soumettre à la juridiction spirituelle de l'Exarque leurs frères de la Macédoine, de la Thrace, et de la Thessalie. Et parcequ'ils ne se sont pas résignés à se laisser absorber par les Slaves, la presse Russe, intervertissant odieusement les rôles, les a représentés comme les spoliateurs, les oppresseurs des Bulgares. C'est la réédition de la fable absurde de la sainte et honnête Allemagne dévalisée par les brigands des bords de la Seine!

II. Depuis ce jour l'élément Hellénique, dont les Russes admiraient naguère encore l'héroïsme et l'esprit de sacrifice, n'a plus ni force, ni initiative, ni vertu; les riches et fertiles contrées que la mer baigne, arrosées de son sang, fécondées de ses sueurs se couvrent de ronces et d'épines; l'Université d'Athènes, les gymnases, les colléges, les écoles de Grèce et des pays de langue Grecque sont des asiles ouverts à l'ignorance et à la paresse; en d'autres termes, la Grèce épuisée doit céder à la Serbie où presque personne ne sait lire, à la Serbie, dont la mission providentielle est de rendre à l'Orient son antique splendeur! En effet la Serbie; de moitié moins peuplée que la Grèce, la Serbie, dont les recettes n'atteignent pas le cinquième des recettes de la Grèce, peut armer, équiper des centaines de milliers d'hommes, assurer leur entretien pour plusieurs années; et la Grèce dont le pavillon flotte sur toutes les mers; la Grèce dont les enfants ont, par leur intelligence et leur esprit d'économie, amassé des centaines de millions qu'au besoin ils déposeront, comme en 1821, jusqu'au dernier sou sur l'autel de la patrie; la Grèce, disons-nous, ne pourra ni mobiliser, ni équiper, ni entretenir un corps d'armée! Quant aux Grecs de Turquie qui souscrivent, chaque année, des millions pour l'entretien de leurs écoles et de leurs établissements de bienfaisance, ils sont naturellement inférieurs aux Bulgares dont les institutions ne méritent pas d'être mentionnées.

Profitant de l'absence de documents statistiques de quelque importance, les organes Panslavistes, d'Autriche et de Russie, s'efforcent de prouver que les Grecs de l'Empire Ottoman ne sont qu'une poignée d'hommes éparpillés en pays Slaves, comme si l'Epire, la Thessalie, la Macédoine, la Thrace, le littoral de l'Asie-Mineure et les Iles de l'Archipel, ne formaient une immense contrée, non interrompue, où l'élément Hellénique domine, où les Slaves sont aussi clair semés que les Juifs en Italie.

Nous n'aurions jamais songé à faire ressortir notre supériorité morale et matérielle sur les Slaves de l'Orient, si les organes du Panslavisme avaient gardé quelque mesure à notre égard; s'ils n'avaient pas exalté, par des comparaisons injurieuses pour nous, les qualités de leurs clients; s'ils n'avaient poussé l'audace jusqu'à parler de leurs droits historiques à eux, les derniers venus dans la famille Européenne, sur des contrées où, il y a plus de vingt siècles, nos ancêtres jetaient les solides assises de la civilisation moderne; si, en un mot, ils ne nous représentaient aux yeux de l'Europe comme insignifiants par le nombre et frappés d'une décadence irrémédiable.

III. La Grèce n'est pas une création artificielle. Sa forte organisation sociale, basée sur les principes de la saine démocratie; ses institutions politiques, où la liberté, l'égalité ne sont pas, comme chez les autres peuples de l'Europe, sacrifiées à des considérations d'ordre public, lui assurent une position exceptionnelle en Orient. Son éducation militaire elle l'a faite au bruit du canon de la guerre de l'indépendance; son éducation civile dans ses nombreuses écoles où la jeunesse des deux sexes reçoit une instruction solide; son éducation politique par la libre discussion de ses institutions et par la participation du peuple au gouvernement du pays.

Et maintenant est-on autorisé à accuser de décadence une nation qui, en moins de quarante ans, s'est donnée de solides et libérales institutions, a appris à lire, décuplé sa richesse publique et privée, relevé ses villes détruites, imprimé une grande impulsion à ses échanges, créé une marine marchande de premier ordre? On croit, toutes proportions gardées, entendre la "Gazette de la Croix" reprocher aux Français le crime d'avoir percé l'Isthme de Suez, percé le Mont-Cenis, projeté la construction du tunnel qui doit mettre en communication directe l'Angleterre avec le Continent Européen.

La Grèce est plus que jamais en position de suivre la ligne politique que sa mission

civilisatrice, ses souvenirs, ses intérêts, le soin de sa propre conservation lui ont tracée en Orient.

Elle n'est pas encore, il est vrai, militairement prête; mais ses ressources, dont une partie seulement a été utilisée, lui permettent de doubler, de tripler au besoin son budget de la guerre et de s'organiser de façon à défier les événements. Le service militaire obligatoire, dont l'application est confiée à une commission d'officiers supérieurs compétents, lui donnera une armée avec laquelle il faudra désormais compter. D'après les renseignements du Bureau de Statisque il y a en Grèce plus de 350,000 hommes agés de 18 à 40 ans. Abstraction faite des non-valeurs, il reste encore plus de 150,000 hommes dont, ne l'oublions pas, une grande partie ont déjà reçu, comme gardes-nationaux, une certaine instruction militaire. Nous ne comprenons pas dans ce chiffre les 25,000 matelots de notre marine marchande dont plus de la moitié pourront être mobilisées pour le service de la flotte.

Le crédit de la Grèce, que tous les Gouvernements ont travaillé à relever par la simplification du service de la dette, par le payement régulier des intérêts et de l'amortissement, est assez solidement assis, puisque, on l'a vu, elle peut contracter à l'intérieur des emprunts considérables au même taux que la plupart des Puissances Européenes. Le dernier emprunt ne revient pas à plus de 7 pour cent et, à l'exception du 6 pour cent, qui est au pair, les autres valeurs de l'Etat sont aujourd'hui fort au-dessus du prix d'émission.

IV. Les crises Ministérielles et Parlementaires que la Grèce a traversées sans désordres matériels sont une preuve évidente de sa forte organisation. Conflits entre les grands pouvoirs de l'Etat, changements de Ministères, dissolutions réitérées et intempestives de la Chambre n'ont pas ébranlé, mais consolidé ses institutions politiques; et les fluctuations, les indécisions qui pourraient se produire encore aboutiront à coup sur à la formation d'un Gouvernement fort jouissant de la confiance du Parlement. D'ailleurs la politique intérieure n'aura pas à subir des variations de nature à troubler l'ordre public ou à nous précipiter dans les aventures. C'est là le vœu universel: et comme, dans un pays véritablement libre l'opinion seule est souveraine, ce vœu ne tardera pas à devenir une réalité. Les dernières élections ont suffisamment prouvé et la puissance de l'opinion et le dévouement du peuple à la liberté.

V. La politique extérieure de la Grèce consiste à engager les populations Helléniques de Turquie à s'abstenir de tout mouvement révolutionnaire, à s'abstenir elle-même de tout acte, de toute démonstration de nature à troubler la paix de l'Orient, et à cultiver les bonnes relations qu'elle entretient avec les Puissances qui ont intérêt à favoriser le développement de l'Hellénisme. Or, nous sommes en mesure l'affirmer, jamais ces relations n'ont été empreintes de plus de cordialité. Le changement survenu dans le pays depuis le criminel attentat du Cabinet Boulgaris contre la Charte, la manière dont les élections ont été faites, ont donné à ces Puissances une excellente idée de la nation Hellène; elles se sont convaincues qu'elle renferme dans son sein tous les éléments qui font la force et la prospérité des Etats.

Un changement de Cabinet n'arrêtera donc ni les travaux de la commission chargée de l'organisation militaire du pays, ni le vote des lois destinées à mettre la Charte et l'Administration à l'abri de l'arbitraire ministériel, ni les autres réformes impérieusement réclamées par l'opinion.

Aussi lorsque le remaniement de la carte d'Orient deviendra inévitable, c'est l'arme au bras que nous volerons au secours de nos frères si leurs droits venaient à être menacés.

No. 264.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 252.)

My Lord, *Leghorn, September 13, 1875.*

HAVING been apprized that Chevalier Visconti Venosta had arrived in Rome, went there the day before yesterday, and had an interview with his Excellency th same afternoon.

The conversation having turned upon the affairs of Herzegovina, his Excellency informed me of the course which had been taken by the Italian Government since the outbreak of the insurrection. As this can only now possess a retrospective interest, it may be briefly described.

On receiving the Turkish circular in reference to this outbreak, the Italian Government placed themselves in communication with the other Cabinets, with the view of acting

in concert with them. Having been made acquainted with the programme settled at Vienna between Count Andrassy and the Ambassadors of Germany and Russia, and invited to associate themselves in it, the Italian Government had willingly consented to do so, and had desired their Consul at Galatz, who was intimately acquainted with the country from a long previous residence there, to proceed to Mostar, and to act with his colleagues of the other Powers.

His Excellency said that the most recent intelligence which he had received from this functionary stated that the Consuls had divided themselves into two parties of three, and had set out in search of the insurgents, whom, however, they had not as yet come across.

M. Visconti Venosta spoke in praise of the conciliatory tone of Server Pasha's Proclamation, and said that if the insurgents would not listen to the counsels of the Great Powers, and thus oblige the Porte to stamp out the insurrection by force of arms, he thought the Turkish Government would, at all events, stand in a good position before Europe on account of the moderation of the course they had shown themselves prepared to follow.

His Excellency considered that the question had lost all its gravity from the moment Servia and Montenegro abstained from joining the movement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 205.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 18.)

(No. 200. Confidential.)
Vienna, September 15, 1875.

My Lord,

IN forwarding herewith a despatch, No. 5 of the 5th instant, which I received to-day, for your Lordship, under flying seal from Mr. Consul Holmes, I have the honour to state that it is believed here that the Turkish troops have always been victorious in the combats in which they have been engaged with the insurgents in the Herzegovina, and with the bands of Servian sympathisers who have entered Bosnia.

I have not, however, considered it necessary to forward to your Lordship the telegraphic information received at Vienna, as it doubtless reaches London directly from the same sources.

While the reports received by the Ottoman Embassy attribute the continuance of the insurrection to the inroads of free corps organized in Servia, with the connivance, if not the actual encouragement of the Government, I understand that the Turkish authorities likewise complain that armed refugees crossing the Croatian and Dalmatian frontiers are not immediately disarmed; and, if I am correctly informed, an insurgent band, driven across the Save in the presence of Austro-Hungarian troops, fired on its Turkish pursuers from the Croatian banks of the river, and that during the combat which was thus continued an Austro-Hungarian soldier was killed.

If this be true, there is not improbably an indisposition on the part of the Austro-Hungarian authorities on the frontier to act towards armed refugees in a manner which might be looked upon by their own Slav population as affording assistance to the Turks.

It is difficult to ascertain correctly the opinions prevailing here with respect to the insurrection, for while it is stated officially that an entire agreement exists between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Governments in the question, I have heard persons in influential positions express regret at the interference of the Great Powers, as a permanent peace would probably have been more effectually secured, whatever may have been the issue of the contest, if Servia and Montenegro had been left to take part with the insurgents.

This is also the opinion of the Turkish Ambassador, who says that if the insurrection had been successfully supported by Servia and Montenegro, the Porte would have been obliged to recognize its inability to maintain the present state of things, and must have granted the insurgent provinces whatever terms they might demand under such circumstances; on the contrary, and as he believes, the more probable case, whatever concessions the Porte might be pleased to grant, with a view to the future tranquillity of the province would be accepted by the Christians as a permanent settlement.

According to information received here to-day, it would appear that the insurgent leaders have declined the recommendation of the Consuls to treat with Server Pasha, but

it is hoped that they may be induced to do so when they lose all hope of assistance from Servia and Montenegro.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 206.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 18.)

(No. 201.)
Vienna, September 15, 1875.

My Lord,

AT the request of the Prince of Montenegro, the Austro-Hungarian Government have sent three surgeons to the Principality to take charge of wounded refugees. His Highness having also represented his inability to find food for 30,000 men, women, and children who have fled from the Herzegovina, and are starving in Montenegro, General Rodich, the Governor of Dalmatia, has been instructed to forward to the Principality such a quantity of grain and other provisions as he may consider indispensable for the mitigation of the scarcity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 207.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received September* 19.)

(No. 15. Political.)
Bosna-Serai, September 10, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch I have just addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, regarding the disturbances in Bosnia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 207.

Acting Consul Freeman to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir,

Bosna-Serai, September 10, 1875.

ON the 5th instant I telegraphed to your Excellency that a band of Servians, said to number about 1,000, who had crossed the Drina into Bosnia, below Losnitza, had been completely annihilated by the Turks, and that six cannons and 500 needle-guns, sent from Servia for the insurgents, and landed near Gradiska, on the Save, had been seized by the Turkish authorities.

No details of this irruption of Servians have been received here further than that they crossed the Drina at Janja, and were attacked on one side by the regular troops from Bielina, and on the other by some Bashi-Bozouks from Svornik. Being hard pressed they took refuge in an isolated Greek church, situated in that neighbourhood; but having been dislodged by artillery, the whole band was slaughtered. As the church in question would not hold more than 200 or 300 men, there is probably very considerable exaggeration in stating the number of the band at 1,000, but in any case the result of this conflict will prove a severe lesson to the Servians, and will, perhaps, for a time, check these armed incursions.

As regards the seizure of arms near Gradiska by the Turks, I have reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement, for though it was telegraphed to the authorities here from Banialuka, it has not since been authenticated.

The insurgents in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar seem to make little progress, but, as the road is still intercepted beyond Vishegrad, and telegraphic communication interrupted, no reliable information is received here.

Mehmet Ali Pasha has been sent by way of Scutari to Novi-Bazar, and if provided with sufficient troops will doubtless succeed in occupying the disturbed districts.

The revolt in the north of Bosnia is gradually dying out for want of external aid.

Great numbers of insurgents, with their families, have sought refuge in Austria, and about 200 are said to have made their submission to the Turkish authorities, but there are still a few scattered bands in the hills.

A few nights ago an attempt was made to set light to a house in this town by throwing a burning brand through an open window, but it was discovered in time to avert a conflagration. The Greek church at Banialuka was also burnt to the ground a few days ago. These acts of incendiarism are always laid upon the Mussulmans, but I am much more inclined to attribute them to accomplices of the insurgents, whose sole aim is to bring odium on the Turks in the eyes of the surrounding Slav nations.

A very weak battalion of infantry arrived here from Mostar on the 7th, but his Excellency Ahmet Hamdi Pasha has, it appears, no intention of coming to Serajevo, as he considers his presence in the Herzegovina indispensable at the present moment. Such being the case, it is most urgent that a more efficient officer than the Ferik Hussein Hami Pasha be sent to conduct the administration of the province until the arrival of the Governor-General.

As it seems probable that Mr. Holmes' absence in the Herzegovina may be indefinitely prolonged, I would venture to suggest that it might be advisable to provide me with a copy of cypher (D), as there may be frequently matters to communicate to your Excellency, as also to Mr. Holmes, which it would be undesirable to openly telegraph.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 208.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 19.)

(No. 43. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, September 13, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying French text of the speech delivered by the Prince of Servia to the National Skoupstchina at Kragonievatz, on the solemn opening of that Assembly on the 10th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 208.

Speech of Prince Milan Obrenovitch IV, on the opening of the Session of the National Assembly, 1875.

Messieurs les Députés,

J'AI toujours aimé à me trouver au milieu des Représentants de mon peuple, mais aujourd'hui plus que jamais j'ai lieu d'être satisfait de me voir entouré de vous. Depuis longtemps mie Assemblée Nationale n'a été convoquée dans d'aussi graves circonstances et, si jusqu'à présent j'ai eu besoin de votre concours patriotique pour l'accomplissement de ma tâche difficile, c'est aujourd'hui surtout que je sens la nécessité de cet appui.

Messieurs les Députés,

Nos populations frontières viennent d'être inquiétées dans leur tranquillité domestique. Une partie même a dû quitter ses champs et prendre les armes pour veiller à la sécurité du pays sur nos frontières du sud et de l'est.

Vous n'ignorez pas que les événements qui se sont passés dans les provinces voisines de la Principauté, en Bosnie et en Herzégovine, ont créé la situation difficile dans laquelle la Serbie se trouve aujourd'hui. Les populations de ces provinces, désespérant de voir la fin de leurs souffrances, se sont soulevées, les armes à la main, pour se défendre des abus qu'elles enduraient en dépit des intentions humaines et généreuses de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

En prenant des mesures tendant à la pacification de ces provinces, le Gouvernement Impérial déploit en même temps à nos frontières de grandes forces militaires. Ces concentrations de troupes autour de la Serbie augmentent encore la gravité d'une situation déjà difficile en soi. Tandis que nos populations voient une menace dans ces concentrations et réclament du Gouvernement des mesures de défense, les réfugiés, tant Chrétiens que Mahométans, fuyant le glaive et le feu, viennent chercher un asile sur notre territoire

et apportent à notre pays et à ses autorités de nouvelles inquiétudes et lui imposent d'immenses sacrifices.

Cet état de choses, s'il se prolongeait, finirait par devenir intenable. Mais, comme la Sublime Porte, d'accord avec les Puissances Garantes, a entrepris l'œuvre de pacification, nous pouvons espérer que Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan et les Hautes Puissances Garantes trouveront, dans leur sagesse, une solution heureuse qui ramenera définitivement la tranquillité dans ces contrées dont le sort ne peut nous être indifférent.

En effet la Serbie, en tant que voisine immédiate de ces provinces, souffre au double point de vue moral et économique, des insurrections périodiques de leurs habitants; elle n'est par conséquent pas moins intéressée à ce qu'il soit mis fin une fois pour toutes à cet état de choses. C'est pourquoi je ferai tous mes efforts pour contribuer dans la mesure de nos faibles moyens à ce que le résultat atteint rende à ces contrées bouleversées un contentement durable.

Messieurs les Députés,

Bien que nommés depuis peu de jours les Ministres que j'ai réunis autour de moi dans ces graves circonstances vous soumettront néanmoins quelques projets de lois tendant à l'amélioration de nos institutions nationales, savoir: une loi destinée à augmenter les garanties de sureté personnelle, une loi sur l'extension de la liberté de la presse, et une loi sur l'extension de l'autonomie communale. En abordant le plus tôt possible ces importantes matières, le Gouvernement ne fait que venir au devant d'un désir exprimé dans les Assemblées précédentes, et je ne doute pas qu'une solution satisfaisante ne soit le résultat de vos délibérations.

Je suis heureux enfin de pouvoir vous faire part d'un événement qui concilie mes sentiments intimes avec mes devoirs de souverain. Descendant de cette race à laquelle le peuple Serbe a toujours témoigné son dévouement, j'ai cru dans la réalisation d'un vœu personnel satisfaire en même temps à ceux de mon peuple en choisissant pour compagne de ma vie et de mon trône Nathalie Pétrovna, appartenant par sa naissance à la nation Russe, à laquelle nous rattachent les liens de la religion et du sang ainsi que les nombreux et précieux souvenirs du passé.

L'Assemblée Nationale est ouverte. Que la sagesse préside à vos travaux pour pouvoir dignement répondre à votre tâche difficile. Que la concorde règne entre vous, cette concorde qui, dans les circonstances difficiles, n'a jamais fait défaut soit au sein de l'Assemblée elle-même soit entre elle et mon Gouvernement, c'est là le point de départ, le fondement le plus solide de notre force et de notre avenir.

Kragonievatz, le 29 Août, 1875.

No. 209.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 19.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 19, 1875, 3·30 P.M.*

WITH reference to correspondence in your Lordship's despatch No. 225, Prince Bismarck is represented here to be indifferent as to the changes which may be necessary in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and as ready to support any arrangement Austria and Russia may agree to recommend to the Porte.

No. 210.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 20.)

(No. 157. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Athens, September 12, 1875.*

M. TRICOUPI said to me yesterday that the Porte showed no sign of the slightest attention to the wants of Greece; that it seemed to ignore her altogether, and to take no count of her desire to obtain a solution of the various questions which are pending between the two countries. He had, he said, hoped that the attitude which he had assumed, and which he had successfully imposed upon the country at the beginning of the outbreak in the Herzegovina would have induced the Turkish Government to show Greece some consideration; but that as yet that Government not only did not appear to

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

entertain any sense of obligation, but even turned a deaf ear to her proposals to advance towards a settlement of the various questions which were of importance to her.

M. Tricoupi spoke with evident annoyance. He sees the close of his tenure of office approaching, and he will be compelled to acknowledge that his attempt to obtain concessions from the Porte by conciliatory means has failed. During the short time which remains to him I do not apprehend that he will change his policy, but his successor may try to find one which will be more successful.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 210*.

Mr. Doria to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 20.)

(No. 281. Confidential.)
St. Petersburgh, September 14, 1875.

My Lord,

ON my return from an interview with Baron Jomini, I have just received your Lordship's telegram with reference to Baron Hofmann's speech to Hobart Pasha, that he might tell the Turks that Russia and Austria are entirely agreed not to tolerate longer the misgovernment of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and that they insist on the position of the Christians being sufficiently ameliorated to prevent the probability of future disturbance.

His Excellency's (Baron Jomini's) words are still sounding in my ears with reference to the future of these two Provinces, and they seem to me so much less harsh, so much more tolerant, I should say commiserative, with regard to Turkey, that I confess the imperative tone of the telegram sounds at variance with the expressions made use of to myself by Baron Jomini, and surprises me.

My interview was a long one. Baron Jomini said that the Russian Consul had sent sanguine hopes of the success of the Consular pacification or intervention, and, after all, the Turks, his Excellency thinks, must eventually succeed in quelling the insurrection; and, he continued, it will be necessary to urge on the Turks moderation, and prevent the horrors they will otherwise assuredly commit against the Christians. This was the only point on which he spoke with decision. Afterwards, he continued, matters will be patched up for a time only. The Turks have so often promised amelioration in their government that they have not the means to fulfil their promises. They do not possess the men capable to perform the assurances given to carry out the reforms required; and on these points Baron Jomini dwelt with very much emphasis, so as to inspire me with a feeling that his words contained more than they expressed, only his Excellency returned to explain how difficult it was to supply the place, if for Turkish rule any other had to be substituted for the said two Provinces; and he drew a picture of the present state of Servia by no means flattering to its Government or population—a resort of ultra-liberalism and republicanism, and his Excellency added that Bosnia and the Herzegovina would, if left to self-government, only represent a worse state of intrigue and mal-administration, devoid of progress, education, and tranquillity.

Roumania, his Excellency proceeded to say, was only slightly better because a foreign Prince was at the head of it, and that the evils of these countries will not cease till all Europe combined shall sit in deliberation and decide for their future welfare.

I thought this was a hint at an European Conference, and a pretty broad one, and I also thought that his Excellency, compassionating the powerless state of the Turkish Government to fulfil its promises to establish a better system of administration tended to the same ever-recurring thought in his Excellency's mind. I have been surprised at the excessive moderation which characterizes the expressions made use of with regard to Turkey by his Excellency. He has spoken favourably of Mahmoud Pasha, the recently appointed Grand Vizier; but has returned to the refrain that he has no one about him to carry out his promises made to ameliorate the system of maladministration.

This moderation of Baron Jomini contrasts with the asperity I remarked in the Austrian Ambassador's tone in speaking with reference to Turkey, which probably is derived from the fact that Austria is immediately affected by the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

Baron Jomini said that it was the intimate desire of his Government to prevent by all means that the peace of Europe should be disturbed by the present insurrection in the Turkish Provinces, that he feared any such opportunity would be grasped at and taken advantage of by Germany to attack France. That the Emperor Alexander was desirous to make Europe "de faire l'Europe," which had been "défait" by the unfortunate Crimean war.

Alluding to Lord Russell's subscription, as stated in the press in aid of the insurgents, Baron Jomini said, had his Lordship confined his subscription to be applied to the use of the sufferers by the insurrection it would be better; but, he added, it shows that Turkey's best friends are disgusted by her evil system of Government.

My Austrian colleague, M. de Mayer, now Chargé d'Affaires, informed me that General Ignatiew, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, has avowed his opinion with reference to a change of system in collecting the revenue in the two insurgent provinces, that if the office were intrusted in future to the Jorbegees or Christian Heads of the villages, the extortion and tyranny would far exceed that now exercised by the Turks in executing the same office. To talk of the autonomy of those provinces was absurd, they were quite unfit for it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. DORIA.

No. 211.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 20, 1875, 10·50 P.M.*

THE Servian Agent has been informed that several parties of Circassians, believed to be Bashi-Bozouks, have penetrated into Servia and committed depredations.

I am endeavouring to ascertain whether they are really irregular troops in the service of the Porte, or mere marauders.

No. 212.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 290.)
Foreign Office, September 22, 1875.

Sir,

I APPROVE the advice you gave to Hussein Avni Pasha as to the inexpediency of enrolling the Bashi-Bozouks in Bosnia, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 520 of the 7th instant.

I am, &c
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 213.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 24, 1875, 8·40 P.M.*

THE Porte publishes a telegram stating that the insurgents attacked a convoy of provisions going from Ragusa to Trebigné, and captured fifty loads.

They were pursued and afterwards defeated with heavy loss.

No. 214.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 24, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 24, 1875, 11·30 P.M.*

REPORTS have been received from the French and Russian Consuls at Mostar of an engagement with the main body of the insurgents, which was completely defeated near Stolatz.

The Consuls had been conferring with these insurgents the day before, and appear to blame the Turks for the attack.

General Ignatiew says it looks as if the Turks had taken an improper advantage of the meeting arranged between the Consuls and the insurgents, and has called for inquiry into the circumstances.

I have telegraphed to Consul Holmes to report.

No. 215.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 25.)

(No. 37. Consulaire.)
Scutari, le 14 Septembre, 1875.

My Lord,

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Excellence ci-annexé, copie de la dépêche que j'ai adressée aujourd'hui à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople, relativement au retour du Monténégro des Consuls de France et d'Italie; aux assurances données par le Prince de maintenir ses sujets dans le devoir de la neutralité, et aux décorations qu'il vient de conférer aux Consuls susnommés.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure in No. 215.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Scutari, le 14 Septembre, 1875.

Excellence,

J'AI l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence que les Consuls de France et d'Italie qui étaient partis en mission pour le Monténégro sont rétournés dans cette ville-ci depuis cinq jours et m'ont communiqué que le Prince leur a données les assurances les plus formelles qu'il s'abstiendrait à se mêler dans les affaires de l'Herzégovine et que c'est sa ferme volonté de maintenir la plus stricte neutralité. Quant à ses sujets qui se sont rangés du côté des insurgés, il dit à leur égard, qu'ils n'étaient pas même cinq cents et qu'il n'avait guère pû les en empêcher, chose pour lui difficile, étant donné leur caractère turbulent et demandant tous d'unanimité la guerre. Toutefois il les a assurés qu'ont été prises des mesures de rigueur pour les contenir et que toutes les démarches faites en ce sens ont été couronnées de succès.

Je dois soumettre à la haute appréciation de votre Excellence les assurances données par le Prince; toutefois je ne puis que me conformer, sur ce sujet, à ma dépêche dernière, datée 7 de ce mois, que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous adresser.

On ignore le résultat de la marche des Monténégrins et des Rayas insurgés contre les villes des Bérane et de Rolachin, et d'après à ce que l'on dit de ces côtés là ont eu lieu quelques escarmouches, du reste peu importantes.

Le Prince du Monténégro a conféré à MM. les Consuls de France et d'Italie l'Ordre de Danilo de Troisième Classe, et l'on dit qu'il le conférera même aux autres Consuls de Scutari, et d'après à ce qu'on sait, c'est pour les démarches qu'ils ont faites en faveur de Monténégrins dans les derniers événements fâcheux de Potgoritza.

Depuis quelque temps sont stationnaires dans le port de Antivari trois bateaux de la marine de guerre Turque et dès deux jours sont arrivés à Scutari deux bataillons de troupes (Rédifs) et sur le champ ont été envoyés à Potgoritza.

J'ai, &c.
(Signed) F. SUMMA.

No. 216.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 25.)

(Telegraphic.)
Vienna, September 25, 1875, 6·30 P.M.

BARON ORCZY says that Austrian Consul has reported on returning from the Herzegovina: Nothing arranged with Chiefs, but that they would negotiate with Turkish Commissioner, provided the Consuls were present as witnesses to, though not as guaranteeing the promises of the Turk. An armistice must, of course, precede such a negotiation.

No. 217.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 25, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)
Therapia, September 25, 1875, 11·30 P.M.

I HAVE sent the following to Consul-General White:—

"Explain to the Servian Government, and, if necessary, to the Prince, that as there is not the slightest reason to apprehend an attack upon the Principality, the military movements reported in your telegrams cannot be considered as simply defensive."

No. 218.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 535. Confidential.)
Therapia, September 8, 1875.

My Lord,

I LEARN from a very confidential source that the reports from Server Pasha, on his arrival at Mostar, give a lamentable account of the country which has been occupied by the insurgents, who had pillaged and destroyed upwards of seventy villages.

He states the Generals to complain that they are left entirely without money, and with an insufficient number of troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 219.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 543.)
Therapia, September 10, 1875.

My Lord,

THE articles in the "Times," and, still more, the letters of Lord Russell offering a subscription in favour of the insurgents of the Herzegovina, have produced a painful feeling of surprise here among all classes.

They cannot understand how it can be possible that a former Prime Minister of England should thus openly encourage the revolt of the subjects of a friendly State, for which, hitherto, it had shown constant sympathy.

I have been appealed to from innumerable quarters for an explanation of this letter, but could only attribute it to advanced age and a generous sympathy for a population suffering under misgovernment.

Those who contribute to the cause of the insurgents cannot have even a faint suspicion that they are, in fact, subscribing to the perpetration of the most revolting barbarities, and to the continuance of a civil war, in which the two parties will vie with each other in cruelty.

The movement began by the Christian insurgents, not attacking the Imperial troops, but devastating the property of their Mussulman fellow subjects, and plundering and exterminating them to the best of their power, and the encouragement received from England will be regarded by them as an approval of their proceedings.

Every day that these continue will only add to the reckoning which the Mussulmans will have to pay off, and no efforts on the part of the Government will be able to avert the retaliation which will follow from men who are as great savages as those by whom they had been injured.

Sympathy may be felt for men who openly take up arms against the troops of what they regard as an oppressive Government, but that countenance and encouragement should be given in England to deeds such as are now being enacted can hardly be seen without a sense of humiliation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 220.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 544. Confidential.)

Therapia, September 10, 1875.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador has spoken to me about the concentration of Turkish troops at Nisch, and the dislike with which it seemed to be viewed by the Ambassadors of Austria, Germany, and Russia.

M. de Bourgoing thinks it important that in our language to the Porte we should try to avoid separating ourselves from our Northern colleagues, especially as he believed them sincere in not desiring to provoke a general conflagration.

I said I agreed with him that we should endeavour to act with our colleagues as much as possible, but we could only do so as long as we were satisfied that we were aiming at the same object. I did not doubt their sincerity in wishing that there should be no general disturbance at this moment, and, so far, we could act with them; but as it was evident that, while discouraging immediate movements, they were labouring to weaken and undermine the authority of the Porte and its hold over the Northern Provinces, we could not co-operate in anything tending to this object.

I mentioned that Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Belgrade considered that the concentration of troops on the frontier would have a good effect if the Turks acted with prudence; and my colleague said that the French Agent had given a similar opinion.

We agreed to continue to press the Porte to issue stringent instructions to the authorities on the frontier to be careful to give no provocation, but not to express disapproval of the dispatch to Nisch of such troops as might be thought necessary.

There is, I believe, a very simple reason for the dislike shown by the Russian Ambassador to the concentration of a powerful force upon the frontier.

It would naturally be more agreeable to him that the more peaceful counsels which seem to be now prevailing in Servia should be attributed solely to the advice or pressure of his Government, rather than to any considerations of prudence, which the presence of a large Turkish army was calculated to inspire.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 221.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 547. Confidential.)

Therapia, September 14, 1875.

My Lord,

GENERAL IGNATIEW tells me that the accounts he had received from the Herzegovina, from the Russian Consul, are in a more hopeful strain than those which he had previously received from him.

In Bosnia, however, a great danger had been very narrowly escaped.

It had been ascertained that not less than 6,000 men, all old soldiers of the Austrian Grenzers, had concerted their arrival in Bosnia in support of the insurgents.

The information had been received only two or three days before that which had been fixed upon for their expedition, and precautions had been taken to prevent it from being carried out.

If such a body of trained soldiers had succeeded in penetrating into Bosnia the consequences, he said, must have been very serious.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 222.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 551.)

Therapia, September 15, 1875.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship receives direct from Her Majesty's Consuls the reports which they forward to me, and as the information which reaches the Porte from the insurgent districts is meagre, as well as frequently inaccurate, I have little to add to them.

It is stated that in Bosnia, where there does not appear ever to have been anything like a serious insurrectionary movement, none now exists, the invasion of the province by bands from Croatia or Servia being the only danger remaining.

In the Herzegovina it is said that the insurgents no longer attempt to attack the troops, but are scattered in small parties in strong positions; the communications with Novi-Bazar are again opened, and the re-establishment of the line of telegraph is far advanced.

Complaint is however made by the Turkish Commissioner of continued inroads of bands from Servia.

Nothing can in fact be less favourable to a speedy suppression of an insurrection than the position in which Turkey is held towards her vassal States.

Armed bodies of men may be organised in the immediate vicinity of her frontier without danger of molestation, and, watching their opportunity for making an incursion, can again retreat to a sanctuary guaranteed by Europe, and may repeat the operation in another quarter.

The Prince of Servia may have gone as far as he ventured in discouraging such proceedings, but his authority, and that of the Prince of Montenegro over their respective subjects, is limited, and they cannot efficiently control active support in favour of a movement in which they sympathize in common with all their countrymen, although they may be constrained by motives of prudence from joining in it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 223.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 556.)

Therapia, September 16, 1875.

My Lord,

A TELEGRAM from Mehmed Ali Pasha, the Commander-in-chief at Novi-Bazar, bears a handsome recognition of the manner in which the Prince of Montenegro is acting in restraining his subjects from acts of hostility.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 224.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 557.)

Therapia, September 16, 1875.

My Lord,

MR. CONSUL BLUNT and Mr. Acting Consul Freeman, at Bosna-Seraï, having again reported the enrolment of Bashi-Bozouks, and their dispatch to places near the Servian frontier, I renewed the representations I had before made against the employment of them, now that sufficient regular troops have been collected.

The Grand Vizier and Safvet Pasha both consider that the measure could not now be justified; but the Minister of War, to whom I spoke a second time on the subject, absolutely denies the accuracy of the report.

He said, however, that volunteers had been accepted from the reserve; they were old soldiers, no longer liable to be called out in the Redif, and could not be classed as Bashi-Bozouks.

The distinction is a fair one to make; but the strict accuracy of the explanation may perhaps be questioned; and the employment of either irregulars or volunteers,

unless under regular military discipline, ought not to be continued a day longer than necessary, although it might at first have been excusable to use them both.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 225.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 560.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 17, 1875.*

I SEE it constantly affirmed, and apparently accepted without question, that the promises made by the Porte on the occasion of the last insurrection in the Herzegovina had never been fulfilled.

There is no one possessing a better knowledge of the state of Bosnia and the Herzegovina than Mr. Consul Holmes, and I may be allowed to call attention to his report of the 30th ultimo, in which he speaks of the old revolted districts as enjoying "privileges practically exempting them from all taxation, and which left them as independent as a people could wish to be."

One of the chief complaints of other districts was that they were left less well off than those which had rebelled, and it is impossible either to deny its justice, or to excuse the Porte for not having listened to it; but the rising of the favoured populations which lie upon the immediate frontier of Montenegro shows how little the movement is to be attributed to the existence of real grievances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 226.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 561.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 17, 1875.*

THE Porte has received the same information as that contained in Mr. Acting Consul Freeman's telegram of the 15th, respecting the defeat of the insurgents and their being driven across the Servian frontier.

I am told that the Turkish accounts add that the troops were upon the point of capturing the leader of the insurgents, who had only just managed to reach the frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 227.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 562.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 17, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a report from Mr. Sandison containing the latest intelligence received at the Porte from the insurgent districts of the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 227.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Therapia, September 17, 1875.*

SAFVET PASHA stated yesterday that according to a telegram received from Server Pasha, a strong disposition was being manifested by the inhabitants of Novessin to tender their submission to the Imperial authorities, and that the same disposition existed amongst the native inhabitants of other localities, who were, however, deterred

from doing so immediately, in consequence of the threats held out to them by the leaders of the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

Another telegram, however, which reached the Porte late in the afternoon from the Kaïmakam of Seuidje, on the Bosnia frontier, is less satisfactory as regards the continued invasion of the Servians, who had recently ravaged that neighbourhood, capturing the Turkish blockhouses and burning down the Mussulman villages, the inhabitants of which had taken to flight.

The telegram concludes by representing the pressing necessity for troops, in order to insure the safety and protection of the district.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 228.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 564. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 17, 1875.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW called on me this afternoon, and said that he had received from the Russian Consul at Nevessin an encouraging report of the manner in which the insurgents had received the advice given to them by himself and his two colleagues.

This was the more satisfactory, as the Consul had at first taken a desponding view of the prospect of advantage resulting from the action which had been resolved upon.

On the other hand, the General added that the Austrian and German Consuls, who had gone in the opposite direction towards the Dalmatian frontier, had telegraphed to their Ambassadors that they found the insurgents animated by an insuperable repugnance to trust to any assurances that might be given by an Ottoman Commissioner.

General Ignatiew accompanied a query how it was that our Consuls seemed to have been more successful than the others with an unmistakeable sneer, implying that the first were the more sincere of the two.

That men who are supposed to have a strong anti-Turkish feeling should not enter very heartily into the duty entrusted to them is possible enough, but it is also likely that so near the Dalmatian frontier the insurgents may be more under the influence of the foreign agitators, who, according to all accounts, are the main obstacle to their submission.

The Austrian and German Consuls have, however, reported that they found there had been much exaggeration in the statements with regard to the numbers of foreigners among the insurgents, but this statement must be received with caution.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 229.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(No. 565. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 17, 1875.*

IT has been becoming more and more evident that whatever may be the outward understanding between Russia and Austria, there is no cordiality of feeling between them, at all events as far as regards the former Power.

General Ignatiew has lately, on more than one occasion, spoken of the extreme anxiety of the Emperor to act cordially with Her Majesty's Government in the affairs of this country.

The traditional policy of Russia, in regard to the Christian populations has always been to proceed slowly and with extreme caution, and it appears that his Majesty now sees with some alarm that, by the impetuous rashness of Count Andrassy, he is being hurried much faster than he wishes to go.

There is an evident desire on the part of General Ignatiew, whether shared or not by his Government I cannot say, to show the reluctance with which he acts in concert with his colleague, and how he is obliged to restrain him in the execution of his instructions.

According to the account given to me by the General, the wish at Vienna would

seem to lie that in everything connected with Turkey the three Governments should proceed independently of all others, while that of Russia is, on the contrary, that, as far as possible, there should be a general understanding upon them.

This, he said, was strongly exhibited when it was agreed at Vienna to propose that the Consuls should communicate with the insurgents.

He found that joint instructions, signed by Count Andrassy and by the Russian and German Representatives, had been dispatched to the Consuls; he had, however, at once called upon M. Novikow to explain by what authority he gave instructions to Russian Consuls in Turkey, as he himself believed them to be under his own control.

The Emperor approved of his proceeding, and he at once took steps to prevent the appearance of an exclusive interference of the Three Powers by proposing to the Porte that the Consuls of all the Great Powers should make the same communication to the insurgents.

General Ignatiew next alluded to the measures which the Porte might be expected to adopt in regard to the revolted provinces, when the insurrection is put down, and hinted that the Austrian Cabinet advocated some which the Emperor would not support.

The plan of erecting Bosnia into an autonomic vassal State he summarily dismissed as unworthy of consideration; and he spoke with no favour of the project of granting it an organic Règlement, such as had been given to the Lebanon and to Crete.

The Emperor, he said, had declared that he would not ask for anything so radical.

He would expect that the Porte should take measures to insure a fair treatment to the Christian populations, such as should leave them no pretext for rebellion. He would be glad to see these measures adopted immediately and voluntarily by the Porte, and that they should be applicable not only to Bosnia, but to the whole Empire throughout which many abuses undoubtedly exist.

General Ignatiew expressed anxiety lest the different Cabinets should not share the moderate views of the Emperor; and he was afraid that France, with the doctrinaire tendency to which she is prone, might favour some philosophical scheme of Government not adapted to practical application.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 230.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 26, 1875, 11·30 A.M.*

IN case Mr. Holmes should not have sent these to your Lordship, I transmit the following figures received from him:—

"*Mostar, September 23, 6.30 P.M.*— Returned last night unsuccessful; our three other colleagues arrived to-day also unsuccessful. The chief insurgents demand an armistice and an European intervention to guarantee the reforms which may be adopted. Details by post."

No. 231.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 26, 1875, 11·45 A.M.*

THE Russian Ambassador has proposed that we should telegraph to our Consuls at Mostar to inform the Turkish Commissioner of the result of their mission, desiring them to exchange their views with each other and with Server Pasha, and, after obtaining his Excellency's opinion, to transmit to us, if possible, a practical project of solution acceptable to every one.

I have answered that, while I could join in the first part of such an instruction, the latter part was so contrary to the understanding of the task assigned to the Consuls that I could not send it without distinct orders from your Lordship.

Both the Porte and Her Majesty's Government had consented to the mission of the Consuls on the understanding that it was to be confined to recommending the insurgents to submit their grievances to the Turkish Commissioner, after which they were to return to their posts, and they were to avoid acting as a collective body.

Each Consul could suggest to his Government the remedies which he thought best for the grievances of the populations, but it would be undesirable, and contrary to the understanding, that the Consuls should meet as a body to concert a project of settlement.

No. 232.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 26, 1875, 5·50 P.M.*

I HAVE sent the following figures to Mr. Consul Holmes:—

"Inform Server Pasha of the result of your mission, and report to me your own views, and his Excellency's opinions as to the measures which should be adopted.

"Avoid taking any part in any collective project of arrangement if suggested by your colleagues, but exchange your views with them for the information of Her Majesty's Government."

No. 233.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 16. Political.)

My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, September 17, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch which I have just addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting successes of the Turkish arms in the district of Novi-Bazar and near Gradiska, on the Save.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 233.

Acting Consul Freeman to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Bosna-Serai, September 17, 1875.*

ON the 15th instant I telegraphed to your Excellency that Mehmet Ali Pasha had on the previous day attacked the insurgents with eight battalions near Nova-Varosh, and destroyed their positions, driving more than 1,000 rebels across the Servian frontier; that the Constantinople road was open, and the telegraph being restored.

No details have been received here of this engagement, but it is said to have been a severe one. Mehmet Ali Pasha has now a force at his disposal, including irregulars, of about 15,000 men, and as the number of insurgents and Servians in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar did not probably at any time exceed 5,000, it may be reasonably expected that tranquillity will soon be restored, and that there will be no further interruption of the communication with Constantinople.

The nominal leader of the insurgents in the Novi-Bazar district is said to be a certain Pop Zarko, one of the chiefs of the revolt in the Herzegovina in 1861, and who has since resided in Servia; but there is no doubt that they are in reality commanded by Servian officers, and from the nature of the defensive works constructed by them near Nova-Varosh, and the skill with which a succession of trenches had been made across the Constantinople road beyond Vishegrad to obstruct the passage of troops, they are probably engineer officers of some capacity.

On the 11th instant there was an encounter between the Turkish forces and a body of insurgents near Gradiska, in which the Turks were completely victorious. The insurgents, numbers of whom threw themselves into the Save and were drowned, lost a great many men, and it is said that their Chiefs Pezzia and Kormanosh were among the killed. A considerable quantity of arms and a standard fell into the hands of the Turks. A few days previously, a band of about 100 armed men, who attempted to cross the Save into Bosnia, were stopped and disarmed by the Austrian authorities, but it is probable that some other bands were more successful, as, without some substantial aid, the few

remaining insurgents in the neighbourhood of Gradiska would have hardly risked an engagement with the troops in the open plain bordering the Save.

These successes of the Turkish troops will have a good effect throughout the country, and, although the revolt may smoulder on until winter, and the want of food and shelter oblige the scattered bands of rebels to finally submit, it is probable that no further outbreaks will now occur.

The presence here of the battalion of infantry which I reported to your Excellency in my preceding despatch to have arrived at Serajevo, has done much to calm the existing agitation. It is said to be under excellent discipline, and to have behaved most orderly on the march, whereas the Bosniac troops, and more especially the redif, are represented as a scourge to the country through which they pass, pillaging alike both Christian and Mussulman houses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 234.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 44. Political.)
Belgrade, September 20, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me on the 10th instant to Sir Henry Elliot respecting a transport of Servian arms said to have been seized by Turkish authorities at Gradiska.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 234.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, September 10, 1875.

Sir,

WITH reference to the total destruction of a band of Servians who had entered Bosnia across the Drina, which had been reported to your Excellency by the Acting Consul at Bosna-Serai, a similar account, from Turkish source, had reached Belgrade through the Pesth journals this morning, and there can be little doubt as to its correctness.

The Prince of Servia has left for Kragonievatz, the seat of the Skoupstchina, and was to open that Assembly in person this morning; he was preceded there by all his Ministers, and much interest is felt as to the nature of the resolutions which may be adopted there at this juncture.

The Prince is expected back here on Monday next, and all the reports from the district authorities are telegraphed in the meantime direct to Kragonievatz; we are thus deprived for the present of all direct intelligence of importance.

All knowledge is denied here of the seizure of a transport consisting of rifles and of six guns at Gradiska, on their being landed from this Principality.

This place as indicated for the seizure is a small town situated in the dominions of the King of Hungary, on the Croatian side of the Save. The insurgents appear, according to the papers, to derive active support from that locality (Gradiska).

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 235.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 45. Political.)
Belgrade, September 20, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me to Sir Henry Elliot on the 19th instant, giving an account of the ambiguity of the language held by persons in authority in Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 235.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, September 19, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that, though the Prince of Servia has returned from Kragonievatz a week ago, he has not since, to my knowledge, seen any of the foreign Agents except the Russian one once, and as he has left all his Ministers in attendance on the Assembly, we are debarred from all official intercourse with the the Government of this Principality, from which we might gather any information as to the line of policy which it is their intention to pursue in future.

The militia has been called out for the autumn manœuvres throughout Servia, and the mobilization of the brigade in the frontier districts of the Principality has placed small Servian bodies of troops in juxtaposition to the Ottoman forces assembled there.

It is evident that the new Government have slackened the warlike preparations of their immediate predecessors in office, and that they endeavour to explain to their supporters that they require time and money before they can embark in so hazardous a venture. The Prince himself professes openly a peaceful policy ever since the formation of the new Cabinet, and has modified his attitude very strongly in that sense, but at the same time the language of the immediate followers of the Ministry and of their organs in the press, as likewise their uninterrupted relations with the leaders of the Omladina, are of such a character as to throw considerable doubt on the sincerity of their pacific professions.

The reports which have reached Belgrade from Kragonievatz show that the Committee of the Assembly, discussing the Address to the Prince in answer to his Speech, sits with closed doors, and confirm the suspicion of double dealing with the Deputies. It is even whispered that if the tone of that Address is pacific or ambiguous, this will be due to some pledges in a contrary sense which have been given by the Government in secret.

The Deputation with the address is expected here the day after to-morrow, but whatever its language happens to be, it cannot be considered as conclusive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 236.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 296. Confidential.)
Vienna, September 21, 1875.

My Lord,

HAVING met Baron Orczy the day after I received your Lordship's telegram of the 16th instant, acquainting me with the information imparted by General Ignatiew to Sir Henry Elliot of the intended invasion of Bosnia by 6,000 old Croat soldiers from the military frontier, I mentioned to his Excellency that a report to that effect had reached Her Majesty's Government, and I inquired whether it was correct. He said that he had never heard of any arrangement being made for a large body of Croatians joining the insurgents in Bosnia, although, doubtless, some sympathizers from Croatia had done so, and from first to last their numbers may have amounted to about 200.

I rejoined that I did not mean that the 6,000 men alluded to had been embodied in Croatia, but that arrangements for a strong organized force crossing into Bosnia would have been carried out, had it not been for the interference of the authorities.

Baron Orczy, however, assured me that no information of the kind had ever reached him; and he has since spontaneously referred to the subject, stating that he had made inquiries as to the truth of the report at the Hungarian Ministry, and had been told that it was entirely incorrect.

His Excellency said that such reports were probably got up to embarrass the Turkish military commanders, and to induce them to diminish their forces on the Drina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

P.S. *September* 23.—General Ignatiew's information has probably been founded on the fact that about a hundred men, as reported by Mr. Freeman in his despatch to Sir H.

Elliot, of the 17th instant, had been stopped and disarmed by the Austrian authorities when preparing to cross the Save.

A. B.

No. 237.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 229. Very Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, September 23, 1875.*

THE French Ambassador, who has reason to believe that there is some probability of Reschid Pacha being recalled from his Embassy at this Court to replace the present Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Porte, has been anxious to ascertain whether his Excellency has formed any opinion as to the principles on which a permanent pacification of the insurgent Turkish provinces might be accomplished.

To his inquiries on the subject Reschid Pacha stated that, as primary conditions to concessions being made by the Porte, the insurgents must lay down their arms, and the Porte be left to deal with the question without foreign interference.

On these conditions, he said, there were many points on which, in his opinion, immediate improvements in the administration of the insurgent provinces might be effected.

In the first place, he considered that the taxes should be reduced, and that some new system of levying them, possibly by Christians, should be established, as he was ready to admit that the amount required by the Government had been too great, and that the farmers had also exacted additions to them for their own benefit. The country having also been without Tribunals for many years, he said immediate steps should be taken for organizing judicial establishments in which the population would have confidence; and he intimated that the land question might also be taken into consideration, and though its solution could only be an affair of time, a Commission might be at once appointed to inquire into the possibility of effecting some improvement in the position of the Christians with respect to it, and to ascertain whether advantages might not be secured to the Mussulman population which would induce them to consent to a reduction of their rents or an alienation of a part of their property.

That such views should be entertained by Reschid Pacha may be interesting to your Lordship, and I have thought it right to acquaint you with them, explaining, however, that they were imparted to Count Vogué in a private conversation, as confidential communications from one friend to another.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 238.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 300.)

My Lord, *Vienna, September 23, 1875.*

THE Delegations of the Austrian Reichsrath and of the Hungarian Reichstag met here on the 21st instant, and after having constituted themselves and elected their respective Presidents, Herr de Schmerling being called to the chair of the former, and Herr Ladislas Szögyenyi to that of the latter, the Budget for the common affairs of the Monarchy was laid before them by Count Andrassy.

The Chambers subsequently elected their Committees, and they were received yesterday, at separate audiences, by the Emperor, who, when replying to the Addresses delivered by the President as usual on such occasions, His Majesty said:—"The movement which has taken place in some of the provinces of the Turkish Empire must, from their immediate vicinity and the multifarious relations arising therefrom, essentially affect the Monarchy. Our cordial relations, however, with the great neighbouring Empires, as well as our friendly ties with the other States, afford a well-grounded hope that in spite of this event, the tranquillity of the Monarchy and also the peace of Europe will be preserved."

As soon as the Reporters of the Committee have been chosen, the Estimates will be examined by them, but the Chambers will not meet again for some days.

When Count Andrassy appears before them to support the Estimates of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, he will be expected to give some information as to the policy of the Government in its relation with Foreign States during the previous year, and more particularly as to its present attitude with respect to the insurrection in the northern provinces of Turkey. Meanwhile the public are assured by the press that his Excellency will state that the Empire will pursue a policy of peace based on a respect for Treaties, and the amelioration of the *status quo*, that it will not separate its action from that of the two other Northern Powers, and that, free from all egotistical views, it will endeavour, in concert with Germany and Russia, to improve the condition of the Christians in the East, without wishing to offer the slightest injury to the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 239.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 302.)

My Lord, *Vienna, September 23, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a letter which I have this day received from M. Kukitch, the Servian agent here, communicating to me extracts which he has received by telegraph from M. Ristich of those passages in the Address of the Skuptchina which relate to the presence of Turkish troops on the frontier, and to the insurrection in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 239.

M. Kukitch to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Vienne, le 23 Septembre, 1875.*

J'AI reçu ce matin par le télégramme de M. le Ministre Ristich la communication de deux passages de l'adresse que la Scouptchina vient de soumettre à son Altesse le Prince Milan. L'un de ces passages se rapporte à la concentration de troupes Turques aux frontières de Serbie, et l'autre à l'insurrection en Bosnie et en Herzégovine. En croyant que cette communication intéressera votre Excellence, je me suis pris la liberté de vous en donner connaissance.

Le premier passage dit: "Les circonstances sont sérieuses, mais non moins sérieuse est la ferme volonté du peuple Serbe d'être à la hauteur de la position. Aussi l'Assemblée déclare solennellement au nom du peuple Serbe qu'il est prêt à protéger son pays, à défendre sa liberté et à garder l'héritage de Miloch et de nos pères. Il n'est pas de sacrifices que la Serbie ne soit pas prête à faire dans ce but sur l'autel sacré de la patrie, et à la voix de votre Altesse le peuple Serbe se lèvera comme un seul homme pour défendre sa patrie."

Relativement au soulèvement de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine, l'adresse dit, "La vue du sang de nos frères révolte nos sentiments. Leurs cris de désespoir trouvent un noble écho devant les nations civilisées, et il nous est impossible de rester indifférents à leurs destinées. L'Assemblée est pénétrée des plus profonds sentiments de reconnaissance pour les efforts que fait votre Altesse pour contribuer à ramener définitivement la tranquillité dans les contrées bouleversées et d'assurer le contentement durable à nos frères cruellement opprimés. Dans cette voie patriotique votre Altesse peut aussi compter sur l'appui du peuple Serbe. L'Assemblée, au nom du peuple Serbe, donne à votre Altesse l'assurance que dans ce but aussi elle ne reculera devant aucun sacrifice, convaincu que votre Altesse trouvera avec son Gouvernement la voie la plus propre pour que la Serbie réponde avec honneur à son devoir."

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) E. KUKITCH.

No. 240.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 303. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, September 23, 1875.*

COUNT ANDRASSY, who returned to Vienna on the 20th instant, and has been since almost entirely occupied with the Delegation, has not ceased to hope, notwithstanding the unfavourable reports which have reached Vienna, that a solution of the Bosnian and Herzegovina question may be arrived at through the mission of the Consuls; and he is unwilling to express any opinion as to what steps may be subsequently expedient until the report of the Consuls has been received. It was believed at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs yesterday that the Consuls would be able to dispatch their report to-morrow or next day, and that it may reach Vienna in about a week.

Meanwhile, the accounts of the fortunes of the insurrection are contradictory. The insurgents have, apparently, succeeded in capturing some weakly-escorted convoys, and have had a successful combat with the garrison of a block-house, but the public are not disposed to attribute much importance to such successes, for, though the pacification of the country may be delayed by insurgent bands being in sufficient force to carry on a guerilla warfare, no doubt seems to be entertained as to the Turkish troops, whose numbers are daily increasing, eventually becoming masters of the situation.

I have had some conversation on the subject with General Eber, who is well qualified, from his own experience in such warfare, to form a correct opinion on the prospects of the insurrection, and he says that, without the promise of support from Servia and Montenegro, it would probably never have occurred, as without such support it can never succeed.

During the winter, which is at hand, he says, the Turkish troops will be able to maintain themselves in the villages and the plains, while the wretched insurgent peasantry will be exposed to dreadful privations and sufferings in the mountains.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 241.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 304. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, September 23, 1875.*

THE Turkish Ambassador receives almost daily telegrams from the Turkish military authorities in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, complaining that the insurrection is kept up by Austrian and Servian sympathisers, being allowed by the authorities of these countries to cross and recross the frontier at pleasure, and by armed refugees who have sought refuge on Servian, Montenegrin, and Austrian territory, being permitted to leave again without having been disarmed.

Baron Hofmann, to whom I have spoken on this subject, maintains that such complaints are without foundation, and arise from a wish on the part of Turkish officers to find extraordinary causes for their want of success in pacifying the country, and his Excellency said that in this respect they are only following the example of Austrian officers during the insurrection some years ago in Dalmatia, who were in the habit of attributing any resistance which they could not easily overcome to the presence of Montenegrins among the disaffected.

Baron Hofmann said that large numbers of Austrian subjects could not leave their villages without their absence becoming known to the local authorities; and from the official information received by the Government, it is certain that the Croats and Dalmatians who have joined the insurgents did so at the outbreak of the insurrection, and that their numbers have never exceeded 500 men.

I may observe also, that though Reschid Pacha communicated to me yesterday a telegram from Bosnia containing a complaint such as I have above referred to against the Austrian authorities, it was stated in another telegram, which he read to me, that the Croatian sympathizers came in the Danube steam-packets to Belgrade, and proceeded from thence to join the armed bands which have formed from time to time in Servia, and have crossed the Drina into Bosnia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 242.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)

(No. 307. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September 24, 1875.*

GENERAL LEFLO, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, passed through Berlin this morning on his way to Paris. He is fully convinced, I understand, of the sincere desire of the Russian Government to maintain the peace of Europe and the integrity of the Turkish Empire, and to act in complete harmony with the Austrian Government in regard to the "improvement of the *status quo*," as it is called, in the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

The policy of the Austrian Government has been explained by Count Andrassy in to-day's sitting of the Committee of the Hungarian Delegation for Foreign Affairs, and corresponds entirely to the wishes and intentions of the German Government, so that complete unity of purpose exists between the three great Northern Powers, nor is it likely to be disturbed so long as the Austrian Government adheres to its present declarations, as the German Government has no special interests in the East that could stand in the way of the support it is her general interest to give to her Imperial allies in regard to Turkish affairs. This view is forcibly expressed in the inclosed official article from the "Deutsche Reichs Anzeiger."

On the other hand, I note that the sympathies of the German people are all on the side of the insurgents, nor does it appear likely that public opinion in Germany will ever tend to support the Turkish Government in the coming discussion of national interests between the Sultan and his subjects in Europe.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 242.

Extract from the "Deutsche Reichs Anzeiger."

ON lit dans le "Moniteur de l'Empire Allemand":—

"Plusieurs journaux considérables et spécialement ceux qui ont coutume d'appuyer le Gouvernement Impérial dans les questions intérieures, ont exprimé publiquement leurs vues sur la phase récente de la question d'Orient, dans des articles et d'autres exposés et correspondances politiques.

"L'Office Extérieur de l'Empire Allemand est complétement étranger à ces manifestations, et n'a fourni d'aucun côté, directement ou indirectement, le prétexte d'une manifestation publique de ce genre. De même qu'aucune des publications antérieures des feuilles conservatrices ou libérales n'a sa source dans un besoin de la politique officielle Allemande d'exercer une action sur le développement de la question d'Orient, nous ne pensons pas non plus que les manifestations d'une feuille Allemande quelconque répondent à la manière de voir de l'un des deux Empires alliés de l'Allemagne, ou que l'une des trois Cours alliées ait été satisfaite de voir discuter cette question brûlante ainsi que cela a eu lieu dans les feuilles Allemandes, surtout dans celles qui sont amies du Gouvernement. La politique extérieure de l'Empire Allemand n'est pas intéressée en première ligne aux événements de la Turquie; la situation géographique de l'Empire lui assigne au contraire une attitude réservée et expectante, qui se borne à seconder les vœux des grandes Puissances amies et intéressées immédiatement de fait. Cet état de choses est si transparent pour chacun que nous pouvons admettre que, dans les régions favorables à l'Empire de l'Allemagne et de l'étranger, les articles des feuilles Allemandes même les plus respectables n'éveilleront pas l'appréhension que la politique Allemande puisse profiter de la situation actuelle pour poursuivre des projets découlant d'autres intérêts que ceux qui sont sans contredit et immédiatement Allemands.

"La politique Allemande est bien éloignée de prétendre à une hégémonie dépassant la mesure des intérêts Allemands, et cela seulement pour l'amour du prestige. Il rentre, il est vrai, dans les intérêts Allemands de rester l'ami de ses amis, mais les articles de journaux, mentionnés au début, ne tendent plus à seconder, mais à prendre sous tutelle la politique des Puissances amies; c'est pourquoi il sera utile de constater que la politique Impériale est absolument étrangère à ces manifestations, et que, depuis plusieurs mois, aucun des organes de l'Office Extérieur n'a fait parvenir de communication officielle à une feuille publique quelconque."

No. 243.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 27.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 27, 1875, 4:30 P.M.*

COUNT ANDRASSY told me to-day he had no direct reports from the Austrian Consul in Herzegovina, but he believed the insurgents were disposed to treat on the condition reported in my telegram of the 25th. A telegram from the Consul, however, brought to him while I was with him, stated that they proposed to treat at Ragusa under diplomatic intervention. He appeared annoyed at this pretension, but expressed a hope that it might be modified.

Until the insurgents stated their demands, he cannot say what concession the Porte might be expected to make, but England having changed her attitude in the question, and the "Times" proposing autonomy of the provinces, had greatly complicated it. I answered that I believed no change had taken place in the policy of Her Majesty's Government, which was to leave the Porte to decide what was best for her own interest, and to give her advice when asked for it. The articles of the "Times" would, however, he said, greatly increase the difficulty of an arrangement, for autonomy was impossible, considering the mixed nature of the population.

He said an English officer in Dalmatia was distributing Lord Russell's letter in Slav.

No. 244.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28.

(No. 10. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, September 10, 1875.*

THE disturbances in the Herzegovina appear to have excited in the minds of the Turkish authorities of Crete apprehensions lest the Cretans might seize the opportunity for rising in rebellion themselves. It was at first rumoured, and the rumour gained general belief, that the Porte had sent orders for two of the battalions stationed in the island to proceed to Klek, but that the local authorities had strongly and successfully opposed their withdrawal.

There seems, however, to have been no intention on the part of the Porte to weaken the garrison here, which consists of but eight battalions of not more than 430 men each, besides two batteries of artillery and a few sappers and miners, the whole force amounting to only 4,000 men.

For the last year or two the attention of the Government has been drawn by the late Governor-General Reouf Pasha, to the ruinous condition of the blockhouses which had been hastily constructed during and since the last insurrection, and from the beginning of spring masons have been employed in putting them into repair. Of these mountain fortresses seven, and latterly six, of the most considerable had been garrisoned by regular troops. Since the Herzegovina outbreak two more situated in the turbulent districts have also been occupied by soldiers instead of by the rural police, while six formidable cannons have just arrived from Constantinople to be mounted on the newly-constructed fortification of the maritime town of Kissamos, in the west of the island. An officer has also been sent to Albania to enrol recruits for the corps of Zaptiés or policemen, more than half that force, which numbers 2,500 men, consisting of Albanians, and the rest of native Cretans. A corvette has during the last month been cruizing off the southern coast opposite the Sphakian Mountains with the object of preventing a possible landing of arms.

These precautionary steps are prompted by the notorious aversion of the Cretan Christians to Mussulman rule, an aversion which the Rulers are perfectly justified in supposing will take the overt form of rebellion when a favourable opportunity presents itself.

But although their Cretan subjects are watching with a keen interest the struggle of their co-religionists in the Herzegovina, they are prudently abstaining from any act calling for repressive measures. They are even disposed to ridicule the defensive steps taken by the authorities in the present crisis, which contribute to give them an overweening sense of their own importance. It is certain that no idea of an outbreak is

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Constantinople, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

present to their minds, for which, indeed, they are entirely unprepared, being possessed of neither arms nor ammunition, and as long as their brethren in Greece keep quiet, and the Turkish authorities are careful not to exasperate them by petty acts of tyranny, the present movement in Bosnia, if kept within its present limits, possesses no such powerful attractions for Cretan Greeks as to induce them to run the fearful risks incident to unsuccessful rebellion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 245.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28.)

(No. 19. Political.)

My Lord, *Salonica, September 16, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I addressed, on the 13th instant, to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting the dispatch of more troops to the Servian frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 245.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Salonica, September 13, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that troops continue to be dispatched to the vicinity of the Servian frontier.

The Ghiumorjina battalion arrived here on the 7th, and was dispatched on the 8th instant to Mitrovitza, by the Railway.

The Drama battalion arrived here on the 9th and left for Mitrovitza on the 10th.

On the 11th instant a Government steamer, the "Feizi Bahri," brought here two battalions from Smyrna. These troops were immediately landed and dispatched the same day to Mitrovitza with orders to march from there to Nish.

They took with them 1,000 cases of ammunition.

This morning a Government transport arrived from Constantinople full of military stores, which are being landed and forwarded by railway to Useup.

A general of brigade is expected here with a large staff to superintend the purchase and transport of provisions to the troops at Novi-bazaar.

The "Edirné," a steam frigate pierced for twenty guns, arrived here yesterday; and two dispatch boats are also expected here. These vessels of war are to be employed as coast-guard cruisers in the Gulf of Salonica.

I beg leave to correct an error in my report of the 29th ultimo:—Senitza, and not Novi-bazaar, is three days distant from Mitrovitza. Novi-bazaar can be reached in one day from Mitrovitza.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 246.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28.)

(No. 573.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September 20, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a report of Mr. Sandison of a conversation with M. Magazinovitch, the Servian Agent, who had received information of the entry into Servia of eight bands of Circassians, which have been pillaging the country.

There is a belief that these bands belong to the Bashi-Bazouks, for the declarations of the Minister of War—that none had been sent towards the frontier—are received with hesitation.

I directed Mr. Sandison to inform the Grand Vizier that if these people should prove to belong to irregular corps, armed or enrolled by the Porte, I must formally complain of

the incorrectness of the assurances given me; and if it should appear that they were mere bodies of marauders, it did not reflect much credit on the large regular army now collected on the frontier that it should have allowed them to pass.

There is undoubtedly much truth in what M. Magazinovitch said to Mr. Sandison, of many of those who leave the Principality to join the insurgents not being Servian subjects, but natives of Bosnia in the Herzegovina, who had settled in it frequently with the view of escaping some punishment to which they had rendered themselves liable.

They are a lawless set, who, having left their relations and friends in Turkey, are ready to take part in any movement.

Mr. Consul Holmes reported that the leader of the insurgents in Bosnia was a Turkish subject settled for many years in Servia, having escaped there after being condemned to a long period of hard labour as a brigand.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 246.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Therapia, September* 18, 1875.

THE Servian Agent regretted to have to state, for your Excellency's information, that Circassian bands, each consisting of from fifteen to twenty men, had recently crossed the frontier into Servian territory at Knunzevatch, from which they had carried off about sixty head of cattle.

The Grand Vizier, to whom M. Magazinovitch had represented the matter, sent strict orders immediately to the civil and military authorities on the frontier, enjoining them to guard against a repetition of similar acts.

M. Magazinovitch told me he felt equally sorry to see the misconception which seems to exist as to the real feeling and intentions of the Servian Government and people in regard to Turkey at the present moment. Some distinction, he hoped, would be made between the real native Servians and the large settlement of Bosnian Christians and Herzegovinians who had settled in Servia, and who, naturally enough, were now found to be strongly sympathizing with their original fellow-countrymen on this side of the frontier. It was not, therefore, surprising to see them actually disposed to contribute to the success of the prevailing insurrectionary movement, which, however, was far from being countenanced either by the Government or by the purely Servian portion of the population, both of which were far more anxious for the preservation of the general peace than for hostilities with Turkey, which were not at all certain to turn to their advantage.

Some allowance, he hoped, might also be made for the position of the Government, which, though sincerely desirous of doing its duty, could not be reasonably expected to preserve a strict neutrality on its frontier, more than the Austrians had succeeded in maintaining in Dalmatia. Nay, rather than entering into the views of the foreign element in Servia, viz., the Bosnian and Herzegovinian settlers along the frontier, the present Government, he added, were making every effort, through the medium of an influential and respected old Senator, to repress the spirit of hostility that prompts them to incursions into Ottoman territory.

But, whilst the large concentration of Turkish troops at Nisch implied no friendly designs on the part of Turkey, the recent raid of the Circassians could, he much feared, hardly fail to induce his Government to place, in its turn, its army on a war footing.

The telegram from M. Ristich to M. Magazinovitch makes no allusion to the character of the Circassians. Thus they may have been mere marauders, or, what is still more likely, Bashi-Bazouks in the service of the Government; for, though the Seraskier persists in maintaining that no forces of this description have ever been enrolled, the presumption may be just as well the other way.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 247.

Consul Taylor to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28.)

(No. 19. Political.)
My Lord, *Ragusa, September* 21, 1875.

RATHER a serious affair has occurred at a place only three hours from this, which as being within credible reporting distance, and having been reported to me by General Hussein Pasha, commanding at Trebigné, and Mr. Kingston, correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph," who visited the spot, I submit its details with confidence to your Lordship.

On Saturday, the 18th instant, a large body of insurgents—Montenegrins, Servians, and Slavs, were proceeding from Lubinyeh towards Zupchi. They encountered a convoy of flour destined for the Turkish troops. It was most unaccountably escorted but by a very small body of Turkish irregular cavalry (Bashi-Bozouks). The insurgents immediately attacked, and, after a short fight, captured, the caravan and twenty horses. They then pursued their march.

Meanwhile the alarm had been given at Trebigné, upon which Hussein Pasha dispatched two companies of regulars in pursuit. The troops came up with the rebels at the place indicated further back, when a sharp encounter took place, terminating in the total defeat and flight of the Turks, who lost a captain, surgeon, and thirty men. The rebels are accused of mutilating the dead by cutting off their heads and noses. The corpses till now remain unburied on the field of battle.

This untoward event, comparatively insignificant in itself, cannot but damage Turkish prestige, as it has infused fresh vigour into the Porte's enemies. Therefore local Slavs, who last week were dispirited and desponding, are now again exulting and confident.

The foreign rebel sympathisers are doing all they can to terrify the native insurgents from submitting, and have practically demonstrated their determination to compel waverers to persist in rebellion by burning down the villages and crops, and carrying off the cattle and goods of those who have already accepted Turkish clemency.

The Montenegrin journal continues its inflammable articles. The last one states the Montenegrins are perfectly ready to assist Servia in freeing Bosnia and the Herzegovina on the slightest indication from Belgrade; and as the Montenegrins now warring in Turkey are headed by a very near relative of the Prince, there is every reason to believe the latter is not averse to war.

The Austrian Government has sent several surgeons from Ragusa and other places to attend upon the Montenegrins wounded in the several petty encounters that have lately taken place, and has accorded an allowance of 10 kr. (2½*d.*) a-day to the 6,000 Raya refugees now about Ragusa and Metkovitch. Another significant fact is that the agent of a large small-arms factory at Vienna, one Moritz Lieber, has succeeded in transmitting several cases of breech-loaders viâ Trieste and Cattaro by Austrian Lloyd's steamers into Montenegro. One of the military surgeons attached to the Turkish troops at Trebigné assured the French Consul, who was lately on a visit there, that all the balls extracted from the wounded were Austrian Government regulation pattern.

With a bigoted Slav, Baron Rodich, as Governor-General and Commander-in-chief in Dalmatia, and an equally bigoted Slav, General Ivanovitch, commanding here, his brother-in-law, the rebels will always, I am afraid, succeed in introducing arms, ammunition, and recruits from their friends this side the border into the insurrectionary districts and Montenegro, however much Austria herself may wish to frustrate an illicit traffic so dangerous to her interests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

No. 248.

Mr. Dorin to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, September* 28, 1875, 12·30 P.M.

BARON JOMINI spoke to me of a possible eventuality of occupation of Servia by Turkish troops, if consented to by the Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, Articles XXVII and XXIX.

Punishment deserved by Servian Government. During the Turkish occupation, country might be relieved of its Republican, Socialist element.

Russia, relying on Count Andrassy's prudence, would not object to Austrian troops being allowed to prevent massacre of the Christians near the frontier.

No. 249.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 28, 1875, 2·50 P.M.*

THE Grand Vizier refuses to entertain a proposal of the Consuls to confer with Server Pasha at some place out of Turkish territory which was communicated to his Highness by some of my colleagues.

He has telegraphed to the Pasha that he may listen to the Consuls' views and opinions individually, but is not to enter into discussion or negotiations with them.

No. 250.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Therapia, September 28, 1875, 3 P.M.*

IT was the German Ambassador who first proposed to the Grand Vizier to consent to the Consuls conferring with Server Pasha in Dalmatian territory.

He asked the reason of the categorical refusal which he met with, and was told that it had been agreed that the task of the Consuls should end as soon as they had communicated their instructions to the insurgents, who, having rejected their advice, had put an end to the Consular mission.

General Ignatiew afterwards tried to explain to the Grand Vizier that he had not properly understood the intention of the German Ambassador, who had meant only to make known the suggestion of the Consuls, but not to propose it himself.

No. 251.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 28, 1875, 9·30 P.M.*

THE following figures received from Mr. Holmes :—

"My colleagues of Austria, France, Germany, and Russia have received instructions to suggest a practical project acceptable to all for the pacification of the country. We agree that the only means would be a recognized constitution; 'Armistice'; Reunion of the Commission with Server Pasha at Ragusa, where his Excellency and the insurgents, with the co-operation of the European Delegates, could easily discuss the details with the Pasha. This must be arranged at Constantinople, and I shall take no steps in this matter without your Excellency's instructions."

No. 252.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 28, 1875, 10 P.M.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW has telegraphed to the Consul at Mostar that the proposal of an armistice and a conference at Ragusa was not of the nature of the report the Consuls had been desired to make, which was intended to refer only to the grivances of the Provinces and the best mode of remedying them.

The French Ambassador has also informed his Consul that he has gone beyond his instructions.

No. 253.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 28, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 28, 1875, 11 P.M.*

ALTHOUGH I presume that Mr. Holmes' telegram of yesterday was sent before he received mine of the 26th, I have sent him the following figures :—

"Your colleagues are considered by their Ministers to have exceeded their instructions in making the proposal reported in your telegram of yesterday.

"Report your own views of the grievances and demands of the people, and your opinion of the best measures which the Porte could adopt to remedy them.

"Be especially careful not to encourage hopes of an European intervention in any form, and confine yourself to the course prescribed in your original instructions."

No. 254.

Mr. Adams to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 29.)

(No. 798.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 28, 1875.*

YOUR Lordship's despatch No. 590 of the 18th instant reached me on the 23rd instant, when the Duc Decazes was absent from Paris.

His Excellency returned yesterday, and received me in the afternoon. I stated to him that I had duly reported to your Lordship our conversation of the 15th instant, and his desire to learn the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the insurrection of the Herzegovina.

I then said that I was instructed to inform his Excellency in reply that Her Majesty's Government had already, through her Ambassador, strongly represented to the Porte the necessity of redressing the grievances of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, before they produced insurrection, and of performing its promises to those subjects; and that Her Majesty's Government deprecated the idea of any direct intervention in the affairs of Turkey, unless the necessity for such intervention should be more clearly indicated than it at present appeared to be.

I added, that of course my instructions were not quite recent, but that Her Majesty's Government were inclined to await events before taking any particular step.

The Duke replied that he also was quite content to wait for the present, that matters in Servia had lately been threatening, but that the latest accounts were more reassuring; and his Excellency read to me a telegram from the French Ambassador at Constantinople, from which it would appear than an attempt, originating with the Russian Ambassador, is to be made by some, if not all, of the foreign Consuls on the spot, to try and come to some arrangement with Server Pasha as to the best course to be pursued in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Your Lordship will doubtless learn from Sir Henry Elliot the particulars of this new move, apparently due to the initiative of General Ignatiew.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. O. ADAMS.

No. 255.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 30.)

(No. 308.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 26, 1875.*

DURING last Friday's sitting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Delegation, Archbishop Haynald put a question to Count Andrassy with a view to eliciting from him some information relative to the insurrection in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

His Excellency replied that he could not enter into any details, and that he must confine himself to stating, in general terms, the action he had taken in the matter. This action, he said, had a three-fold object :—

1. The maintenance of the peace of Europe; 2. The protection of the interests of the Monarchy; and 3. A diminution of the evils caused by the insurrection, as well as the prevention of future revolts.

As regards the 1st point, the Empire had, in co-operation with its intimate allies

the great Empires, acted with success, and there was every reason to think that the peace of Europe would not be disturbed; with respect to the 2nd, he was ready to take all the responsibility on himself; and as to the 3rd, his endeavours must be limited by a regard for what was just and possible. But though confined to these limits, he hoped that his policy would be successful.

It was to be expected that Count Andrassy's speech on this important question would be published in full, but as it has not yet appeared *in extenso*, I do not delay longer in sending your Lordship the above outline of it, taken from the "Vienna Gazette."

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 256.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received September 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, September 30, 1875, 4·30 P.M.*

THE Servian Agent has just communicated to me a telegram from Ristich, which states that the Turkish authorities having required that the Servian population should be removed from an island in the Drina, orders have been given to resist every act of violence on the Servian frontier.

No. 257.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 1.)

(No. 575.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 21, 1875.*

THE Servian Agent showed me yesterday a telegram that he had received, reporting the occupation by the Turkish troops of certain islands in the Drina, formed by a change of the stream, and respecting the right to which negotiations have been in progress for some time between the two Governments.

I spoke on the subject to Safvet Pasha, who said he had already prepared a telegram to the military authorities, calling for explanations of a proceeding which, if not caused by some act on the part of the Servians, he should not approve.

The Servian Agent also showed me the telegrams respecting the incursions of the Circassians into Servia. They contained no intimation of their being made by Bashi Bazouks, and I have not been able to find the ground upon which it was asserted that they were.

After the great Circassian immigration, many of that lawless people were very imprudently established in Colonies close to the Servian frontier, and it seems probable enough that some of them may have thought the moment favourable for pillaging their neighbours.

This, at all events, is the belief at the Porte, and it afforded me an opportunity of pointing out to the Grand Vizier and to Safvet Pasha that, if the Porte, with a large regular army on the frontier, could not prevent its violation, the Servian Government might very well be equally unable to prevent the incursions complained of from their side.

I inclose the copy of a despatch which I have written to Mr. Consul-General White on this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 257.

Sir H. Elliot to Consul-General White.

Sir, *Therapia, September 21, 1875.*

YOUR despatches up to the 13th instant have been received.

The Servian Agent has communicated to me telegrams which he had received, reporting the entry into Servia of several bands of Circassians, and the occupation by the Turkish troops of certain contested Islands in the Drina.

I have spoken to the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs upon both these matters,

urging the adoption of efficient measures to prevent the violation of the Servian territory by bands of marauders, or the occupation of any of the points under discussion between the two Governments.

His Excellency informed me that orders had been sent to the military commanders in the neighbourhood of the places where the bands are said to have crossed; to take the greatest care to prevent such acts from being repeated, and, with regard to the occupation of the islands on the Drina, the Porte having received no information, he had telegraphed to ask for information.

His Excellency recognized the impropriety of taking possession of disputed points unless something had been done by the Servians to provoke or necessitate it.

As far as can at present be ascertained, it seems probable that the incursions into Servia have been made by the Circassian Colonies imprudently located in the vicinity of the frontier; and the Servian Government have already themselves experienced the difficulty of restraining lawless populations from taking advantage of the present disturbed state of things, by making pillaging incursions into the neighbouring territory, but the Porte will, I have no doubt, do its utmost to restrain them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 258.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 1.)

(No. 577. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 21, 1875.*

IN the course of a confidential conversation with the Grand Vizier yesterday, I took occasion to represent to him how desirable it is that the Porte should lose no time in giving evidence of its determination to remedy the grievances complained of in the Northern Provinces.

If this was not done, there is a probability that the Governments more immediately interested in the maintenance of tranquillity may propose some special measure for satisfying the people; and there could be no doubt how much better it would be that the initiative should be taken by the Porte itself.

Mahmoud Pasha answered, that he was conscious of the necessity of putting an end to various grievances, not only in the Northern or European Provinces, but all over the Empire; the greatest of these is the additional 2½ per cent., which had been put upon the dimes, a measure of which he disapproved, and which, he seemed to admit, it would be impossible to maintain.

I said that the additional 2½ per cent. was a grievance, but not so great a one as the present mode of levying the tax itself, which was taken in such a way that without a corresponding benefit to the revenue, the farmers frequently lost 25 or even 50 per cent. of the value of their produce.

This, and many other administrative grievances, must be dealt with if the Porte expected to satisfy the European Governments that it intended to leave the populations without just cause of complaint.

I intimated, that in Christian districts the Christians might properly be given a share in the local administration, which they had not hitherto been allowed; but I did not hint at the propriety of appointing a Christian Governor-General, which is, in my opinion, about the last thing which should be recommended.

The example of the Lebanon is sometimes quoted as a successful experiment which might be imitated, but there is no similarity between the two cases.

In the Lebanon there is a comparatively small Mussulman population, and the Christians are not divided into hostile races or creeds; but even there the difficulty of getting an efficient Governor is very great, and for Bosnia it would be found absolutely insuperable.

There are few Christians in the Empire who have had any administrative experience, and if the Embassies were invited by the Porte to recommend one to be named Governor-General of Bosnia, it would, I believe, puzzle their united wisdom to name one whom they regarded as equal to the task.

If got, he would be found to exercise no authority over the influential and powerful Mahommedan population. A Slav would necessarily be distrusted by the Porte and by the Greeks, while a Greek would not be tolerated by the Slavs; an Orthodox Christian

would be dreaded by the Roman Catholics, and a Roman Catholic would be distrusted by the Orthodox.

More good may be hoped from a careful selection of a Turk who had already in other Provinces proved himself a just administrator and of liberal views; and such men, although not very numerous, are to be found.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 259.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 1.)

(No. 579.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 22, 1875.*

YOU receive Mr. Consul Holmes' and Mr. Acting Consul Freeman's despatches so long before they reach me that I cannot pretend to give your Lordship any information from our own agents as to the position of affairs in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

It was not till yesterday that I received Mr. Holmes' despatch No. 5 of the 2nd instant, expressing his opinion of the mischievous consequences to be expected from the removal of Dervisch Pasha, whom he regards as better qualified than any other commander to deal with the insurrection.

Since the date of Mr. Holmes' despatch, Dervisch Pasha has likewise been relieved from the command at Monastir, to which he was at first removed; although it is within my knowledge that in depriving itself of the services of one of its most efficient Commander the Porte acted unwillingly, and only out of deference to the representations of those who are foremost in blaming it for want of vigour in putting down the insurrection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 260.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 1, 1875, 2·25 P.M.*

I APPROVE the instructions sent by you to Mr. Holmes, as reported in your Excellency's telegram of the 28th ultimo.

No. 261.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 312.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October 2, 1875.*

I APPROVE the language which your Excellency used to M. de Bourgoing respecting the concentration of Turkish troops at Nisch, as reported in your despatch No. 544, Confidential, of the 19th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 262.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 39.)
My Lord, *Scutari, le 21 Septembre, 1875.*

J'AI l'honneur d'annexer à votre Seigneurie copie de la dépêche addressée en date d'aujourd'hui à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople rapportant qu'une parfaite tranquilité règne dans la Province de Scutari et que le Monténégro garde une attitude de prudente inaction.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure in No. 262.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Scutari, le 21 Septembre, 1875.*

J'AI l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence que par rapport aux Rayas insurgés et aux Monténégrins qui avaient marchés pour attaquer les villes de Bérane et Rolachin, on dit que beaucoup d'entre eux ont abandonné inopinément leur plan et se sont retirés sans mettre leur dessein à exécution, se bornant leurs exploits à quelques escarmouches de nulle importance, et en ce qui concerne la situation de la ville de Niksitch, qu'ils tiennent toujours assiégée, on la croit pas trop compromise, ayant des approvisionnements suffisants pour quelques mois.

Quant à la Province de Scutari, la tranquilité publique n'y est point troublée, et pour ce qui concerne l'état actuel des affaires dans le Monténégro, on sait que le Gouvernement de Cettigné garde, pour le moment, une attitude de prudente inaction, et de ce côté là il n'y a rien de nouveau à soumettre à votre Excellence.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 263.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 46. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, September 23, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that a deputation came to Belgrade from the Servian Assembly at Kragonievatz and presented to the Prince yesterday an Address voted by that Assembly in reply to His Highness' opening speech.

The most important passage of that Address is the following:—

"Verily the present condition of Servia is a most complicated one, as your Highness has said, our people are disturbed in their domestic quietness. The large forces collected by the Ottoman Porte on our frontiers, and the hostile attitude assumed by these towards Servia, has compelled a portion of our countrymen on our eastern and western frontier to leave their fields and their homes for the purpose of watching over the security of our country.

"The Servian nation, which has redeemed this dear country with its swords and blood, is mindful of the words spoken by your Highness in a Proclamation in 1872, 'that it would be a sin to lose the smallest portion of this heritage of our fathers, and it is little enough to our credit that we add nothing to it.'

"These words are engraved on our hearts. The times are serious no doubt, but no less serious, Sire, is the will of the Servian people to rise to the height of the occasion.

"Wherefore, the Skoupstchina declares hereby solemnly, on behalf of the Servian people, their readiness as a nation to defend their fatherland and its liberties, and to preserve inviolate the inheritance of the great Milosch and of our fathers; there is no sacrifice which Servia is not ready to make on the altar of the country. At the voice of your Highness the entire nation is ready, as one man, to present itself to defend our native soil.

"Sire, the secular sufferings of our brethren in Bosnia and in the Herzegovina have compelled them to rise in arms and fight for their natural and their national rights.

"The effusion of their blood offends our fraternal feelings. Their cry of despair finds a noble echo in other parts of the civilized world. We cannot, we ought not to remain insensible to their fate.

"The Skoupstchina is penetrated with the deepest gratitude at seeing that your Highness' conviction is that these disturbances must be tranquillized by obtaining permanent satisfaction for our oppressed brethren.

"In this patriotic direction you may rely on the support of the Servian people, who are prepared to place at your Highness' disposal all the means required to accomplish this great task."

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have received a copy of the French version of the above Servian Address, which I have the honour to inclose.

W. A. W.

Inclosure in No. 263.

Address from the National Assembly in reply to the Speech from the Throne.

L'ASSEMBLEE Nationale voyant dans son sein son Souverain bien-aimé préoccupé sans relâche de l'avancement de notre chère patrie, faire appel à l'appui patriotique de l'Assemblée dans ces circonstances graves et difficiles, la représentation nationale s'empresse d'y répondre avec ce patriotisme et ce dévouement que votre Altesse est en droit d'attendre de l'Assemblée Nationale, et que le peuple Serbe a toujours témoigné envers la glorieuse maison des Obrénovitch.

Altesse, la situation où la Serbie se trouve aujourd'hui est réellement difficile. Comme l'a dit votre Altesse, nos populations frontières sont en proie à l'inquiétude. La concentration de grandes forces militaires à nos frontières de la part de la Sublime Porte, qui prend ainsi une attitude menaçant vis-à-vis de la Serbie, a arraché à leurs champs et à leurs foyers une partie de nos frères et les contraint de veiller en armes à la sécurité de notre pays sur ses frontières du sud et de l'est.

Le peuple Serbe, qui a racheté la terre qu'il habite avec le glaive et au prix de son sang, a présentes à la mémoire les paroles de votre Altesse contenues dans sa Proclamation de 1872, que "ce serait une grave responsabilité de perdre la moindre des acquisitions de nos pères et peu méritoire de n'y rien ajouter." Ces paroles sont restées profondément gravées dans le cœur de tous les Serbes. Il est bon de s'en souvenir dans le moment présent. Les circonstances sont sérieuses, mais non moins sérieuse est la ferme volonté du peuple Serbe d'être à la hauteur de la situation qui lui est faite. Aussi l'Assemblée Nationale déclare solennellement, au nom du peuple Serbe, qu'il est prêt à protéger son pays, à défendre sa liberté, et à garder l'héritage du Grand Milosch et de nos pères. Il n'est pas de sacrifice que la Serbie ne soit prête à faire dans ce but sur l'autel sacré de la patrie. A la voix de votre Altesse le peuple Serbe se lèvera comme un seul homme pour défendre sa patrie bien-aimée.

Altesse, des siècles de souffrances ont déterminé nos frères de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine à faire appel aux armes et à combattre pour leurs droits d'hommes et de nation.

La vue de leur sang révolte nos sentiments fraternels. Leurs cris de désespoir trouvent un noble écho chez les autres nations civilisées. Il nous est impossible de rester indifférents à leurs destinées.

L'Assemblée Nationale est pénétrée des plus profonds sentiments de reconnaissance pour les efforts que fait votre Altesse pour contribuer à ramener définitivement la tranquilité dans les contrées bouleversées et assurer un contentement durable à nos frères cruellement éprouvés.

Dans cette voie patriotique votre Altesse peut aussi compter entièrement sur l'appui du peuple Serbe. Il est prêt à mettre à la disposition de votre Altesse tous les moyens nécessaires pour l'heureuse réalisation de cette grande œuvre. L'Assemblée Nationale, au nom du peuple Serbe, donne à Votre Altesse l'assurance que, dans ce but aussi, elle ne reculera devant aucun sacrifice, convaincue que votre Altesse trouvera avec son Gouvernement le moyen le plus propre pour que la Serbie réponde à son devoir.

L'Assemblée Nationale prendra en délibération les projects de lois longtemps attendus mentionnés dans le Discours du Trône. Elles les discutera avec toute l'attention que réclame leur importance et s'empressera de statuer sur eux dans la présente session.

L'Assemblée, de son côté, fera aussi quelques propositions qu'elle considère comme urgentes pour le développement de nos institutions nationales. Ces propositions ont pour but de modifier et de compléter certaines dispositions de la Constitution tant dans le sens d'une extension de la responsabilité Ministérielle que pour approprier davantage notre législation à l'esprit de notre vie nationale et à ses besoins, ainsi que pour arriver à une simplification de notre procédure judiciaire et administrative.

C'est avec le sentiment de la joie la plus vive que le peuple Serbe a appris que votre Altesse a fait choix d'une compagne, et nous a donné une Princesse dans la personne de Nathalie Pétrovna, issue de la nation Russe notre congénère. Nathalie Pétrovna sera l'ornement du trône et assurera en même temps la dynastie des Obrénovitch à laquelle le peuple est si profondément attaché.

L'Assemblée, en offrant à votre Altesse ses plus vives félicitations, ne peut que joindre sa voix à celle de tout le peuple pour implorer la bénédiction divine sur l'heureuse union de votre Altesse et de notre future Princesse Nathalie.

En tout temps, Altesse, le peuple Serbe a éprouvé le besoin de la concorde, mais ce besoin ce fait surtout sentir dans les circonstances actuelles. L'Assemblée partage la conviction de votre Altesse que là est le point de départ, la base la plus solide de notre force et de notre avenir.

L'Assemblée Nationale prie enfin Dieu de répandre ses bénédictions sur Votre Altesse et sur notre chère patrie, qu'il donne la force nécessaire au bras du Serbe pour porter haut l'étendant de la liberté, et, conduit par le glorieux Obrénovitch, le peuple Serbe s'écriera de toutes parts :

Vive le Prince Milan M. Obrénovitch IV !

Vive la nation Serbe!

Kragouiévatz, le 7 Septembre, 1875.

No. 264.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 47. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, September 24*, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed on the 23rd instant to Sir Henry Elliot, on the supposed and real secret resolutions of the Servian Assembly.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 264.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

Sir, *Belgrade, September 23*, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that a report obtained general credence at Belgrade yesterday, that a paragraph of the Address presented to the Prince by the Deputation of the Skoupstchina would be kept secret, and would not be published in the official copy of that Address which was intended for publication.

A copy of this supposed paragraph was shown me confidentially by one of my colleagues, and it contained an invitation to the Prince to undertake the arming of volunteers for co-operation with the insurgents, without engaging Servia in direct hostilities with the Porte, and pledging the Representatives of the nation to vote the funds necessary for this purpose.

Having talked the matter over with most of my colleagues, I called this morning at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on M. Pavlovitch, the Director of the Political Department, and not being able to obtain any positive information about this "secret paragraph" from that gentleman, I requested him to telegraph to the Foreign Minister, M. Ristich, at Kragonievatz, and to ask him, on my behalf, to let me know officially what truth there in this assertion.

The Italian and the French Consuls-General have adopted, I believe, a similar course.

I have heard since that the presentation of a secret paragraph to the Prince is denied in His Highness' "entourage," so that I am prepared for the reception of an official disavowal on the subject, but I cannot help thinking that some proposal of this kind must have been entertained in some form or other by the Skoupstchina, and cannot have been earnestly resisted by the Ministry, or else a report of this nature cannot owe its origin solely to invention.

What confirms me in this view is that information has reached me, and some of my colleagues here, from a reliable source, that the Assembly has, at one of its secret sittings, authorized this Government to contract a loan for 3,000,000 ducats, or about 1,450,000*l.* sterling.

As yet, there appears no chance of Servia being able to contract a loan of that amount anywhere, and this would lead one to suppose that it was intended rather to hoodwink the warlike party in the Assembly by the adoption of such a resolution, than to serve any immediate aggressive purpose.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 265.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 48. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, September 23, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch dated to-day, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, on the subject of Servian grievances as to inroads of Circassians, and occupation of two islands on the Drina by Turkey.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 265.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, September 23, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency two circumstances which have caused some irritation here, and will probably lead to discussions between this Government and the Suzerain Power.

The first of these are the inroads of armed Circassians from Bulgaria on Servian territory in the neighbourhood of Zaicar; these have been accompanied by pillage, and it is said in one instance by loss of life. Some correspondence on the subject has taken place with the Pasha at Nisch, who, it appears, has promised satisfaction; the other case has been referred to the Pasha at Widdin, from whom no reply had been received up to last night.

The other subject of complaint on the part of the Servian Government is the occupation by Turkish troops of two islands on the Drina, Kovibatch and Brasina, on the 16th instant; the places appear to have been disputed territory between the Vassal and the Suzerain State, and my predecessor referred to them at some length in his despatch of 1873 to your Excellency, and in subsequent ones.

As M. Magasinovitch has been instructed to make representations to the Porte on these subjects, he will probably supply your Excellency with further particulars.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 266.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 49. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, September 24, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed this day to Sir Henry Elliot, on the subject of military preparations in Servia, with some conjectures thereupon.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 266.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, September 24, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that two battalions of infantry, two brigades of artillery, and a squadron of cavalry—not much above 1,000 men altogether—have been dispatched yesterday from here to Alexinatz.

Horses are likewise being purchased in Hungary; and a camp of 2,000 or 3,000 enrolled volunteers are waiting for employment near Schabatz, from which place the last inroad was made into Bosnia a couple of weeks ago.

Whatever, it is asserted, that Servia might have done five weeks ago, when Turkey

was unprepared for a surprise at Bosna-Serai and at Nisch, an aggressive movement on the part of Servia becomes every day less probable; and it is therefore a matter of surprise and speculation what object the present Government here are pursuing by deluding their own people, and by incurring useless expense, proceedings which, unless attended with some result, may sooner or later recoil upon themselves, provoke recriminations, and even include the Prince himself in their own ruin.

There is only one explanation possible, and that one extremely inadequate; it is the vague expectation of a European Conference, at which Servia might be allowed to proffer a claim to increase of territory, whilst preserving the suzerainty of the Porte, a position to which, strange as it may appear, they attach immense value.

For the sake, therefore, of not appearing inactive, or altogether passive, they incur the risk of exhausting the patience of the Porte, and of exposing Servia to a Turkish occupation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 267.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 165.)

My Lord, *Athens, September 25, 1875.*

IN the numerous conversations which I have had with M. Tricoupi, President of the Council, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of the relations between Greece and Turkey, he has invariably taken great pains to impress upon me that the friendly attitude of Greece towards the Turkish Empire is a national policy, and not a personal one appertaining to him and his Cabinet, and he has added that, whether M. Commoundouros or another be his successor in office, the same policy will be pursued.

It is perhaps necessary to repeat this statement frequently, for it is at variance with all preconceived notions of the traditional policy of Greece, and it is not likely to be accepted as true without reflection and study. If it is true, it forms a turning point in the relations of the forces of the East, which merits serious attention.

Greece, since the war of independence, has been always considered as the most active, if not the most dangerous, conspirator against the Ottoman Empire. The acquisition of independence by arms gave it overweening confidence in itself, and in the good-will of the guaranteeing Powers. It felt sure that by plots and insurrections it would, in the end, add to the kingdom those provinces whose Greek inhabitants fought side by side with their more fortunate brethren to throw off the Ottoman yoke. At the time of the Crimean War we were compelled to send an army of occupation to keep Greece quiet, and down to the time of the end of the Cretan insurrection the idea that friendly relations with Turkey could form part of the programme of a Greek Ministry would have been idle.

The change then, if it exists, dates from 1869, from the settlement of the Cretan question by the Conference of Paris.

From that time Greeks began gradually to recognize that the attitude of all the Powers was unfriendly to them. They had incurred the displeasure of England by their attempt upon the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; they had alienated the countenance which France had at first given to the insurrection by their want of success; and they bitterly acknowledged that towards Russia they had acted the part of the catspaw. It was at this time, when they were abandoned by all the foreign Governments, that the Russian Government altered its policy towards the Greek Church in the Turkish dominions. It began to promote schism in it. It rendered independent the Bulgarian Church in spite of the protests of the Œcumenical Patriarch, and it induced the Porte to place under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate the Provinces of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, containing thousands of persons of the Greek race who refused to acknowledge any other spiritual head than the Patriarch of Constantinople.

During these years also the Panslavic idea had been actively propagated, and its organs, both in Austria and Russia, did not hesitate to lay claim to the provinces on the northern boundary of the kingdom so dearly coveted by the Greeks.

At the present time the Greeks are aware that (1) they are too weak to do anything by themselves; (2) they have temporarily alienated the friendship of the great Powers; (3) they have incurred the covert hostility of Russia; (4) the Slav element, supported by Russia, is a constant menace to them; (5) consequently, the solution of the Eastern question at the present moment would be very unfavourable to them.

Under these circumstances, their anxiety that nothing should happen to precipitate

this solution renders their desire to be on friendly terms with the Porte comprehensible, and M. Tricoupi's assertion appears to be based upon the natural result of a sequence of political events.

Having arrived at this point, it may be worth considering whether this change cannot be turned to useful account in our policy in the East: whether it be not possible to encourage the tendency on the part of Greece to be well with Turkey to such an extent as to develop it into a practical alliance between the two countries. A frank alliance between Greece and Turkey would cause a disappearance of the danger of revolt among the Ottoman subjects of Greek race within the Turkish dominions. It would convert a people most dangerous to the stability of the Empire into an element of civil progress and of military strength, if the Government chose to use it; the fact that the Ottoman Government could count upon its Greek subjects as allies, instead of as enemies, would make a real change in the dangers by which it is beset; and in the event of the Eastern question leading once more to a war in which we were forced to take part, instead of being obliged to send an army of occupation to Athens, we should find a warlike people ready to assist us in maintaining Turkey in Europe.

But it must not be forgotten that, to obtain these results, the present attitude of Greece should be recognized as useful, and all that can should be done to stimulate the feelings of which it is the sign. Greece cannot arrive at an alliance by itself, but the great advantage which would accrue to the Porte by its existence ought to be sufficient to make that Government welcome and promote it. They will not do so without advice, for they do not readily accept a new idea; but they might be invited to understand it and adopt it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 268.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

(No 268. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Leghorn, September 28, 1875.*

IN my interview with M. Minghetti yesterday, his Excellency, in alluding to the affairs of Herzegovina, said that he had heard from M. Artom that the French Chargé d'Affaires had informed him that his Government had recently made a communication to your Lordship, with reference to the desirability of England and France acting together at Constantinople, with the view of inducing the Porte to initiate such reforms as might give satisfaction to the Christian population.

It would appear, however, his Excellency said, from what M. Durando, the Italian Consul now at Mostar, had reported of a conversation he had had with one of the Christian Bishops, that it was not the promise of measures, but some guarantee for the execution of measures which might be or had been promised, which would satisfy the Christian population, and induce them to lay down their arms.

Speaking of the policy of the different Powers, M. Minghetti said that he believed the Russian Government was sincere in their professions of not wishing the present outbreak to assume larger proportions, and in their desire for no disturbance at this moment in the existing organization of the Turkish Empire. Such was certainly the desire of the Italian Government, as, he presumed, it was also that of Her Majesty's Government, notwithstanding the tone of a certain portion of the English Press, and other public declarations which had been made.

I replied that, so far as I was aware, Her Majesty's Government remained faithful to the traditional policy of England in regard to Eastern affairs.

M. Minghetti spoke of the policy of Austria as if he was in some difficulty to understand its real meaning and purpose.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 269.

The Duc Decazes to the Marquis d'Harcourt.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by the Marquis d'Harcourt, October 2.)

M. le Marquis, *Paris, le 28 Septembre, 1875.*

LES démarches des Délégués des Puissances en Herzégovine sont, ainsi que vous le savez, demeurées sans résultat. Les Agents de la France, de l'Angleterre, et de la Russie sont rentrés les premiers à Mostar sans avoir pu décider les insurgés à entrer en rapports avec le Commissaire Ottoman. Leurs collègues, les Consuls d'Allemagne, d'Autriche, et d'Italie ont également échoué dans leur mission. Les insurgés ont demandé qu'on leur assurât un armistice et une intervention diplomatique formelle de l'Europe. Les mandataires des six Puissances n'étaient pas autorisés à prendre des engagements aussi étendus, et ils se sont retirés pour en référer à Constantinople.

Les chefs de mission n'ont pas voulu en rester sur cet insuccès. Le Général Ignatiew a été d'avis qu'il ne fallait pas encore désespérer des efforts tentés en Herzégovine, et il a adressé au Délégué de Russie des instructions qui lui enjoignent de rester à Mostar jusqu'à nouvel ordre. En même temps, il l'a invité à s'entendre avec ses collègues pour faire part au Gouvernement Ottoman des impressions qu'ils ont rapportées de leur excursion. Ils auraient échangé leurs idées avec Server Pascha, lui auraient demandé son opinion, et auraient préparé un projet de solution pratique et acceptable pour tous.

Les Ambassadeurs d'Allemagne et d'Autriche ont télégraphié à leurs Consuls dans le même sens.

M. de Bourgoing a écrit de son côté à M. Dozon, afin de l'avertir que plusieurs de ses collègues avaient reçu pour instructions de communiquer au Commissaire Ottoman le résultat de leurs observations pendant leur mission. Il l'a invité à faire, comme eux, à échanger ses opinions avec Server Pascha et à transmettre ses conclusions à Constantinople. M. de Bourgoing a exprimé, en outre, le vœu que tous les Agents fussent d'accord pour indiquer les moyens les plus propres à amener la pacification de l'Herzégovine.

Le Ministre d'Italie en a écrit à son Gouvernement, qui l'a autorisé, je crois, à s'associer à cette démarche, et un télégramme de Thérapia, en date d'avant-hier, annonçait que Sir H. Elliot avait transmis par le télégraphe à Londres la proposition de Général Ignatiew. M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre avait, en même temps, prescrit, également par le télégraphe, au Délégué Anglais de communiquer à Server Pascha le résultat de sa mission, de rendre compte de ses idées, ainsi que de l'opinion du Commissaire Turc sur les mesures qu'il croirait opportunes, et enfin d'échanger ses idées avec ses collègues, mais en évitant de s'associer à un projet collectif si quelques uns d'entre eux le proposaient.

Nous sommes heureux de savoir que dans cette occasion Sir H. Elliot ne s'est point séparé des autres Représentants des Puissances. Il n'a pas tenu cependant un langage entièrement semblable. Le Gouvernement Ottoman, de son côté, dans les instructions adressées à Server Pacha, a insisté pour qu'il repoussât toute démarche collective. Le Commissaire de la Porte a été autorisé, toutefois, à écouter les Consuls sans entrer en discussion avec eux sur les moyens propres à amener la pacification.

Tel était l'état des choses lorsqu'est survenue la proposition des Consuls dont je vous ai fait connaître hier les termes par le télégraphe. Suggérée par l'Agent d'Autriche, elle avait pour objet de provoquer une déclaration formelle d'intervention, de réclamer un armistice, et d'amener la réunion à Raguse d'une Conférence où le Commissaire Ottoman et les insurgés auraient discuté avec les Délégués Européens les conditions de la pacification. D'autre part les trois Cours du Nord semblent s'être simultanément occupées de la nature du concert à établir à Constantinople entre les Chefs de Mission. Il aurait été, en outre, question entr'elles de mesures militaires que l'Autriche prendrait sur la frontière pour assurer aux Chrétiens une protection en cas de défaite.

Ainsi que je vous l'ai dit, nous ne sommes qu'incomplètement renseignés à ce sujet, et j'ai demandé des éclaircissements à Pétersbourg, d'où cette information m'est venue. En attendant je sais par un télégramme de Constantinople, en date d'hier, que la proposition des Consuls a été jugée inacceptable pour la Porte. Le Général Ignatiew et Sir H. Elliot ont été, sur ce point, du même avis, et les Ambassadeurs, en informant de leur décision les Délégués à Mostar, paraissent s'en tenir, quant à présent, aux ordres qu'ils leur avaient donnés de rechercher, de concert avec Server Pacha, les remèdes pratiques que la Turquie pourrait apporter aux maux dont se plaignent les populations.

Il est profondément regrettable qu'au même moment où se produit cette nouvelle tentative de conciliation les difficultés s'accroissent à Belgrade. Il ne semble pas, sans doute, que la Skoupchtina ait, comme on l'a dit, envoyé au Prince une adresse secrète à côté de l'adresse officielle pour demander la guerre. L'Agent de Serbie à Constantinople

a déclaré que ce bruit était sans fondement, mais l'excitation des esprits n'en a pas moins augmenté considérablement depuis quelques jours dans les Principautés. La Milice de tous les districts a reçu l'ordre de se tenir prête à marcher à la frontière. On représente les mouvements de troupes comme ayant pour objet de garantir le territoire Serbe contre les insurrections des Circassiens qui, à plusieurs reprises, ont traversé les limites et commis des déprédations. Mais des incidents aussi secondaires n'auraient pas suffi pour motiver des dispositions semblables, si le Gouvernement Serbe, guidé par des arrière-pensées belliqueuses, n'y avait trouvé un prétexte pour justifier ses armements.

Aussi avons-nous jugé qu'il y avait lieu de faire parvenir au Prince de Serbie de pressantes recommendations? Par un télégramme circulaire du 24 de ce mois j'ai averti nos Agents Diplomatiques auprès des Grandes Puissances des nouvelles alarmantes que nous recevions de notre Consul-Général à Belgrade, et j'ai invité M. Debains à insister, avec la plus grande fermeté, auprès du Prince Milan, sur les observations que nous lui avons présentées dès le principe de concert avec tous les autres Cabinets. En regard des dangers auxquels l'initiative d'un conflit avec les Turcs exposerait la Principauté Serbe, j'ai fait ressortir les avantages qu'elle s'assurerait par une politique prévoyante et modérée. M. le Comte de Vogüé, qui a communiqué au Comte Andrassy nos informations, me demande que le Cabinet de Vienne se reconnaît lui aussi que l'heure est sérieuse. Il espère toutefois que les conseils unanimes des Puissances suffiront à retenir la Serbie sur la pente dangereuse où elle s'est placée. Il ne néglige, nous dit-il, aucun effort dans ce sens, et il a reçu du Gouvernement Serbe l'assurance qu'il maintiendrait sa neutralité.

Il est en tout cas nécessaire d'aviser avec la plus grande hâte aux moyens de mettre fin à cette crise, et s'il convient d'agir énergiquement à Belgrade pour détourner le Gouvernement Serbe de tout projet d'agression, il importe aussi de presser la Turquie de faire disparaître la cause de toute cette agitation en portant remède aux souffrances des populations.

Mr. Adams me disait avant hier que, dans une dépêche déjà ancienne, d'ailleurs de plus de huit jours, Lord Derby lui rappelait qu'en toute occasion le Cabinet Anglais avait donné à la Porte le conseil d'améliorer la condition des Chrétiens de l'Empire Ottoman; mais le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat ajoutait que les circonstances actuelles ne lui paraissaient pas opportunes pour renouveler ces recommendations. Je me plais à espérer que la gravité croissante des événements n'échappera pas à Lord Derby, et pourra modifier l'appréciation dont Mr. Adams a bien voulu me faire part. Si les Cabinets ne font pas sentir leur action résolument en Herzégovine et à Belgrade, aussi bien qu'à Constantinople, la plus grande confusion régnera bientôt dans une affaire qu'il aura cependant dépendu de l'Europe de régler amicablement, et la paix de l'Orient pourra se trouver sérieusement compromise.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) DECAZES.

No. 270.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 312.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 29, 1875.*

WITH reference to the action said to be taken at Constantinople by the Representatives of the three Northern Powers, on learning the result of the Consular mission to the Herzegovine, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that a Vienna newspaper, the "Tages Presse," stated some days ago that the Russian Government being of opinion that after European diplomacy had done all that it could for Turkey, it should manifest its sympathy and care for the Christian population, a note had recently been received from St. Petersburgh, in which a wish is earnestly expressed that the three Northern Powers should come to an understanding upon the question of the reforms to be introduced into the administration of the insurgent provinces, and as to a common action with respect to them at Constantinople.

The note is represented to be extremely friendly to Austria-Hungary, to express how little Russia thinks of pursuing separate interests in the East, and how much she feels that the interests of Austria-Hungary, as the neighbouring State to the theatre of present events, should be provided for and protected; that these interests require that the maintenance of peace should be secured by the adoption of humane reforms for the amelioration of the lot of the Rayahs in Turkey, and that it affords Russia the highest satisfaction to know that the interests of the two Empires in this respect are the same, as has been shown

by the noble and magnanimous views expressed by Count Andrassy in the negotiations which have already taken place on the subject. For the carrying out of these views it is wished, however, that action should be taken as soon as possible, in order that tranquillity may be restored among the insurgent populations of Bosnia and the Herzegovine.

As this note, or more probably despatch, to the Russian Ambassador here is entirely in conformity with the language which M. de Novikow holds on the question, there can be little doubt as to its authenticity. I have, however, ascertained that a document of the kind has been received, and that it is generally believed that the information obtained by the "Tages Presse" respecting it was communicated by the Russian Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 271.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 313. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 29, 1875.*

WITH reference to Mr. Consul-General White's despatch No. 44, Political, of the 23rd instant, relative to supposed secret resolutions adopted by the Servian Assembly, I understand that M. Kukitch, the Servian Agent here, has been instructed to state that the report on the subject prevailing at Belgrade was unfounded.

I am told, however, by one of my colleagues that he excuses the strong language of the address as having been necessary to prevent its being accompanied by a secret one of a more warlike character.

With respect to the troops being sent to the frontier, M. Kukitch has positively assured the Austro-Hungarian Government that they are merely intended to occupy an entrenched camp as a defensive measure, and that the Servian Government will continue to maintain a strictly neutral attitude towards Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 272.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 3.)

(No. 315.)
My Lord, *Vienna, September 30, 1875.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 302 of the 23rd instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the copy of a further letter which I have received from M. Zukitch, the Servian Agent here, on the subject of the violation of Servian territory by Turkish troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

P.S.—Since writing the above M. Zukitch has communicated to me a telegram which he has just received from M. Ristich, and which I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship.

A. B.

Inclosure 1 in No. 272.

M. Zukitch to Sir A. Buchanan.

Excellence, *Vienne, le 29 Septembre, 1875.*

DES Colons Circassiens établis en Bulgarie, près de la frontière de Serbie, ont commis en quelques jours (dès $\frac{17}{5}$ à $\frac{19}{7}$ Septembre) neuf irruptions en Serbie, maintefois à cheval et en bandes armées, et de vingt à trente hommes. Ils avaient des rencontres avec les gardes de frontière Serbes, qui perdant un de leurs blessés ont réussi à tuer trois Circassiens et à reprendre la plupart du bétail enlevé; neanmoins 40 têtes de gros et 250 têtes de menu bétail ne pouvaient point être sauvées. Le Gouvernement en a porté pleinte à

Constantinople et a renforcé les troupes sur cette frontière afin de l'assurer contre les pareilles violations et de tranquilliser la population, qui commençait déjà à quitter ses habitations pour se transporter à l'intérieur du pays.

Des irruptions analogues ne discontinuèrent pas à se faire sur beaucoup d'autres points de la frontière, et la quarantaine de Granada (vers la Bulgarie) les autorités Turques ont supprimé toute communication entre les deux populations, et là ainsi qu'ailleurs les Turcs embusqués tirent des coups de fusil sur les gardes de frontière ainsi que sur les passants. Ces actions hostiles se renouvellent sur toute l'étendue de la frontière Serbe. Près du blockhouse Douboka Yarouga le garde de frontière était surprise par une bande de Turcs, dont elle ne pouvait être sauvée qu'à l'aide de la Milice Serbe accourue sur le bruit de coup de fusil. Le militaire régulier, Turcs même, a violé la frontière de Serbie en occupant deux îles de la Drina, qui, à la suite d'une Convention, étaient déclarées neutres.

Au district de Krouchewatz le $\frac{8}{20}$ Septembre trois cents Arnaoutes surprirent le blockhouse Serbe Ruena et l'ont tenue cerné jusqu'à ce que la Milice Serbe stationnée dans les environs vénait le dégager. Le bruit est répandu qu'à Prokoupyi, et à Kourchoumli les malfaiteurs emprisonnés étant mis en liberté sont armés pour être lancés sur les villages voisins en Serbie.

Un télégramme que je viens de recevoir, et dont la copie j'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à votre Excellence, parle de nouveaux cas de pareille violation. Le bruit court que même l'attaque générale de la part des Turcs est fixé au $\frac{13}{25}$ Septembre. Le Commandant-en-chef des troupes Turques concentrées à Nisch a ordonné sur la frontière voisine des mesures qui ne s'entreprennent que la veille de la mise en mouvement d'une armée. Le Gouvernement Princier, pour tranquilliser la population et pour la sureté du pays, a vis-à-vis d'une telle attitude de la population et des autorités Turques ordonné sur divers points de la Serbie la concentration des Milices dans le seul but défensif, en ayant toujours confiance dans les assurances de la Sublime Porte qu'elle n'a pas des intentions hostiles envers la Serbie.

En supposant que ces détails intéresseront votre Excellence, j'ai pris la liberté de les porter à votre connaissance et de vous prier de vouloir bien agréer, &c.

(Signé) P. ZUKITCH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 272.

Memorandum.

DES fréquentes incursions des Turcs sur notre frontière ne discontinuent pas; ainsi du côté du Département d'Oujitzé le $\frac{1}{13}$ Septembre, en passant la frontière à Mokragna, ils ont tué un garde national, devasté et pillé quelques maisons, détruit une chapelle, après y avoir cassé ou déchiré les saintes images. Le même jour ils ont incendié la maison de garde à Kerchélyackes (?) qui a toute brulé, ont chassé les gardes, détruit un moulin, et pillé cinq têtes de bétail. Le même jour quatre Turcs aux environs de Rutchi, essayant de passer la frontière, ont été repoussés. A Seleh (?) se trouve une bande de 300 Turcs à demie-heure de distance de notre frontière; le même jour se jetant sur les maisons de gardes à Balgene et de Doultyé ils ont tiré de coup de fusil et en ont chassé les gardes. L'armée Turque touche la même frontière. Du côté du Département de Krouchewatz le dit jour dix Turcs ont attaqué Iomo-Roudichté et échangé avec nos gardes des coups de fusil, et, après avoir tué un de nos gardes, ils ont pris la fuite. Hier les Turcs ont passé la Thoupa et tué un des nôtres. Des fréquents cas pareils ne discontinuent pas d'être interprêtés par notre population comme provocation, et pouvant avoir des suites très regrettables. Notre agent à Constantinople est chargé d'en faire connaissance à la Sublime Porte, et de demander des mesures promptes et énergiques afin d'en rendre le retour impossible.

Inclosure 3 in No. 272.

M. Ristich to M. Zukitch.

(Télégraphique.)

SAMEDI dernier, quarante cavaliers conduits par un Aga, et le lendemain Dimanche, trois émissaires envoyés par le Moudir sont venus prévenir notre chef de garde frontière à Chantchéétsh (?) qu'il faut que notre population déloisse une Ile de Drina aux environs du village Radovintré (Radovintée?). Sur la dite île, qui nous appartient, se trouvent des terres étant en labeur, quelques fermes des paysans de Radovintré, et une maison de garde frontière. L'ordre est donné à nos autorités de repousser toute violence de notre ligne frontière.

No. 273.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 4.)

(No. 17. Political.)

My Lord, *Bosna Seraï, September 25, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that an armed band of Croats and Dalmatians, having crossed the Bosnian frontier at Tsovatz in the Sandjak of Bihach and attacked a Turkish guard-house, endeavoured to stir up the Christian peasants of the district of Grahovo to revolt. The attempt, however, is said to have completely failed, and these armed agitators dispersed and retired across the frontier. According to official information received here, this band consisted of about 700 men, but it is highly improbable that so large a number would have been able to assemble and cross the frontier without the knowledge of the Austrian authorities; and to judge by the grossly exaggerated reports which are frequently made by the petty district authorities, it may, I think, be safely surmised that the strength of the band in question did not exceed a hundred or two at the most.

Nothing more has been heard here of the movements of Mehmet Ali Pasha in the district of Novi-Bazar, but as telegraphic communication has not yet been re-established, he has probably met with further opposition from the insurgents.

In the districts of Banialuka and Svornik the insurgents seem to have been completely dispersed, and unless very considerable aid be afforded them from Servia and Croatia, I think they are not likely to rally again before winter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 274.

Mr. Doria to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 4.)

(No. 288.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September 24, 1875.*

I HAD an interview yesterday with Baron Jomini, at which his Excellency read me a letter which he had written on the $\frac{17}{29}$th of August last to M. Bartholomey, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London, relative to the affairs of the Herzegovina, which his Excellency said he regretted not having sooner communicated to myself.

M. Bartholomey had not spoken to your Lordship on the subject, as he was instructed to do, and had stated in explanation of this neglect that everyone was absent from London shooting, and that no one had even broached the subject to himself. To this I objected, saying that I believed Lord Tenterden had been in London, and that the Foreign Office was never left without some representative of your Lordship.

Baron Jomini having requested me to bring this fact to the knowledge of your Lordship, I asked if his Excellency would have any objection to give me a copy of the note which was sent to M. Bartholomey, in order that I might forward it to your Lordship. His Excellency complied without hesitation to my request, and I have the honour to forward a copy of it herewith inclosed to your Lordship.

The letter, your Lordship will observe, does not convey a direct instruction, and only in case of being questioned, and is not official.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. DORIA.

Inclosure in No. 274.

Baron Jomini to M. Bartholomey.

(Particulière) *St. Pétersbourg, le 5 Août, 1875.*

L'AFFAIRE de l'Herzégovine va en s'aggravant. Elle prend l'aspect d'une crise sérieuse. Si l'on vous interpelle, veuillez bien dire que l'Autriche-Hongrie, étant directe-

ment affectée par les événements qui s'accomplissent dans son voisinage, nous lui avons offert notre concours sur le terrain diplomatique, persuadés qu'elle ne voulait comme nous que l'apaisement. Le Cabinet de Berlin en a fait autant. Nous avons engagé la France et l'Italie à se joindre à ce concert pacifique. Le Cabinet de Rome y adhère entièrement, et nous ne doutons pas du concours de celui de Versailles.

Il serait très désirable que l'Angleterre joignit sa voix à celles qui se feront entendre à Constantinople, aussi bien qu'à Cettigné, à Belgrade, et sur le théâtre du conflit, pour l'empêcher de s'étendre, arrêter l'effusion du sang, et amener, s'il est possible, des transactions amiables qui en préviennent le retour périodique.

Le Cabinet de Londres désirant comme nous la paix et le *status quo* en Orient, il nous semble qu'il ne saurait se refuser aux efforts tentés pour atteindre ce but.

Recevez, &c.

No. 275.

Mr. Doria to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 4.)

(No. 297.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 28, 1875.

I FOUND Baron Jomini yesterday much preoccupied with the affairs of the Herzegovina. As I felt convinced that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople had already informed your Lordship of the proposals advanced by General Ignatiew for the acceptance of his colleagues on the subject, I refrained from communicating them by telegraph to your Lordship.

The proposals communicated to me by Baron Jomini were the following:—

1st. The Consuls who had been sent to the scene of the insurrection should be invited to report to their Ambassadors the result of their efforts.

2nd. The Ambassadors at Constantinople should meet and decide on such measures as they thought best to satisfy the insurgents and prevent the recurrence of the insurrection, to be offered to the consideration of the Sublime Porte.

3rd. The Austrian troops should be collected on the frontier to prevent massacre and cruelty being used towards the fugitive Christian population.

To the second proposal Austria demurred when the form of a conference was proposed; a modification of the action of the Ambassadors met with her acceptance, and that of the representatives of France, Germany, and Italy.

The first and third proposal had been accepted by all five Powers. To my question if Her Majesty's Ambassador had given his adhesion, Baron Jomini replied in the negative, stating that Sir H. Elliot kept aloof.

On my questioning his Excellency further as to the action of Austrian troops on the frontier, Baron Jomini was unwilling to state that they were to enter the Turkish territory, at which I had expressed surprise, but replied that they would protect the women and children who would have left their homes.

I made reply, if only to prevent the massacre of women and children who had crossed the frontier, to that no objection could be raised; but evidently his Excellency had in view the eventuality of Austrian troops entering the Turkish territory, and his Excellency continued to insist on the necessity of protecting the Christian population from the cruelty and violence of the Mussulmans, who he considered are certain to commit every atrocity once that they are victorious.

In short, his Excellency, it would appear, is apprehensive that the Turks will succeed, without foreign intervention, in suppressing the insurrection, and he desires to prevent the Turkish Government using their advantage to come to terms with the insurgents without the interference of Russia and Austria.

His Excellency made use of the expression "We must protect our co-religionists." What ulterior views he may hold I cannot pretend say, or if they are limited to a desire to show to the Slave population that it is to Russian influence that the Slaves are indebted to save them from Mussulman maladministration and exactions.

His Excellency's views are not matured, at least it has not transpired yet what real changes and definite arrangements he may have in contemplation in order to ameliorate the condition of the Christian population, even if his Government had a fixed programme for the future of the revolted provinces. One proposal his Excellency now mentions is the same that was established by an Imperial Firman issued after the last Cretan revolution in favour of the Rayahs.

But Baron Jomini states that Turkey exists only through the sufferance of Europe, and she must therefore yield to European dictation; he forgets that at present Europe has

not decided in what sense Turkey must be dictated to, or how far such dictation shall be carried. His Excellency also asserts that, had his Government not used energetic language at Belgrade and Cettinje, the Turks would now be driven from the revolted provinces, and Baron Jomini takes much credit to the Imperial Government for it.

Another remark I wish to bring under your Lordship's consideration. Baron Jomini stated that the French Ambassador at Constantinople had accepted General Ignatiew's proposals.

I have observed in General Le Flô's conversation, and the same thought has struck me in conversation with M. de Laboulaye, the French Chargé d'Affaires, that the French Government is so apprehensive of France being set aside in the Eastern Question that she is inclined to yield her own to the views of Russia, in order to support her position and influence in Europe. At the same time, the French representatives profess to desire to act entirely in concert with England.

In the event of Turkish troops entering Servia, as I telegraphed to your Lordship this morning, Baron Jomini considers that the position of the Ottoman Government towards Servia should not in any manner be changed from their present relations, when her troops have again evacuated the province, nor should Turkey be permitted to retain any footing there.

However much the Russian Government may desire, for their own prestige, to make capital out of the present disturbance, and not to permit Turkey to settle her own affairs, which I think denotes a more thorough understanding between Russia and Austria than existed at the commencement of the insurrection, Baron Jomini is, I think, as anxious as ever to avoid raising the Oriental Question, the solution of which his Excellency is so imbued with the conviction to be impossible to agree upon without disturbing the peace of Europe. His Excellency has more than once expressed his satisfaction that all the Great Powers were equally convinced of this necessity to maintain the Ottoman dominions in their present state.

I have not found him advocating the separation from Turkey of the insurgent provinces, though extremely anxious to devise some better system of administration, particularly with regard to taxation, not only of the Christian, but of the Mussulman race.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. DORIA.

No. 276.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 4.)

(No. 409.)

My Lord, *Berlin, October* 1, 1875.

THE article on the Herzegovina insurrection published in the "Official Imperial Gazette" of the 23rd ultimo, and transmitted to your Lordship in my despatch No. 397, Confidential, of the 24th ultimo, faithfully represents the policy of the German Government, and coincides in every point with the language held by Herr von Bülow on the subject.

The attitude of Germany is at present reserved and expectant, and will in future be influenced by her desire to support the policy of her Austrian and Russian allies in the maintenance of the peace and prosperity of Europe. Beyond that the Imperial Government will not commit itself to any special line of policy, and Germany will be satisfied to follow the lead of her northern allies in her dealings with Turkey. So long as Austria and Russia are agreed, her course is clear, but should any important difference of opinion arise between them, and Germany be compelled to side with either, then political and national passions may be kindled in Germany which it will require all the sagacity and statesmanship of Prince Bismarck to smother.

Happily Count Andrassy and Prince Gortchacow appear to be hitherto agreed on all points in regard to Turkey.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 277.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 4, 9 A.M.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Most Confidential.) *Therapia, October 3, 1875, 7 P.M.*

COUNT ANDRASSY is endeavouring to persuade the German and Russian Governments that the reports from the Consuls at Mostar should be sent to Vienna, where the three Powers will agree upon a project for the administration of Bosnia.

General Ignatiew is much opposed to this, but says that, as his Government shows symptoms of consenting, he has telegraphed his opinion to the Emperor, who he hopes may support his view.

General Ignatiew has told the Emperor that the Porte must necessarily be so much irritated by seeing projects for internal reforms in Turkey discussed in a foreign capital that it would be sure to refuse to entertain it.

No. 278.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 4.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, October 4, 1875, 2·30 P.M.*

ITALIAN Agent at Belgrade has already received instructions to join his colleagues in making communication to the Government, proposed by Russia, relative to the XXIXth Article of the Treaty of Paris.

No. 279.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 4.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, October 4, 1875, 4 A.M.*

THE Agents of foreign Powers here (except myself) have agreed to make joint representations, according to instructions of their Courts, to the Servian Government, insisting that it should observe strictly correct pacific attitude towards the Porte, and threatening consequences in case of contrary conduct.

No 280.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 6.)

(No. 6.)
My Lord, *Mostar, September 24, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch and its inclosures, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot on the 10th, just before leaving Mostar to endeavour to communicate with the insurgents. At present the departure of the post only allows me time to add that my Russian and French colleagues and myself returned here on the 22nd, having entirely failed to persuade the insurgents we met to submit, and to bring their complaints before Server Pasha. We did not, however, see any of the principal chiefs of the insurrection, who were all in the neighbourhood of Trebigné.

Our colleagues of Austria, Germany, and Italy returned on the 23rd, having been equally unsuccessful. They, however, saw the leaders of the insurrection near Trebigné, who demand an armistice and an European intervention to guarantee the reforms which may be adopted. I would here remark that, contrary to what is asserted in so many newspapers, the people of the Herzegovina neither demand, nor have ever desired, an impossible autonomy, as Servian agitators would have persuaded them to do. They only ask to remain subjects of the Sultan, with reformed laws, and a proper and just administration of them. How to secure this is the difficulty.

* Repeated to Sir H. Elliot, Mr. Doria, Lord Odo Russell, Sir A. Buchanan, and Sir A. Paget.

Next week I hope to forward a detailed report of my mission, the failure of which I have already telegraphed to Sir Henry Elliot.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 280.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, September 10, 1875.*

I TELEGRAPHED to your Excellency yesterday as follows:—

"Herzegovina quiet for the moment; Server Pasha has issued a conciliatory proclamation. We have decided that French, Russian, and myself proceed to Nevessine, and Austrian, German, and Italian to Dalmatian frontier on the 12th, to communicate with insurgents if possible. Server Pasha approves."

With regard to the insurrection in the Herzegovina, I need only say that all is calm for the moment. The troops have occupied all the principal places. The insurgents do not venture to attack them, and having destroyed some sixty or seventy villages, in fact all within their reach, are naturally quiet.

Server Pasha arrived on the 3rd instant, and immediately sent me your Excellency's despatches, with instructions as to the conduct to be pursued by myself and colleagues in carrying out the duties confided to us. All having now arrived at Mostar, we have decided to seek the insurgents, as stated in my telegram.

I may at once state plainly to your Excellency that I think the clause in our instructions directing us to avoid "the appearance of a united action towards the insurgents," appears to me of a nature to render nugatory any action we may take, and almost seems to have been introduced expressly with this object. Those who lead the insurgents for purposes of their own, whether political or personal, will avail themselves of any apparent division to persuade their dupes that the Powers are not really united in opinion and intention, as otherwise they would naturally have acted together, and I am convinced that the only possible means of producing a real impression would have been to have met the insurgents together, so that every Agent could have confirmed, in the presence of all the others, the intentions of his own and all the different Governments. Their advice would then have had weight, and their declarations been believed.

However, in any case I doubt whether the people of the Herzegovina have much voice in the matter. It is a great mistake to attribute this insurrection entirely to Turkish misrule. The people have been persuaded and forced to rise by Servian and Montenegrin political intriguers, who will not now permit their misguided victims to act otherwise than they think fit. When the Servians and Montenegrins are forced to be quiet the matter will end, but until then I do not think that any representations we can make to the people of the Herzegovina will have any effect. It was so in 1861, when Montenegro took the lead, and I fancy it will be so now that Servia seems to take her turn.

I here inclose translation of an article which has lately appeared in the "New Free Press" of Vienna, of 28th August, and which almost exactly coincides with my own appreciation of the real facts of this outbreak.

I inclose herein a translation of Server Pasha's Proclamation.

I have received from Ragusa your Excellency's despatch with copies of my instructions.

It will not be possible for me to send a copy of this despatch and its inclosures for some time to the Foreign Office, as I have immediately to prepare for my departure, and shall be perhaps moving about afterwards I know not how long.

My communications to your Excellency will also probably cease until we return from our expedition in search of the insurgents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 280.

Extract from the "New Free Press" of August 28, 1875.

(Traduction.)

DEPUIS que les garnisons de la Bosnie et de l'Herzegovine reçoivent des renforts, les insurgés se retirent dans leurs cachettes, et comme le chemin de la Serbie et du Monténégro leur est ouvert, il peut arriver le cas que la pacification de l'Herzegovine devienne un fait accomplis avant même que les Consuls des Puissances aient commencé, dans les premiers jours de Septembre, leur œuvre de conciliation. Il est possible que ces messieurs, partant de Mostar, ne parviennent pas à découvrir le camp des insurgés, à moins qu'ils n'étendent leurs explorations jusqu'à Belgrade et Cettigné. Là sont les foyers de la sédition, là s'organise l'insurrection, là cette dernière recrute ses forces. C'est là qu'elle a été organisé et mise en scène. C'est à Belgrade et à Cettigné que les insurgés se retirent à l'approche menaçante des troupes Impériales, mais pour reparaître de nouveau quand le temps et l'occasion seront favorables. L'Herzegovine elle-même n'a livré à cette insurrection qu'un contingent très faible de combattants. Le gros de l'insurrection provint et provient encore des pays avoisinants. On nous écrivit naguère de Belgrade qu'un certain Dreskerich y a établi un bureau de recrutement pour la formation du soulèvement en Bosnie. Le Gouvernement Serbe, tout en protestant à Constantinople de sa neutralité, tolère qu'on organise à Belgrade et par tout le pays des corps francs destinés à envahir le pays voisin et à y porter feu et flammes. L'attitude observée par le Gouvernement de Cettigné n'est guère moins perfide, car nous avons annoncé il y a quelques jours comment l'organe officiel de Cettigné jette un défi méprisant à l'action de la diplomatie Européenne, comment au Monténégro la rupture de la paix est en permanence, malgré les intentions pacifiques qu'on affecte de témoigner à l'Europe.

Ce n'est pas tant l'administration prémière de l'Empire Ottoman qu'il faut accuser de la situation déplorable, il en faut plutôt rejeter la faute et l'origine sur l'ambition des Princes à Cettigné et à Belgrade. Les choses en Europe sont bien changées s'il dépend uniquement du bon plaisir de ces deux roitelets Serbes que la paix en Europe soit troublée et que la tempête de la question d'Orient se déchaine dans toute sa fureur. Tous deux, Milan et Nikolas, brûlent d'étendre leur domination. Chacun des deux ambitionne de devenir le Roi d'un grand royaume Serbe : chacun des deux est entraîné par l'Ouladina, et ils ne croient pouvoir se maintenir qu'en s'abandonnant à ce courant sinistre. Ni la Serbie ni le Monténégro se reposeront lors même qu'on reussira aujourd'hui de réprimer ce mouvement importé du dehors et de repousser les bandes dans leur patrie. Ce n'est pas en Herzegovine, mais bien à Cettigné et à Belgrade, qu'on annonce la séparation de telle ou telle province de l'Empire Ottoman. Aussi l'œuvre de pacification entrepris par les Puissances restera-t-il sans fruit aussi longtemps que ces deux États vassaux resteront impunis, et qu'ils pourront, à l'ébri d'influences occultes et pernicieuses à l'égard de la Sublime Porte, troubler à leur guise la paix du monde. Il est vrai que dans ce cas les Puissances devront adopter une politique toute contraire à celle qu'elles ont suivie jusqu'à ce jour. Elles devront sommer la Serbie et le Monténégro de maintenir l'ordre public. Mais nous doutons qu'un seul mot dans ce sens se trouve dans les instructions des Consuls qui, sous peu de jours, vont se réunir à Mostar, et c'est pourquoi nous n'espérons de cette pacification projetée aucune solution durable tout au plus un succès momentané.

Inclosure 3 in No. 280.

Proclamation by Server Pasha.

(Traduction.)

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan, notre Auguste Souverain, a daigné me charger de la mission spéciale d'ouvrir une enquête pour vérifier les raisons qui ont provoqué des troubles en Herzégovine, et pour faire disparaître les abus et les actes en contravention des lois et de justice, si toutefois ils existent.

Il est notoire que notre Magnanime Souverain est animé envers tous ses fidèles sujets des sentiments paternels, et de même qu'en père affectionné il ne tolère jamais que ses enfants soient molestés de la part de qui que ce soit.

En conséquence de ce qui précède, je vous invite à vous rendre, sans retard, auprès de moi pour me communiquer tous les faits que vous alléguez comme ayant été commis contrairement aux lois et réglements qui régissent l'Empire. Justice vous sera rendue, et vos demandes légitimes seront favorablement accueillies. Mais pour vous rendre digne de cette faveur souveraine, il vous faudra rentrer au plutôt dans vos foyers abandonnés sans motif, et reprendre vos travaux en toute confiance, car vous vous êtes laissés engager,

par des suggestions ennemies, dans une voie contraire à l'obéissance et à la soumission que vous devez au trône. La voie de salut c'est celle que je viens de vous tracer. Aussitôt que vous y rentrerez, vous retrouverez le bonheur et la tranquillité. Votre bien-être augmentera encore par le redressement des erreurs de l'Administration locale, erreurs qui seraient constatées dans le cours de l'examen que je dois entreprendre. Enfin, soyez persuadés qu'en suivant mes conseils, et qu'en vous rendant au plutôt auprès de moi pour m'exposer votre situation, vous trouverez non seulement une pleine et entière justice, mais aussi vous mériterez d'autant plus vite de la générosité et de la sollicitude souveraines. Je dois aussi ajouter que l'armée Impériale ayant le devoir de sauvegarder partout la vie, l'honneur, et les biens des fidèles sujets de Sa Majesté le Sultan, vous pouvez compter sur son appuie et protection, soit pour retourner dans vos villages, soit pour venir me rejoindre.

Si, contrairement à ce que je viens de vous dire, vous persistez dans votre conduite en prêtant l'oreille aux promesses et aux conseils de faux amis, dans ce cas, je vous le déclare, dès à présent, et à mon grand regret, que vous serez les seuls responsables devant Dieu et devant l'humanité des malheurs qui en résulteront.

No. 281.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 6.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 5, 1875.*

I HAVE no knowledge of the communication to the Servian Government proposed by the Russian Government, alluded to in your telegram of this day.

Consul-General White reported yesterday that his colleagues were instructed to threaten the Servian Government with the consequences which might ensue to them if they failed to observe a pacific attitude towards the Porte, but I had not directed him to join in this communication.

No. 282.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 6, 12·24 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 6, 1875, 10·30 A.M.*

IF an agreement has been come to with the Russian Government to make a representation to Servia such as that alluded to in your telegram of yesterday, I would suggest that it would come with greater weight if Mr. White were to make it under direction of the instruction from Her Majesty's Government.

No. 283.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 6.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, October 6, 1875.*

RESIGNATION of the Ministry brought about by the Prince. No successors appointed yet. Whoever these may be, pretty sure to be pacific, now that the Court of St. Petersburgh has spoken to Servia so strongly.

Agent of that Court, together with those of Austria, Germany, France, and also Italy, will present to-day to the Foreign Office here the collective representations agreed upon at St. Petersburgh, which I mentioned in my telegram of last Monday.

No. 284.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. White.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 6, 1875.*

THE Austrian Government have asked us to support them in warning the Servian Government to abstain from affording to the Turkish Government any pretext for considering itself attacked and in declaring that the Powers cannot undertake to preserve

Servia from Turkish occupation if Servia commits any aggressive acts against Turkey. I have replied that this is the language we have held all along, and that no fresh instructions are necessary.

If the identic representation mentioned by you is in the above terms, you are authorized to join in it, stating at the same time that it in no way differs materially from the advice we have given throughout.

No. 285.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 6.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, October 6, 1875, 10·30 P.M.*

I HAVE reason to believe that Count Andrassy sent to-day telegraphic instructions to Count Zichy to assure the Porte that there is no question of convoking a Conference with respect to the Herzegovina, and that he would consider such a measure inexpedient and impolitic, as it is from the Sultan alone that concessions to the population should emanate.

No. 286.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 7.)

My Lord, *Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 2 Octobre, 1875.*

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence le texte ci-joint d'une dépêche télégraphique adressé le 28 du mois dernier par la Sublime Porte à son Excellence Server Pacha à Mostar relativement à la fin de la mission des Consuls, et dont je viens de recevoir la copie par télégraphe.

Votre très dévoué, &c.
(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 286.

Safvet Pasha to Server Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Sublime Porte, le 28 Septembre, 1875.*

VOUS n'ignorez pas que les Consuls avaient pour mission de faire comprendre aux insurgés qu'ils ne sauraient attendre secours d'aucune Puissance, et de les engager à mettre bas les armes et à exposer leurs griefs à votre Excellence, pour les examiner et faire droit à ceux reconnus légitimes. D'après les nouvelles que vous nous faites parvenir, nouvelles qui concordent avec celles que les Ambassades viennent de nous communiquer, les insurgés se sont refusés à prêter l'oreille aux exhortations des Consuls, et à s'adresser à votre Excellence. La mission de ces Agents se trouvant être remplie, vous pouvez écouter individuellement les informations de ces messieurs, sans vous engager nullement avec eux dans des pourparlers ou négociations de quelque nature qu'ils soient.

No. 287.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 7.)

Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres,
My Lord, *le 5 Octobre, 1875.*

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence la copie ci-jointe d'une dépêche télégraphique que je viens de recevoir de la Sublime Porte, et qui est le texte de la promulgation de certaines réformes décrétées par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan.

Votre très dévoué,
(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 287.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 4 Octobre, 1875.*

PUBLICATION officielle faite en date d'hier:—

"Tous les sujets de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan sans distinction sont l'objet constant de sa haute sollicitude et de son inépuisable bienveillance. Ceux qui s'écartent de la voie tracée par les devoirs de sujétion, et qui se rendent coupables d'illégalités, ceux-là seuls seront privés de la jouissance des bienfaits; et la faute en retombera sur eux. Cette sollicitude Impériale vient de se manifester une nouvelle fois à l'égard des populations agricoles honnêtes et paisibles de l'Empire.

"En premier lieu, il a été décrété l'exemption immédiate pour ces populations du quart de la dîme précédemment établie.

"En outre, tous les arriérés d'impôts accumulés jusqu'à la date de l'année 1289 ont été abandonnés à leur profit; la radiation des inscriptions de ces arrérages est ordonnée dans les registres du Trésor, et publication en sera donnée. Seront exceptés de cette mesure les fermiers, les garants, et les classes aisées pour leurs dettes envers le Trésor.

"Les diverses communautés doivent être représentés au sein des Conseils Administratifs par des personnes de leur choix et jouissant réellement de leur confiance. Les avis émis par ces derniers dans les limites de la légalité et du bon sens seront pris en sérieux considération.

"Le principe d'après lequel une délégation était autorisée, conformément à la loi organique des vilayets, à se rendre à Constantinople pour soumettre les demandes des Assemblées Générales annuelles des provinces, et qui était abandonné depuis quelque temps, a été remis en vigueur. Des personnes honorables et jouissant de la considération de leurs communautés respectives seront appelées en groupes et non en masse des vilayets et des mutessarifats. Les informations qu'on aura recueillies, soit par cette voie soit par d'autres moyens, serviront de bases aux réformes et aux modifications à adopter en vue du bien-être, de la prospérité, et du progrès général.

"Des agents et des contrôleurs spéciaux seront désignés selon la nécessité pour assurer la répartition et la perception des impôts, conformément à la loi existante et aux principes de la justice.

"Des ordres viennent d'être transmis à tous les vilayets pour la mise en exécution de ces mesures; des études sont entreprises en ce moment pour trouver un système juste et de nature à satisfaire les exigences pour la conversion des dîmes en impôt foncier. De plus, on est à la recherche d'un mode fiscal uniforme en ce qui concerne les taxes.

"Il est décidé de réaliser au fur et à mesure ces réformes, ainsi que celles qui regardent l'organisation de la gendarmerie.

"Que la Divine Providence accorde de longs jours à notre auguste et magnanime Souverain pour la gloire de l'Empire et le bonheur de ses sujets!"

No. 288.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 7.)

(Telegraphic.) *Belgrade, October 7, 1875.*

THERE is no Ministry in Servia just now, and the declaration on behalf of those Courts was made yesterday to an inferior official. This precipitation is looked upon as indirectly aiming at the exercise of influence in the internal crisis, which is extremely violent at this moment at Belgrade.

The above step originated from Russia, I am told, and the Russian Consul took the lead. The resolution presented agrees substantially with your Lordship's telegram, and with the language held hitherto by me, except that it conveys the impression of an existing concert to allow of a Turkish occupation of Servia under Article XXIX of the Treaty of Paris.

Unless positively instructed to the delivery of an analogous declaration, I shall confine myself to the support of its tenour in general terms, with relation to my previous constan endeavours.

No. 289.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 580. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 24, 1875.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW tells me that he has just received a letter from the Emperor of Russia, entirely approving of his views with regard to Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

His Majesty states that he would be altogether opposed to a proposition for granting those provinces a Règlement, such as has been given to the Lebanon or Crete; and he considers that the Turks should themselves initiate the necessary reforms.

I said that this was a most satisfactory assurance, and it made me hope that we should be able to continue to hold the same language at the Porte. A proposal for the appointment of a Christian Governor-General for Bosnia was one that could not be supported, but in the Christian districts I did not see why the Porte should not have Christian "Mutessariffs," or Governors.

The General said that he would not even go so far as that, but would be satisfied with a fair admixture of Christians in the subordinate offices of the local administration.

Count Zichy, whom I saw yesterday, likewise told me that he considered a Christian Governor-General quite out of the question; and that he should much regret to see a Règlement of any kind pressed upon the Porte by foreign Governments, but he appeared to me to feel little confidence that some proposal of the kind might not be made by his Cabinet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 290.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 584.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 24, 1875.*

MY French and Russian colleagues have received from their respective Consuls from Mostar reports of an engagement, near Stolatz, between the Imperial troops and the main body of the insurgents, who were completely defeated.

The Consuls, who had been conferring with the insurgents only the day before, appear to throw blame upon the Turks for having made the attack; and there seems to be an impression that improper advantage was taken of a meeting arranged between the Consuls and the insurgents.

I understand that the Russian Ambassador has called for an inquiry into the circumstances.

Having received no communication from Mr. Holmes on the subject, I have telegraphed to him to send me a full report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 291.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 586. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 24, 1875.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW has again spoken to me with anxiety of the proposals which might be made from Vienna with reference to the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

It was only those, he said, who had been in intimately confidential relations with that Cabinet who could be fully aware of the inconsiderate lightness with which Count Andrassy brought forward suggestions of the most serious and objectionable nature.

The proposals upon which, at various times, the Russian Government had had to throw cold water would hardly be credited; but, to do Count Andrassy justice, he was by no means tenacious of the views which he put forward, for he was generally able to abandon them with as little reflection as he had given to them in taking them up.

In holding this language, General Ignatiew is no doubt, to a certain degree, animated

by a wish to make it appear that the difficulties which are created in Turkey by foreign interference are attributable to the Austrian rather than to the Russian Government; but every conversation which I have with him leads the more to the conviction that his feelings, which were never friendly towards Austria, are daily becoming less so.

As he tells me that the Emperor of Russia is now acting in the Bosnian question as his own Minister, corresponding directly with him, and sharing and ratifying his views, I have recurred more frequently to my colleague's language than I might otherwise have thought necessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 292.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 587.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 25, 1875.*

BY your despatch No. 279, your Lordship asked my views as to the precise meaning and object of a passage in the instruction of the Russian Ambassador to the Russian Consul at Scutari respecting the Herzegovinian insurrection.

When General Ignatiew showed me the instruction, he explained that he had inserted the passage in question in case the Consul might find the insurgents dispersed in different directions in small bodies, with which he might find it difficult to communicate.

To provide against this, the Consul was authorized to depute a delegate to speak for him.

I did not think the clause either necessary or desirable, and I omitted it from the instructions to Mr. Holmes, which were in most other respects drawn up upon those prepared by General Ignatiew.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 293.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby..—(Received October 8.)

(No. 589.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 25, 1875.*

I RECEIVED this evening two telegrams from Mr. Agent and Consul-General White, stating that, upon the pretext of an impending attack upon the Principality by the Turks, military preparations were being actively pressed on, and that all the artillery and regular forces had already been dispatched to the frontier, and were to be followed by the militia, which might endanger a collision.

I immediately telegraphed to Mr. White to represent to the Servian Government and, if he thought it necessary, to the Prince that as there is no reason to apprehend that the Turks have any intention of attacking the Principality, the preparations reported by him have not the appearance of being purely defensive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 294.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 590.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 26, 1875.*

THE Servian Agent called upon me this morning to communicate the telegraphic instructions which he had received directing him to explain the cause of the armaments taking place in Servia, which are attributed, not to the fear of an attack upon the Principality by the Turks, which Mr. Consul-General White reports to be the reason given at Belgrade, but the necessity of being able to repel the incursions of the Circassians.

Five different bands of these people are stated to have entered the Principality pillaging the country, and causing such a panic that the people were preparing to abandon their farms.

In reply to a question I put to him, M. Magazinowitch declared that the troops were only being sent to the south-eastern frontier, between Nisch and Widdin, where these Circassian inroads had taken place, but not towards Bosnia.

I have telegraphed to Mr. White to ascertain the fact.

These incursions have afforded a justification for precautionary measures on the part of Servia, but, judging from Mr. White's reports, they appear to be on a scale beyond what is required for protection against their repetition.

M. Magazinowitch continues to give the most confident assurances that, since the Servian Government became convinced that Austria would not support them, there is no chance of their commencing an attack upon Turkey, but there must be a risk of collision if the Servian troops are sent into the immediate vicinity of the points occupied by the Turks.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 295.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 591.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 26, 1875.*

MR. SCOTT has spoken in his despatches of an idea of Baron Jomini's that what he called financial autonomy might be granted to Bosnia.

Not having a very distinct meaning of the expression, I asked General Ignatiew what was meant by it.

He said that Baron Jomini had imagined that a system applied to the villages in certain parts of Russia, where they were allowed to levy their own taxation, might be adopted in Bosnia; but he had himself pointed out that it was not suited to the habits of the population of that province.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 296.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 594.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 26, 1875.*

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch,* I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have received intelligence from Mr. Consul Holmes to the effect that he returned to Mostar on the night of the 22nd instant, and that his mission to the insurgents had not been successful.

On the following day the Austrian, German, and Italian Consuls arrived at Mostar, their mission having been likewise unsuccessful.

The insurgent Chiefs demanded an armistice and a European intervention to guarantee the reforms which might be adopted.

I have &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 297.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 596.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 26, 1875.*

I HAVE received from General Ignatiew a proposal already, he says, accepted by our colleagues, to instruct the Consuls at Mostar to inform the Turkish Commissioner of the result of their mission to the insurgents, and of the impression that they had derived from it.

They were to exchange their views with each other, and with Server Pasha, and after getting his Excellency's opinion, they were, if possible, to transmit to us a practical project of arrangement such as should be acceptable to all parties.

A proposal to allow the Consuls to assemble to negotiate with the Turkish Commissioner, and then to draw up a scheme of Government, appeared extremely objectionable, and was contrary to the understanding upon which Her Majesty's Government had allowed Mr. Holmes to be associated with the other Consuls, and to the assurances given to the Porte when it was asked to consent to the measure.

The understanding was that the Consuls were to confine themselves to recommending the insurgents to submit their grievances to the Turkish Commissioner, after which their mission would be at an end, and they were to return to their respective posts.

It had been distinctly stated that they were not to act as a collective body, and, in order that this might be made clear, it had been thought best that the instructions given to them, although generally similar in substance, should not be identic.

For these reasons I found myself unable to concur in the last part of the proposed instruction.

In the telegram which I then sent to Mr. Consul Holmes, I only desired him to inform Server Pasha of the result of his mission, and to report to me his own views as well as those of his Excellency, in regard to the measures which it might be desirable to adopt.

Being apprehensive that the instructions which were sent to the other Consuls might be taken by them as an encouragement to step beyond their proper line of action, I thought it right especially to warn Mr. Holmes against taking any part in any collective project of arrangement, if it should be suggested by his colleagues, and to confine himself to exchanging his views with them for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 298.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 597. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 26, 1875.*

WITH reference to my preceding despatch, I have the honour to inclose copies of the note from General Ignatiew asking me to join in the instructions which he proposed to send to the Consuls at Mostar, of my answer, and of his rejoinder.

The French Ambassador called upon me very soon after I had received the General's note, and told me that he had prepared a telegram in the sense proposed, and hoped I would do the same.

I said I had hardly had time to think the matter over, but I could certainly not send such instructions without a distinct order to that effect from your Lordship.

M. de Bourgoing answered that he would be acting according to his instructions in telegraphing to the Consul as was proposed; and upon my expressing some surprise, as the suggestion was quite a new one, he intimated that his instructions were as far as possible to avoid separating himself from his colleagues, or taking a position at variance with that of the Ambassadors of the Northern Powers.

I said I perfectly understood the position in which he was placed; but, although I was very desirous of not acting differently from my colleagues, and especially from himself, I should not be warranted in taking a step which seemed to me contrary to the understanding upon which Her Majesty's Government had reluctantly consented to Mr. Holmes being associated with the other Consuls, and which might lead to the direct intervention which Her Majesty's Government deprecated.

M. de Bourgoing left me saying that he would consider whether it was possible for him to modify the instruction which he had prepared, and this morning he was good enough to send me the inclosed copy of it as it was despatched.

Your Lordship will perceive that there is a considerable difference between it and General Ignatiew's proposal that the Consuls should prepare a project of arrangement.

I may observe that General Ignatiew was not quite accurate in representing in his note to me that all our colleagues had consented to the course he proposed; for the suggestion which he had made to the Italian Minister, and in which Count Corti expressed his acquiescence, did not contain the part to which I took exception.

Count Corti, moreover, understood that the communication was to be made to our respective Governments, and not to the Consuls, and consequently he only telegraphed it to Rome.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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* Recorded No. 230.

Inclosure 1 in No. 298.

General Ignatiew to Sir H. Elliot.

Bujukdéré, ce Samedi.

Mon cher Collègue,

EN vous remerciant pour votre billet de ce matin, je regrette beaucoup d'avoir fait une promesse au moment où vous êtes venu à cheval. Le silence de M. Holmes m'étonne d'autant plus que les Turcs ne nient nullement le combat qui a eu lieu le lendemain du départ de nos Délégués de l'emplacement occupé par les insurgés. Server Pacha allègue seulement que Ali Pacha ignorait la présence des Consuls, tandis que le Valy avoue naïvement, ou bien ironiquement, qu'il avait donné l'ordre à Ali Pacha de venir avec ses troupes à la rencontre des trois Consuls. J'ai demandé de plus amples éclaircissements sur un fait très regrettable et qui met forcément fin à toutes les excursions Consulaires.

Je viens vous proposer de télégraphier à nos Consuls à Mostar de faire part d'accord avec leurs collègues, au Commissaire Ottoman du résultat de leurs excursions et des impressions qu'ils y ont recueillies.

Nos Délégués doivent échanger leurs idées tant entr'eux qu'avec Server Pacha, et lui demander son opinion, en nous transmettant, si c'est possible, un projet de solution pratique et acceptable pour tout le monde. Nos Collègues de France, d'Allemagne, et d'Austro-Hongrie, ainsi que le Ministre d'Italie, auxquels j'ai fait part de cette proposition, sont disposés à transmettre ces instructions par télégraphe à leurs Délégués. C'est le commencement nécessaire de l'édifice, afin de savoir définitivement à quoi s'en tenir.

Mille amitiés,

(Signé) N. IGNATIEW.

Inclosure 2 in No. 298.

Sir H. Elliot to General Ignatiew.

(Private.)

Therapia, September 25, 1875.

My dear General,

I HAVE desired Mr. Holmes to telegraph full particulars about the fight between the troops and the insurgents.

I could join the first part of the instruction which you propose for the Consuls; but the last part, directing them to prepare a "Projet de Solution," appears too great a departure from the original understanding for it to be possible for me to send it without instructions from my Government.

The Turks consented to the Mission of the Consuls, and my Government took part in it on the understanding that as soon as they had communicated their instructions to the insurgents, and had recommended them to submit their grievances to the Turkish Commissioner, their task would be ended, and they would return to their respective posts.

It was especially insisted upon that they should not appear to act as a "corps," or have identic instructions, and it appears to me that it would not only be contrary to the understanding that they should assemble to discuss and propose a project of settlement, but also extremely undesirable, as being a decided step toward the European intervention which we deprecate.

It will be very useful for our Consuls to exchange their ideas with each other, and each may send to his Government his opinion of the best remedies to be applied to the grievances of the people; but anything like a project concerted in a Consular Parliament would in my opinion be undesirable.

The information that we have from our Consuls is, that the insurgents summarily reject the advice given to them by our Consuls, which may be looked upon as putting an end to their mission.

The accounts from Servia are very bad. The regular troops and artillery are already sent towards the frontier, and the militia is to follow, upon the pretext that an attack by Turkey is imminent,—which the Servian Government must know to be without foundation.

Yours truly,

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 3 in No. 298.

General Ignatiew to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidentielle.)

Bujukdéré, le 26 Septembre, 1875.

Cher Collègue,

ON m'apporte à l'instant votre lettre, et je m'empresse d'y répondre par quelques lignes en me réservant de les développer à notre prochaine entrevue.

Nous sommes, ainsi que la Porte, en présence des demandes des insurgés que vous connaissez, et des complications ultérieures qui peuvent surgir. Préférez-vous que la question soit traitée à Vienne? Soit: nous rendrions un véritable service au Gouvernement Ottoman en autorisant nos Consuls de rechercher, d'accord avec Server Pacha, une issue de l'impasse où se trouve cette question délicate.

La Sublime Porte est libre d'autoriser son Commissaire, ou bien de lui défendre, d'échanger ses idées avec nos Délégués. Le projet de solution acceptable pour tous, c'est au moyen pratique d'écarter, d'un coup, ces demandes extravagantes et les projets éphémères.

Préférez-vous par hasard consulter les vœux des populations ou bien "d'abandonner aux Cabinets le soin de nous prescrire" un projet?

Je n'ai jamais songé à réclamer des Consuls un projet collectif à la mode de Syrie, mais j'entendais, exactement dans le même sens que vous, que chaque Consul présente son opinion conclusive finale, après l'échange d'idées, tant avec ses collègues, qu'avec le Commissaire Impérial.

La Sublime Porte ne serait guère avancée si elle avait à choisir entre sept projets différent complètement l'un de l'autre. Donc c'est lui faciliter singulièrement la besogne et écarter beaucoup de tiraillements préjudiciables à la Turquie, que de tâcher de rapprocher les opinions individuelles, en obtenant que le Commissaire et les Consuls ne s'écartent pas trop l'un de l'autre dans les rapports qu'ils devront adresser isolément à leurs chefs.

Vous savez, cher Collègue, d'expérience que personne plus que moi n'est opposé aux interventions intempestatives dans les affaires intérieures de la Turquie, ainsi qu'aux parlements Consulaires engendrés par le *morbus consularis*.

Il me semblent donc que mes instructions écarteront toutes les extravagances et serviront à rechercher une base acceptable pour tout le monde sans exception. C'est le sens que j'attache à ce paragraphe. Rémarquez de plus que j'ai eu soin d'ajouter, dans les instructions, si c'est possible. De l'impossible, nul n'est tenu.

Votre, &c.

(Signé) N. IGNATIEW.

P.S.—Il fait tout simplement froid aujourd'hui.

N. I.

Inclosure 4 in No. 298.

M. de Bourgoing to M. Dozon.

(Télégraphique.)

Therapia, le 26 Septembre, 1875.

PLUSIEURS de vos collègues ont reçu pour instructions de communiquer au Commissaire Ottoman le résultat de leurs observations pendant leur mission. Je vous invite à faire comme eux à échanger vos opinions avec Server Pacha et à me transmettre le résultat de vos conversations. Il serait heureux que vous soyez d'accord pour indiquer les moyens les plus propres à amener la pacification de l'Herzegovine.

No. 299.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 600.)

Therapia, September 28, 1875.

My Lord,

MR. CONSUL HOLMES telegraphs to me from Mostar, under date of yesterday, that the Austrian, French, and Russian Consuls have received instructions to suggest a practical project which would be acceptable to everyone for the pacification of the revolted provinces.

All the Consuls were agreed that the only means by which this object could be attained would be a recognized constitution for the Provinces, an armistice, and a reunion

of the Commission with Server Pasha at Ragusa, where his Excellency and the insurgents could discuss the details of a pacification with the co-operation of the European Delegates.

Mr. Holmes says, however, that this must be arranged at Constantinople, and that he will take no steps without instructions from Her Majesty's Embassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 300.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 604.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 28, 1875.*

THE Grand Vizier spoke to me yesterday about the proposal of the Consuls at Mostar, which had been communicated to him by some of my colleagues, that they should hold a Conference with Server Pasha and the Chiefs of the insurgents at Ragusa.

His Highness showed some excitement and irritation at such a project having been thought of; as it was, he considered, contrary to the understanding upon which the Porte had consented to the mission of the Consuls.

General Ignatiew, he said, supported the proposal, but wished him to authorize Server Pasha to "échanger ses idées" with the Consuls, and to this he could not consent, and a telegram to the Pasha was prepared desiring him not to enter into discussions or negotiations with the Consuls, and to admit nothing of the nature of a European interference.

He asked me what instruction I had given to Mr. Holmes, and I told him that I had desired him to inform the Turkish Commissioner of the views and opinions he had formed after conferring with the insurgents, and to report those of Server Pasha for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

I said that I could not advise him to allow Server Pasha to discuss the question with the Consuls as a body, but I did not see why he should not see them individually and hear what they had to say.

His Highness thereupon so far modified the instruction as to allow Server Pasha liberty in that respect, and avoided the appearance of discourtesy which might have been seen in a refusal by the Imperial Commissioner to enter into all communication with the Consuls deputed by the Great Powers.

I understand that upon returning from the Grand Vizier, General Ignatiew telegraphed to the Russian Consul at Mostar that, in proposing an armistice and a Conference at Ragusa the Consuls had misapprehended their instructions, under which they had been intended only to suggest the mode best adapted, in their opinion, to remedy the grievances complained of by the populations of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

The French Ambassador has telegraphed somewhat in the same sense.

Your Lordship will perceive, from what has occurred, that it was not without reason that I doubted the prudence of the instructions sent to the other Consuls, which I declined to transmit to Mr. Holmes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 301.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 605.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 28, 1875.*

THE report respecting the instructions received by the Austrian, French, and Russian Consuls, forwarded to me by Mr. Consul Holmes on the 27th instant, was, in all probability, dispatched before he received the instruction referred to in my despatch to your Lordship No. 598 of the 26th instant; but I nevertheless thought it right to inform him that his colleagues are considered by their Ambassadors to have exceeded their instructions in making the proposal reported in my despatch No. 600 of this day's date.

I have also requested Mr. Holmes to inform me what were his views of the grievances and demands of the people, and his opinion of the best measures the Porte could adopt to remedy them; reminding him, at the same time, that he must be especially careful not to

encourage hopes of an European intervention in any form, and to confine himself to the course prescribed in his original instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 302.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 606. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 28, 1875.*

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon, and said that General Ignatiew had just been speaking to him about the proposal of the Consuls for an armistice and a Conference at Ragusa between them, Server Pasha, and the leaders of the insurgents.

The General had designated the proposition as preposterous, and as altogether in excess of the duties assigned to the Consuls.

He remarked that the proposal had come from the Austrian Consul, and he showed himself very desirous that my colleague and myself should assist him in restraining the Austro-Hungarian Government from the lengths to which it appeared ready to go.

If we separated ourselves from him he would be comparatively powerless, and the regulation of the question would then be necessarily left to the three Powers alone, with every probability of an active Austrian intervention.

M. de Bourgoing was of the opinion, which I have myself several times of late conveyed to your Lordship, that General Ignatiew was sincere in these professions; but if, as there is reason to suspect, the General wished to obtain from the Consuls Reports upon which he would suggest that the Ambassadors at Constantinople might concert some project of pacification and of future Government for Bosnia, I said I doubted whether it would be advisable to follow him.

The rejection by the insurgents of the advice which had been given them appeared to me to have terminated the special mission entrusted to the Consuls, and, as far as Her Majesty's Government was concerned, I did not believe that they would authorize Mr. Holmes to do more than he would be justified in doing in the execution of his ordinary Consular duties.

It had been understood throughout that the Consuls were not to act as a collective body, and that arrangement had better be maintained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 303.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 607.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 28, 1875.*

THE account which I have received from Mr. Consul Holmes relative to the engagement between the Turkish troops and the body of insurgents with which the Consuls had just been in communication, as reported in my despatch No. 584, is not satisfactory.

He states that, while the Consuls were among the insurgents, the Wali proceeded to Stolatz, and ordered the troops to march against those assembled to meet the Consuls. On the 19th, having left the insurgents, they met the troops and were apprized of their destination. The attack was made on the 20th.

On the side of the insurgents there were six killed and many wounded. If this affair had happened a day sooner the consequence to the Consuls might have been fatal. The insurgents, Mr. Holmes adds, will probably hesitate to meet them again; they will not submit, as they distrust the Turks, and demand a European intervention.

Military operations have recommenced, and devastation continues on both sides.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 304.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 608.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 28, 1875.*

IT will not have escaped your Lordship's observation that one of the chief difficulties in treating of questions relating to this country arises out of the fact that, at present, the action of the different Governments is guided by considerations in which the interests of Turkey form an insignificant item.

The Italian and Her Majesty's Governments are the only two which have not to consult some immediate or ulterior object of their own in the course which they adopt.

The three Northern Governments came to an understanding that they would stand by each other in matters relating to the East, as a part of a more important political combination.

The policy of Austria-Hungary is directed solely by the consideration of its effect upon her own Slavonic populations, without much anxiety about that which it may produce on the subjects of the Sultan, and by virtue of the agreement between them. This policy is supported by the two other great military Powers.

Germany, with little direct interest of her own, throwing the whole of her great weight into the Austrian scale, and Russia going with them, though with no great appearance of cordiality, a combination is formed which it is difficult to resist.

The position of France renders it impossible for her to act freely, and, however unwilling she may be to be a party to measures which may seriously weaken the Turkish Empire, her own interests will render it imperative upon her not to stand out against any proposals brought forward by the three military Powers.

There is a growing impression that Turkey will not be allowed to proceed unimpeded with the suppression of the insurrection, and that the question must either be referred to a European Conference or be left to be dealt with by the three Northern Powers, who could impose their will upon the Porte.

The objections to the last mode of solution are obvious, but those that may be urged against a Conference in the existing political position of Europe, to which I have adverted, are scarcely less.

If the Bosnian question is to terminate by an arrangement materially affecting the stability of the Empire, it might be better that it should be seen to be imposed as an arbitrary act of the three great military Powers, rather than that Her Majesty's Government, through the instrumentality of a Conference, should in any way be a party to it.

On the other hand, there are indications that, in a Conference, and supported by the Western Powers, Russia might do much in controlling the policy of Count Andrassy, which constitutes the great danger of the moment.

Your Lordship will not, I hope, think I am travelling beyond my sphere if I express the opinion that, should a proposal be made to Her Majesty's Government to take part in a Conference, their decision should greatly depend upon the information they possess of the course which would be likely to be pursued by Russia.

I am myself unable to judge to what extent General Ignatiew may be considered as truthfully reflecting the policy of his Government, and your Lordship is aware that I am not generally disposed to put too implicit confidence in him.

I have, however, now been long acquainted with my colleague, and I do not think that I am mistaken in believing him to be deeply galled by the lead latterly taken by Austria in matters affecting this country.

He has long been anxious to impress the Turks with the conviction that their safest policy is to place reliance on the Emperor and the Russian Government against the dangers with which they were threatened by Austria, and I feel little doubt that he would now be glad of an opportunity of giving such striking evidence of it as would enable him to appear as the chief, if not sole, protector of the Empire.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 305.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 610. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 28, 1875.*

THE Grand Vizier informed me yesterday, in confidence, that the German Ambassador had called upon him in the morning, and had suggested that a Conference between Server Pasha, the foreign Consuls, and the Chiefs of the insurgents should be held at some point beyond the Turkish frontier, either in Dalmatia or Montenegro.

Baron Werther insinuated that the late attack upon the body of insurgents with which the Consuls had been communicating justified this proposal.

Upon the Grand Vizier replying by a summary refusal to entertain the proposal, Baron Werther asked what made him decline it so peremptorily. He had answered, he said, by referring to the understanding upon which the Porte had consented to the mission of the Consuls.

The Russian Ambassador afterwards called upon the Grand Vizier, and upon being told what had occurred, had endeavoured to persuade his Highness that he must have misunderstood Baron Werther, who could not have intended to support, but only to communicate to him a proposal that had been made by the Consuls.

Mahmoud Pasha however maintained that there could be no doubt that the German Ambassador directly advocated his acceptance of the proposal, and insinuated that he had been put forward by General Ignatiew as a feeler—an opinion in which I do not concur.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 306.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 611. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 29, 1875.*

AS I am perfectly satisfied of the accuracy of the report that I made to your Lordship yesterday of the German Ambassador having spoken to the Grand Vizier in favour of the proposal of the Consuls to hold a Conference with Server Pasha and the Insurgent Chiefs at Ragusa, I was rather amused this morning to hear him declaim against it as a ridiculous project and contrary to common sense.

He had, he said, telegraphed to Berlin to explain to his Government how impossible it was for the Porte to listen to anything of the kind.

The whole project was, in fact, impracticable, independently of the suggestion of Ragusa as the place where the proposed Conference should be held, for the Turks would not consent to it anywhere; an armistice with insurgents who had no recognized head was impracticable, and a European guarantee for the reforms to be introduced was the last thing to be proposed.

It is not difficult to account for the difference between Baron Werther's language to me to-day and that which he held to the Grand Vizier two days ago.

When he spoke to his Highness he did so, rather contrary to his wont, without consulting General Ignatiew, who at once saw that the Consular proposal was extravagant; but, having since conferred with his colleague, he has now adopted his views.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 307.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 612.)
My Lord, *Therapia, September 29, 1875.*

THERE are most conflicting opinions as to the force which the Porte has collected in Bosnia and along the Servian frontier, but I am inclined to believe that the numbers given by the Seraskier Pasha, who states it to exceed 100,000 men, is very greatly exaggerated. When I asked the Grand Vizier what he supposed it really to be, his answer

was evasive, and he said in a significant manner that he was obliged to rely upon the assurances of the Seraskier.

His Highness clearly implied that he did not put much faith in them, and the efforts that are made to increase the force confirms the impression that it still is much lower than has been supposed.

I have the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Dupuis, in reply to an inquiry that I had made of him in reference to the employment of Bashi-Bozouks.

Although these irregulars do not appear to have been sent towards Nisch, there is no doubt that they continue to be employed in Bosnia, where they act in their usual manner.

The Servian Agent has received the notification of several inroads into Servia across the Drina, and it is probable that they were made by Bashi-Bozouks or volunteers armed by the Government, although no evidence to that effect has yet been received.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 307.

Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Adrianople, September* 27, 1875.

THE answer to your Excellency's despatch of the 22nd instant, instructing me to ascertain as to the truth of a statement that a large corps of Bashi-Bozouks has been sent from Philipopoli to Nisch, I beg leave to inform your Excellency that I have no reason to believe that such troops have been forwarded to the revolted provinces; and, although I have heard of the employment of some Albanian volunteers, still I am not in a position to be able to ascertain the truth of the report.

The Governor-General of Adrianople informed me to-day, in reply to my inquiries, that at the beginning of the outbreak of the insurrection, and before the despatch of regular troops to Nisch, the authorities there sent for the assistance of the Bashi-Bozouks, but the presence there of a strong force of regulars renders the employment of the former so far unnecessary.

The railway station is a scene of continual activity, owing to the arrivals and departures of troops. Further reinforcements left this morning for Bazardjik and the Servian frontier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. HUTTON DUPUIS.

No. 308.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October* 8.)

(No. 614.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 30, 1875.

AT a late conversation with the Grand Vizier, when I was urging his Highness to give immediate evidence of a determination to remedy the grievances complained of, especially in the northern provinces, he said he proposed to send a circular to the Turkish Representatives abroad and to the foreign Representatives here upon the subject.

He asked me to let him have at once a memorandum of the grievances most immediately calling for redress.

I said that such a memorandum, to be of any value, must be prepared with care and after reference to much correspondence; but, upon being pressed by his Highness, I hastily drew up the paper of which the inclosed is a copy, and which was put into his hands.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 308.

Memorandum.

THE Sultan, by a late Hatt, ordered that attention might be paid to the just administration of the Empire, and it is not to be denied that, in many districts, the population have had cause of complaint that the intention of the Sovereign, and the laws which provide for their security, have not been fully carried out.

Mussulmans and Christians have, in some cases, had equal cause to complain.

The collection of the taxes, and especially of the tithes, has frequently been carried on in a manner to render them oppressive and ruinous to the people; and of late, the attempt to increase the revenues of the Province has been pushed with more zeal than consideration for their interests.

The cupidity of the tithe-farmers has extorted from the cultivators amounts greatly in excess of what the cultivators were liable to pay, and the system under which they conduct their operation is productive of a loss to the people to an amount several times greater than the sum which reaches the Treasury.

The additional 2½ per cent. levied on the tithes for the last two years is felt to be an insupportable addition to an already oppressive tax.

Universal discontent has been caused by ill-judged attempts to recover arrears of taxes, and there is reason to believe that, upon this pretext, unscrupulous agents have frequently extorted the payment of the tax several times over.

In many cases the arrears have been caused by the negligence of the tax-collectors, who, instead of taking small sums annually, which could be paid without inconvenience, allow them to accumulate for several years, and then claim a sum which the peasant is unable to pay except by selling his oxen and his plough.

The peasants complain that they are forced to go to distances much greater than those sanctioned by law to work upon the roads, and when complaints against any of these acts have been made, it has frequently been seen that the only result of them was the imprisonment of those who made them.

The Christians have had special ground of complaint that they have not been placed in the position guaranteed to them by the Hatt-i-Houmayoun.

In the local Medjlisses they have not been represented in their proper number, and even where the population is chiefly Christian they have been habitually excluded from the public employment, and, contrary to their rights, they have been forced to submit their cases to be judged by the Cadi, according to the religious law.

The labour exacted by the proprietors from the peasants is the cause of much discontent, and the subject calls for the immediate attention of the Government.

The cause of most of the above-mentioned abuses, and the consequent discontent, has been the insufficient care which has been bestowed upon the choice of Governors-General and Governors.

When a Governor-General has proved his incapacity in some province, and the complaints against him can no longer be neglected, he is generally transferred to another and, perhaps, more important, where he commences the same course with a similar result.

It rarely happens that a functionary whose maladministration has been made evident is, on that account, permanently excluded from further employment.

No. 309.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October* 8.)

(No. 616. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 30, 1875.

IN several conversations which I have had with General Ignatiew, he had expressed his concurrence with me in considering that the amelioration to be introduced into the administration of Bosnia should originate with the Porte.

This afternoon, one of my colleagues told me confidentially that the General had said to him that he had been speaking on this subject to the Grand Vizier, and had suggested that, in the interests of the Porte, it would, perhaps, be best that the project of the reforms should be proposed by the Embassies, for, in that case, the Porte would not be responsible if they proved unsatisfactory.

General Ignatiew had added that the Grand Vizier was much struck by the argument,

and appeared to look favourably on the suggestion; but this assurance must be received with much reserve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 310.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 319.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October 4, 1875.*

COUNT ANDRASSY, on the 1st instant, gave similar but more detailed explanations to the Financial Committee of the Austrian Delegation as to the foreign policy of the Government, and more particularly with respect to the insurrection in the Herzegovina, which he had previously imparted to the Hungarian Delegation, as reported in my despatch No. 308 of the 26th ultimo.

He said there were three elements in the latter question which had to be considered, with a view to the maintenance of peace, namely, the position of the insurgents, of the countries situated near the theatre of the insurrection, and of the Ottoman Porte. With respect to the neighbouring countries, the Government had, in concert with the Great Powers, and particularly with the two Northern Powers, with whom it has special relations, employed its influence to prevent them from joining in the movement, while they had endeavoured, at the same time at Constantinople, to prevent any provocation being offered to them on the part of Turkey; and, with respect to the insurgents, it has had constantly in view the means by which the recurrence of similar disturbances may be guarded against.

The Imperial Government and their allies having, he said, offered their good offices in this sense, and having acted as mediators between the combatants, have succeeded in maintaining the general peace; but as to the measures which should be adopted for preventing a renewal of such events, the action of the Government of the Emperor must be limited by Treaties and the relations arising out of them.

On being asked whether, with a view to the present state of affairs on the southern frontier of the Empire, military measures had been taken, and to what extent, Count Andrassy said that, with regard to such eventualities, two courses might be followed: the one being the mobilisation of the army, as a safeguard against all contingencies, and the other to place the State in a position not to be taken by surprise, by throwing its simple word into the scales of the balance. He was himself, he said, inclined to the second system, and he believed that he might assure the Delegation that the measures taken as yet had caused no extraordinary expenditure, being merely such as are necessary for watching the frontier, and fulfilling the duties of neutrality. The Government would, however, require to ask for a credit, of which it was at present impossible to fix the amount, to meet the expense of the hospitality, which it could not refuse to fugitives from the Insurgent Provinces. In answer to an inquiry as to the truth of the reports that the insurgents are reinforced from Servia and Montenegro, Count Andrassy said he believed such reports were exaggerated by both parties, and that due means had been taken to prevent any general participation of those populations in the conflict.

In reply to a further inquiry as to the probability of the maintenance of peace, his Excellency said that, as far as human prescience can judge, he considered peace to be firmly secured, and that on both sides of the Leitha, the monarchy has one common and indivisible interest, namely, the maintenance of peace in Europe, free development, and the promotion of commerce and industry at home, while the limits of its action abroad are traced by European Treaties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 311.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 321.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October 4, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a French translation of a paragraph from the Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Delegation, approving

the course followed by Count Andrassy with respect to the insurrection in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

The Commission expresses its conviction that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has no interest which would render necessary territorial changes in the East, but considers it essential to the success of its pacific policy that the Porte should put an end by suitable reforms to a state of things which causes continual disturbances on the southern frontier of the monarchy, and renders necessary burdensome measures of precaution. It is also of opinion that, in maintaining this point of view, due respect should be paid to the principle of non-intervention, and of no European Power having a right to interfere in the relations of another Power with its subjects.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 311.

Substance of Paragraph in the Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Delegation.

LE Rapport de la Commission des Affaires Etrangères de la Délégation Hongroise s'exprime, après avoir déclaré parfaitement motivée la décision du Ministre de ne pas présenter de livre rouge cette année, comme suit au sujet de notre politique en Orient. La Commission constate avec joie, que la politique internationale du Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois respire un esprit éminemment pacifique, et que celui qui est appelé à diriger cette politique n'a jamais manqué l'occasion de faire valoir dans ce sens l'influence de la monarchie. La Commission étant convaincue, quant à ce qui concerne les affaires Orientales, que la Monarchie Austro-Hongroise n'a aucune espèce d'intérêt qui rendrait nécessaire des modifications territoriales en Orient, elle ne peut qu'accompagner avec satisfaction et confiance la politique que le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères a observée jusqu'ici vis-à-vis des événements survenus en Orient. De plus la première condition du succès de cette politique étant que la Porte Ottomane mette fin par des mesures bien entendues à ce regrettable état de choses, qui est la source des troubles continuels dans quelques parties de l'Empire Turc, notamment à la frontière méridionale de la Monarchie Austro-Hongroise, la Commission n'a pu que donner sa complète approbation à ce fait que le Gouvernement Austro-Hongrois, tout en respectant l'autorité de la Porte et le principe de la non-intervention a également fait valoir son influence à cet égard. En ceci le Gouvernement ne s'est point placé au point de vue—que nous regrettons également—qu'une Puissance Européenne quelconque ait le droit d'intervenir dans les rapports existant entre une autre Puissance et ses sujets, mais au point de vue, parfaitement juste, que ces troubles en Orient, ne cessent d'inquiéter les parties de notre monarchie voisine du théâtre de ces événements et de nécessiter dans de courts intervalles de nouvelles et onéreuses mesures de précaution.

La Commission ne doute pas que la politique de la monarchie ne suive à l'avenir encore la même direction et prie la Délégation de bien vouloir exprimer de son côté qu'elle partage cette assurance.

No. 312.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 322.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October 4, 1875.*

I UNDERSTAND that there may be some difficulty in inducing the refugees from the insurgent provinces of Turkey to return to their homes,—as having left under the conviction that the Turks were about to be expelled from the country, they carried off as much plunder as they could seize, and are now afraid that they may be held responsible for the robberies of which they have been guilty.

They appear, therefore, to have asked permission to settle in Austria-Hungary, which they are not likely to obtain, as they are represented to me as being more likely to prove a burden than an advantage to any district in which they might establish themselves.

Adults now receive 10 kreutzers (about 2*d.*) per day; but as the Government took possession of the funds collected by Committees in Dalmatia and Croatia for affording political support to the insurgents, and have appropriated them to the maintenance of the refugees, I am told that the amount advanced by the Imperial Treasury for that purpose

does not as yet exceed 15,000 florins. It is said that a Turkish Agent has been endeavouring to induce these people to return home; but, independently of their dread of the consequences of their lawless acts, they are likely to prefer living on the scanty means of existence afforded to them by this Government to the misery which would await them during the winter in their ruined villages and devastated homesteads.

Eventually, therefore, if an amnesty is offered to them by the Porte, some pressure may be necessary here, to force them to take advantage of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 313.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 327. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October 5, 1875.*

SIR HENRY ELLIOT'S late despatches have represented General Ignatiew as expressing such extreme distrust of Count Andrassy's policy with respect to Turkey, and of his want of discretion in carrying it out, that there would almost appear to be a serious difference in the views of the Russian and Austrian Governments, unless despatches from Mr. Adams and Mr. Doria had at the same time reported Prince Gortchacow and Baron Jomini as expressing entire confidence in Count Andrassy.

Under these circumstances the language of General Ignatiew may possibly be accounted for in some measure, not only as Sir Henry Elliot suggests, by his jealousy of Austrian diplomatic action in the East, but also from personal feelings, as he is doubtless aware that Count Andrassy has discouraged his being appointed as Russian Ambassador at Vienna; and he is likewise said to be personally hostile to M. de Novikow, as having succeeded in obtaining the post here, for which he had been intriguing.

With respect to M. de Novikow having presumed to give instructions to the Russian Consul sent to Mostar, I believe General Ignatiew did not represent quite correctly what occurred, as the Russian Consul at Ragusa was at first appointed to go to the Herzegovina, and that functionary was subsequently believed here to have had a convenient illness to conceal from the public the conflict which had taken place between the Ambassadors in the matter.

M. de Novikow, however, merely acted as the Italian Minister did, and I understand that the French Consul, having been at Paris when ordered to proceed to Mostar, received his instructions directly from the French Government.

There is little doubt, however, that Count Zichy, acting under General Ignatiew's tuition, has done much to compromise the Austrian Government at Constantinople, and my German colleague, in speaking to me on this subject some days ago, observed that Count Andrassy had much reason to regret having made such an unfortunate appointment, and that, were it not from a feeling of *amour-propre*, or unwillingness to acknowledge his error, Count Zichy would have been long since recalled.

I have thought it right to offer these observations to your Lordship, after a hurried perusal of Sir Henry Elliot's despatches of the 30th ultimo, which have reached me this afternoon, and which I lose no time in forwarding to Paris.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 314.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 51. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, September 30, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed on the 27th instant to Sir Henry Elliot on the subject of recent movements of Servian troops in the direction of the Turkish frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 314.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, September 27, 1875.*

THE military movements and preparations which I have had the honour to report to your Excellency by telegraph as going on in Servia within the last few days may be described as follows.

A portion of the Militia has been added to the small force of regular troops in existence here, and has been directed towards Alexinatz, on the road to Nisch, where some place is to be selected as a defensive point, and strengthened with earthworks; the total of this force is variously estimated at from 7,000 to 10,000 men.

Another smaller force has been sent to the Drina, but I have not been able as yet to ascertain the name of the locality where it is being collected.

The men belonging to the Militia are no longer allowed to leave their homes, after having been under arms in camp; and everything is being prepared to have them all embodied. It is even reported that the regular army is to be increased by the formation of new battalions out of the Reserve, but nothing positive is known as to this last measure.

Besides the purchase of horses in Hungary, which has been going on for some time, all those in the country are being registered, with a view to their being made available, if necessary, for military purposes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 315.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 52. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, September 30, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed yesterday to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting the transfer of the Skoupstchina from Kragonievatz to Belgrade, whereby the impending Ministerial crisis is adjourned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 315.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, September 29, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that a Decree was signed by the Prince of Servia last night, transferring the seat of the Skoupstchina from Kragonievatz to Belgrade; and by this expedient an end has been put, for a time, to the Ministerial crisis which had been impending during the last few days.

The National Assembly will therefore resume its deliberations here in a couple of days, and it will perhaps be easier then to form some notion of the ultimate designs of the parties composing that Assembly than it has been possible hitherto.

The Prince, owing to his approaching marriage, which is to be celebrated at Belgrade on Sunday, the 10th of October next, was unwilling to leave his residence, and a motion was given notice of in the Skoupstchina to invite him to return to Kragonievatz at once.

This motion, it was suspected, was only the prelude to some further steps, which might be initiated in a spirit by no means friendly to the Prince; and it was clear that His Highness entertained a few days ago strong suspicions as to the intentions of his own Ministers, and made no secret to some of his intimate friends that he would seek for some pretext to bring about a change of Ministry.

With that intention the Prince telegraphed to Kragonievatz for M. Ristich; but upon that gentleman's arrival here, His Highness could not see his way to the formation of a new Cabinet, and therefore seized with alacrity the expedient of a temporary agreement

with his Ministers, by accepting their offer to transfer the sittings of the Skoupstchina to Belgrade.

It appears that it is customary that the Prince of Servia should reside in the same place as the Skoupstchina; and it was with considerable difficulty that the Ministers prevailed on their adherents to allow the Prince to leave Kragonievatz the other day, without these declaring their misgivings at such a step on his part at once, in an offensive manner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 316.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 53. Political.)
Belgrade, September 30, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed this day to Sir Henry Elliot on the financial prospects of the Servian Administration in the present crisis.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 316.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, September 30, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that the financial arrangements of the new Government, in connection with their military demonstrations, are attracting a good deal of attention.

It appears that there is hardly a doubt that the Skoupstchina has passed a secret resolution authorizing the Government to contract a loan for 3,000,000 ducats.

The former Government, when they had the possibility of a war under consideration, had drawn up a project of raising 1,000,000 ducats by means of an addition to the existing taxes, in the form of a contribution of 2 ducats per head.

Their successors prefer to raise money by loans, talk of issuing paper money, and have ordered that the taxes due next month should be paid at once, by anticipation. All these measures have not the same effect that an increase of taxation would be likely to produce, by making the population feel the full extent of the reponsibilities they are about to assume.

From all that I can gather, it does not appear that the numerous and influential class of peasant proprietors is as warlike as it is pretended to be; and I hear that the calling out of the entire militia, before the termination of the plum crop, unless in the case of actual invasion, would be far from popular.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 317.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 56. Political.)
Belgrade, October 4, 1875.

My Lord,

A WEEK ago I learnt that my colleagues expected instructions from their Governments to enable them to make joint representations to the Servian Government on the subject of the conduct it was expected it should observe towards the Porte in future.

I alluded to this in a telegram to Sir Henry Elliot on the 26th ultimo, and asked his Excellency how far I was to co-operate with my colleagues.

From my telegram forwarded this morning, your Lordship will perceive that my anticipations have been realized; and I may add that, besides the Agent of the three

military Empires, those of Italy and of France have received instructions from their Courts to make representations in a similar sense.

The initiative to this action of the Guaranteeing Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris has, I understand, come from St. Petersburgh. My Russian colleague had almost prepared me for it, and as I know him to be fully initiated in the nature of the difficulties with which Prince Milan has to contend at this moment, and to which I referred in my previous despatch No. 55, Political,* I am disposed to think that the Prince will seek to retrieve his position and influence, if possible, under the shadow of the pacific policy of the Great Powers, which is not that of his present Ministers.

The possibility of a Turkish occupation of Servia is, I am assured, foreshadowed in the warnings about to be given by my foreign colleagues, and thus the Prince, by making peace the Shibboleth of his policy, may hope to return, if the war party and the "Omladina" should succeed in driving him away from the Principality.

I am not able to form any conjecture as to the immediate consequences of the pressure thus exercised by the Powers at this critical moment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 318.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received October 8.)

(Telegraphic.)
Therapia, October 7, 1875.

AUSTRIAN Ambassador told me to-day that he had made communication to the Grand Vizier in the sense that is intimated by Sir A. Buchanan.

He had said that there was no question either of Conference or of foreign intervention in the Herzegovina.

No. 319.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.‡—(Received October 8.)

(Telegraphic.)
Belgrade, October 7, 1875.

THERE is no Foreign Minister in Servia just now, and the declaration on behalf of Courts was made yesterday to an inferior officer; this is looked upon as indirectly aiming at exercise of influence in the internal crisis, which is extremely violent at this moment at Belgrade.

The above step originated from Russia, I am told, and the Russian Consul took the lead. Resolution presented agrees in substance with your Lordship's telegram and with language held by me, except that it conveys impression of existing concert allowing occupation of Servia under Article XXIX of Treaty of Paris.

Unless positively instructed to deliver analogous declaration, I shall confine myself to the support of its tenor in general terms in relation to my previous constant endeavours.

No. 320.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 9.)

(No. 41.)
Scutari, le 28 Septembre, 1875.

My Lord,

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie ci-inclus copie de la dépêche que j'ai adressée en date d'aujourd'hui à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople au sujet des combats qui ont eu lieu du côté des villes de Bérane et Niksitch entre les insurgés et les Turcs, et concernant en outre l'attitude inactive gardée par le Monténégro.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

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* Recording No. 270.
† Repeated to Sir A. Buchanan, Lord Odo Russell, Sir A. Paget, Mr. Doria, and Mr. Adams.
‡ Repeated to Sir H. Elliot, Mr. Doria, Sir A. Buhanan, Lord Odo Russell, Sir A. Paget, and Mr. Adams.

Inclosure in No. 320.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Scutari, le 28 Septembre*, 1875.

EN rapport à ma dernière dépêche, datée du 21 de ce mois, j'ai l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence que du côté de la ville de Bérane ont eu lieu de nouveaux combats entre les insurgés et les Turcs. Les premiers, aidés de volontaires Monténégrins, avaient cernés trois Roulés Turcs aux environs de cette ville, avec l'intention de s'en emparer, lorsque Ali Bey de Goutsigné, à la tête de volontaires (Bachi-Bouzouk) qu'il a rassemblés, et aidé par plusieurs montagnards de Relmenti, s'est mis en marche pour les attaquer afin de dégager ces Roulés, et l'on en ignore le résultat.

En ce qui concerne la situation de la ville de Niksitch on dit aussi que de ce côté ont eu lieu de combats entre les assiégés et les assiégeants, et d'après à ce qu'on sait cette place pourra tenir pour quelque mois encore; toutefois il a lieu à croire que les troupes Turques qui combattent dans l'Herzégovine viendront à son appui, pour repousser les attaques des Rayas et des Monténégrins, et à moins que ces derniers n'abandonnent leur plan et ne se retirent, la place ne pourra pas se dégager elle-même.

Quant au Gouvernement du Monténégro, il garde encore une attitude inactive, et l'on croit qu'il se conformera à la décision de la Serbie.

Cette situation, cette attitude du Gouvernement Princier semble, et à raison, ne suffire trop à assurer le Gouvernement Impérial; et nonobstant que le Prince ait déclaré que tous ses efforts ne tendent, dans les circonstances actuelles, qu'à circonscrire le rôle du Monténégro dans les strictes limites de la neutralité, toutefois le Gouvernement de la Sublime Porte ne se flatte pas d'avoir de ce côté des garanties sérieuses de sécurité, puisque des troupes ont été envoyées à Potgoritza, et tous les Roulés qui sont sur les frontières fortifiés et mis en état de repousser des attaques éventuelles.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 321.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 9.)

(Most Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 8*, 1875.

GENERAL IGNATIEW has told me in the strictest confidence that the proposal of Count Andrassy to the other two Governments was that an armistice should be proclaimed, and that the Consuls should hold a Conference with the insurgent Chiefs at Ragusa without the participation of any Representative of the Porte.

This proposal, although not liked, was accepted at St. Petersburgh, as it had been agreed to leave the direction of the Herzegovina question in the hands of Count Andrassy.

The Austrian project was sent to the Emperor of Russia in the Crimea, and reached him the same day as General Ignatiew's representation of the danger of the course proposed.

His Majesty adopted his Ambassador's views, and the proposal being consequently set aside, the instructions to Austrian Ambassador here, which have been already reported, were decided on.

No. 322.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 240.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October 9*, 1875.

I RECEIVED, on the 3rd instant, a communication from Count Wolkenstein to the following effect:—

That the Austro-Hungarian Government had received information that the state of excitement in Servia was such as might easily produce an armed conflict with the Porte, and that they considered that all Europe was interested in preventing an extension of the present difficulties.

That, at the suggestion of the Russian Government, the Austro-Hungarian Government had sent instructions to their Agent at Belgrade to impress upon the Servian Government the necessity of abstaining from all acts which might give grounds to the Sublime Porte for asserting that Turkey had been attacked, and to announce to them that the Great Powers would be unable to preserve Servia from the Turkish occupation which they might bring upon themselves by the commission of aggressive acts.

Count Wolkenstein concluded by asking that Her Majesty's Government would support the Austro-Hungarian Agent at Belgrade in the language which he had been directed to hold.

In reply to this communication I have informed Count Wolkenstein that as the language which Her Majesty's Government has held since the beginning of the present disturbances has been uniformly in the sense of that which his Government now professes to hold, there was no need to make any change in the instructions given to Her Majesty's Agent at Belgrade; and that the Austrian Government might rely upon Her Majesty's Government continuing to use their utmost efforts to prevent any disturbance of the peace by Servia. I added, however, that if the identic representation was to be made in the terms of his communication to me, Her Majesty's Government would have no objection to Her Majesty's Agent at Belgrade joining in it, although he must be instructed at the same time to state that the advice it contained differed in no material point from that which Her Majesty's Government had given throughout the present crisis.

Instructions in the above sense were accordingly sent to Mr. White, by telegram, on the 6th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 323.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 11.)

(No. 18. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, October 2*, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that a few days ago a band of about seventy Montenegrins made a raid on the village of Shokolar, in the district of Berané, Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, and drove off a flock of some 200 sheep belonging to Mussulman proprietors. The Christian peasants however pursued them, and after a skirmish in which two of their number were wounded, recovered the sheep and restored them to their owners.

Telegraphic communication between this town and Constantinople has been finally re-established. It appears that the insurgents had completely destroyed the line for a distance of six hours. The posts had been burnt, and not a vestige of the wire was to be found.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. FREEMAN.

No. 324.

Mr. Malet to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 11.)

(No. 169. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Corfu, October 5*, 1875.

BARON DE MUNCH BELLINGHAUSEN, the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Athens, arrived at Corfu on the 27th ultimo from Vienna. He has informed me very confidentially that the Emperor, his Sovereign, had charged him to convey to the King of the Hellenes, in addition to the usual messages of goodwill, the expression of His Imperial Majesty's satisfaction at the attitude assumed by Greece in the present crisis in connection with Turkey and the rising in the Herzegovina.

The King appeared much pleased at receiving the message, and told the Austrian Minister that he should do his best to impress the same policy upon the Ministry which would shortly succeed the one at present in office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 325.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 11.)

(No. 333. Confidential.)

Vienna, October 7, 1875.

My Lord,

THE change of Ministry at Belgrade has given great satisfaction here, and Baron Hofmann has also spoken to me approvingly of the Sultan's recent "Iradé," admitting that it offered a basis on which the pacification of the insurgent provinces may be effected.

He said, however, that so many manifestoes of the kind had remained dead letters, that Austria-Hungary could not consider the question to be settled satisfactorily until the promises of the Sultan have been carried into effect in the Turkish provinces on her frontier, and some guarantee has been given for their being permanently fulfilled, so that she may hope that every cause for a recurrence of the present disturbance has been removed.

I answered that it would, however, be unreasonable to expect that the proposed measures could be adopted in provinces which have been in a state of insurrection, until tranquillity has been restored, and the insurgents have laid down their arms; but he rejoined that there was nothing to prevent their immediate adoption in Bosnia, though some time might elapse before the population could return to their villages, and a normal state of things be re-established in the Herzegovina.

With respect to guarantees, he gave no answer when I asked what guarantee could be given in a case of the kind, except the word of the Sultan, as I presumed no foreign Power pretended that it could intervene between His Imperial Majesty and his subjects.

One of my colleagues, however, whom I saw subsequently, also spoke of guarantees and intimated that a communication of the intentions of the Sultan might be made to the Ambassadors at Constantinople, who would have a right to require that promises made to them should be fulfilled; but this, I said, would be to renew the pretension which led to the Crimean war.

Baron Orczy having dined with me yesterday, I had some conversation with him on the subject, from which I was glad to learn that the guarantee which my colleague had suggested was not likely to meet with the approval of Count Andrassy. He expressed at the same time surprise that your Lordship had declined to join in the proposed notification of the Great Powers to the Government of Servia, and as I only received this morning your Lordship's telegram of yesterday on this subject, I said that, though I was unacquainted with the motives of your refusal, I thought it probable, as I believed you would have serious objections to take part in a conference for terminating the conflict between the Sultan and his subjects, that you may have been unwilling to join the other Powers in a proceeding which might possibly be the first step towards such a conference being proposed.

To this Baron Orczy replied that no one was less inclined to recommend a conference than Count Andrassy, and he stated confidentially that his Excellency had just sent telegraphic instructions to Count Zichy to assure the Grand Vizier that no such idea is entertained, and that he should consider a measure of the kind inexpedient and impolitic, as it is from the Sultan alone that remedial measures should emanate.

Baron Orczy then went on to say that, in his opinion, a most important element in bringing about the pacification of the country would be the selection of a Governor, for though no better man could be appointed than Server Pasha, his Excellency's position in the service is probably too high for him to be satisfied with the permanent governorship of Bosnia. He said Dervisch Pasha's rapacity and corruption had been so unbounded, that no bribe, however small, was rejected by him, and as the population had his exactions fresh in their memories, it was indispensable that the character and reputation of his successor should inspire them with confidence.

This opinion of Dervisch Pasha is very different from that entertained by Mr. Holmes; but, in reporting Baron Orczy's views as to the future, I have thought it right to report the information on which he has formed them.

He said also that the devasted state of the Herzegovina would offer a serious difficulty to the return of the population, unless the Porte made provision for their maintenance until the next harvest, as the foreign agitators, who had raised the country, had destroyed both villages and crops in order to force the peasants to join them.

He alluded likewise to the idea, which I have already brought before your Lordship's notice, of giving the peasants a proprietary interest in the land; but while he considers

that such a measure would greatly tend to promote tranquillity, and prevent future outbreaks, he admitted that it would be almost impossible for the Turkish Government to purchase the future good will of the Christians at the expense of the Mussulmans, who had proved loyal during the insurrection, and had assisted the authorities to suppress it. He did not see, however, he said, why the institutions existing in Crete might not be applicable to Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and I intimated that I believed he was singular in this opinion, and that it was generally acknowledged that the circumstances of Crete and the north-west provinces of Turkey were entirely different.

With reference to the numerous refugees in Austria-Hungary, he said, if the Porte did nothing to induce them to return to their homes, the Austrian Government could scarcely be expected to maintain them for an indefinite period without compensation.

His observations generally, and more especially on this point, appeared, however, to be merely expressions of his private opinions.

The Vienna newspapers of this morning publish a proclamation of Server Pacha to the refugees, stating that the Commissioners have been named to afford assistance to those who will return, and who may require it. On my inquiring, however, whether a copy of this document has been received at the Foreign Office, Baron Hofmann said he saw no reason to doubt its authenticity, but that no information had been received respecting it except through the Ragusan newspapers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 326.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord,

Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, Londres, le 8 Octobre, 1875.

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence la copie ci-incluse d'une dépêche de son Excellence Safvet Pacha, conjointement avec les traductions y annexées de différents télégrammes reçus des autorités Impériales relativement à l'état actuel de l'insurrection en Herzégovine, et aux déprédations commises par des bandes Serviennes.

Votre très dévoué, &c.

(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 326.

Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Le 22 Septembre, 1875.

JE m'empresse de transmettre ci-joint à votre Excellence, pour son information personnelle, la traduction des derniers télégrammes reçus de la part des autorités Impériales relativement aux événements de l'Herzégovine. Ces pièces vous inspireront le langage que vous avez à tenir autour de vous sur l'état actuel de l'insurrection, et sur les déprédations commises par des bandes Serbes.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) SAFVET.

Inclosure 2 in No. 326.

Telegrams received from Turkish Authorities respecting Affairs in Herzegovina.

Télégramme adressé à la Sublime Porte par Mehemmed Ali Pacha, Commandant de la Division de Yeni-Bazar, en date du 1 Septembre, 1875.

EN arrivant au défilé de Teherinov, qui est à une distance d'une heure et demie de Varouch, nous avons eu une rencontre avec une bande de 500 à 600 Serbes. En s'apercevant de notre arrivée ils ont donné le signal aux habitants en faisant une décharge d'armes à feu pour leur demander du secours. Nous avons fait immédiatement occuper par deux colonnes d'attaque les hauteurs qui dominent la gorge du défilé et avons fait marcher, en même temps, une autre dans le défilé même.

Les insurgés voyant la marche de nos troupes se sont retranchés derrière les fortifi-

cations qu'ils avaient élevées et ont tenté de les repousser; mais, n'ayant pas pu résister aux attaques de nos troupes, ils ont pris la fuite, en se dirigeant vers une vallée aboutissant à la frontière Serbe, et ont gagné le village de Radohina, d'où ils ont été poursuivis encore jusqu'à la ligne de démarcation Serbe. Nous avons pris un grand drapeau tricolore adopté par les Slaves. Dans ce combat les insurgés ont eu une vingtaine de morts, mais comme ils ont emportés avec eux leurs blessés nous n'avons pas pu savoir leur nombre. Nous avons déjà écrit aux autorités Serbes de les arrêter et de les désarmer. Les troupes Impériales ont eu en tout un mort et deux blessés.

Nous travaillons à obtenir aussi la soumission des insurgés qui se trouvent d'ici à une heure de distance.

L'attaque d'aujourd'hui a jété l'épouvante parmi tous les insurgés, qui ne tarderont pas, je pense, à se soumettre.

Télégramme adressé à la Sublime Porte par Mehemmed Ali Pacha, Commandant des Troupes Impériales à Yéni-Bazar, en date du 1 Septembre, 1875.

Parmi les insurgés Serbes que nous avons défaits, nous avons rendu prisonnier un certain Marian Schlonabovitch, natif du village de Jacovatch, dans le district d'Ozodja, ouvrier employé dans les carrières de pierres. D'après sa déposition l'Archimandrite de Bana s'était rendu, il y a un mois, à Belgrade, et sur l'ordre qu'il avait obtenu de la part de l'Administration Serbe au Sous-Gouverneur d'Ozitcha celui-ci lui avait fourni 200 fusils à canons rayés avec des munitions, qu'il avait fait transporter en deçà de la ligne de démarcation et à allumé l'insurrection dans le voisinage de [?]

Parmi les insurgés de ces localités il se trouve 50 Serbes et 70 Monténégrins.

Télégramme de Munil Pacha, Gouverneur de Yéni-Bazar, adressé à la Sublime Porte, en date du 2 Septembre, 1875.

Le Général Mehemmed Ali Pacha, parti hier de Yéni-Varich à la tête de sa division, a rencontré après une heure et demie de marche, une bande d'insurgés Serbes au nombre de 700 à 800 dans le défilé de Rodovana. Les troupes Impériales les ayant attaqués, ils ont pris la fuite et se sont réfugiés en Servie en laissant une vingtaine de morts. De notre côté, il n'y a eu qu'un mort et deux blessés. Les troupes Impériales doivent aujourd'hui se mettre en mouvement pour attaquer aussi les insurgés qui occupent le Monastère de Bana, qui est à une heure de distance du village de Peropoi. Immédiatement après leur expulsion on procédera au rétablissement des lignes télégraphiques de ces lieux.

Dans la nuit d'hier encore une bande nombreuse de Serbes a attaqué le village de Vladindja situé près de la ligne de démarcation. Ils y ont incendié neuf maisons et un grand nombre de greniers et d'écuries, en tuant un homme et un femme.

Ils ont pris la fuite devant les troupes qui y ont été expédiées et se sont réfugiés également en Serbie.

Les habitants de trois villages situés dans le voisinage de la ligne de démarcation de la Serbie transportent leurs familles dans l'intérieur.

Nous avons encore expédiés aujourd'hui deux compagnies de troupes de réserve pour protéger ces villages avec le concours de leurs habitants.

Les Serbes ne cessent d'occasionner de grands dommages aux villages Musulmans situés sur la ligne de démarcation.

Télégramme adressé à la Sublime Porte par le Général Mehemmed Ali Pacha, de Yéni-Varich, en date du 1/3 Septembre, 1875.

D'après les informations que j'ai pu prendre de source certaine, c'est l'Egumène du Couvent de Bana, le Pope Jauco, promoteur en chef de l'insurrection dans ces contrées, qui était à la tête des insurgés Serbes qui ont été battus Dimanche dernier et poursuivis jusqu'aux confins. Les troupes Impériales l'auraient rendus prisonniers si elles n'étaient pas obligés de s'arrêter à la ligne de démarcation.

Télégramme adressé à la Sublime Porte par les Autorités de Yéni-Bazar, en date du 6 Septembre, 1875.

Dans ces derniers temps les bandes Serbes n'ont fait qu'accentuer leurs actes d'empiètement.

En incendiant successivement les fortins, les douanes et les villages Musulmans, sis le long de la ligne de démarcation, ces malfaiteurs ont inspiré une terreur excessive à nos populations.

Des corps de garde composés de troupes et de réservistes ont été établis dans la mesure du possible sur les points jugés nécessaires; des détachements font la patrouille à pied et à cheval.

Cependant, les agresseurs franchissent la ligne de démarcation à la faveur de la nuit, et commettent des dépréd̈ations. Le peu de distance de cette ligne assure leur retraite et leur fuite. Quant aux nôtres, ils se trouvent dans l'impossibilité de poursuivre ces bandits au-delà des confins.

Vu la ruine qui menace ainsi dans un avenir prochain tous les villages Musulmans voisins, nous prions votre Altesse de vouloir bien aviser à ce que de droit.

Télégramme adressé à la Sublime Porte par le Mutessarif de Yéni-Bazar, en date du 6 Septembre, 1875.

Une foule de malfaiteurs Serbes ont attaqué ce Samedi vers le cinq heures de la nuit le village Musulman de Fiol, sis sur la ligne de démarcation, à deux heures de distance environ de Sénidjé.

Malgré leur résistance, les habitants n'ont pu tenir tête aux agresseurs, lesquels, après avoir incendié toutes les maisons du village au nombre de vingt et tant, se sont retirés en Serbie.

Le fait a été signalé immédiatement au Général de Division Mehemmed Ali Pacha; avis en a été également donné par télégraphe au Commandant-en-chef à Nisch.

L'attaque, renouvelé sans cesse depuis quelques jours, et l'incendie par les Serbes des villages, des douanes et des fortins sis sur la ligne de démarcation, continue à effrayer considérablement les esprits.

Télégramme adressé à la Sublime Porte par le Gouverneur-Général de Bosnie, en date du 11 Septembre, 1875.

Les Gouverneurs de Behki et de Banialouka m'assurent que les insurgés Serbes transportent par la Save des canons, des armes et des munitions en grande quantité dans des barques couvertes de nattes. Ces barques accostent la rive opposée, d'où des sujets Autrichiens les transportent clandestinement aux lieux de leur destination.

Un télégramme de notre Consul à Semlin confirme ces nouvelles et annonce qu'à Gradiska un Comité fournit des armes aux réfugiés et qu'un grand nombre d'individus passent du côté du Petit Zvornik.

Comme je l'ai déjà exposé dernièrement, les insurgés refugiés dans les Etats Autrichiens ne sont pas désarmés comme les règles l'exigent. C'est ce qui encourage encore plus les Serbes, qui en franchissent les confins et viennent exciter sans cesse les populations paisibles ainsi que ces réfugiés.

Pour ce qui est des autorités Autrichiennes, elles feignent de ne pas voir les actes de ces aventuriers.

A en juger par les circonstances actuelles, si cet état de choses continue le feu de l'insurrection qui a été éteint dernièrement sur le long des rives de la Save se rallumera d'une manière plus forte que précédemment.

Télégramme adressé au Ministère de la Guerre par le Gouverneur-Général de Bosnie, en date du 13 Septembre, 1875.

Le 8 de ce mois courant, les insurgés qui ont été attaqués par les troupes Impériales à une courte distance de Visgrad ont été battus et mis en déroute. Ils ont laissé sur place un passeport et d'autres papiers. D'après ces pièces il ne reste plus de doute que les Serbes ne se déclarent ouvertement et qu'ils ne franchissent les confins.

No. 327.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 11.)

(No. 419.)
My Lord, *Berlin, October 9, 1875.*

THE change of Ministry in Servia is considered a change for the better in Berlin, and Herr von Bülow is of opinion that there is now much less danger of further complications in European Turkey than heretofore.

M. de Marinovic enjoys the confidence of the German as well as of the Russian Governments, as I had the honour to report to your Lordship in May last, when he passed through Berlin on his way from Russia to Belgrade, and his accession to power is considered a further guarantee of peace.

The press has not ventured on any further advice in regard to the Herzegovina insurrection since the categorical declaration of the German Government in the "Official Gazette" that Germany would maintain an expectant and reserved attitude, and leave the initiative to Austria and Russia in devising means to improve the condition of the Christian population in Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 328.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. Malet.

(No. 48.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October 11, 1875.*

HER Majesty's Government have read with much interest and satisfaction your despatch No. 165 of the 25th ultimo, upon the present policy of Greece in her relations with Turkey. You will take every proper opportunity of expressing to M. Tricoupi the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the improved state of those relations, and at the same time encourage the Greek Government to follow steadfastly that friendly policy towards the neighbouring Power, which is so well calculated to promote the welfare of their own nation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 329.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 319.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October 11, 1875.*

I TRANSMIT, for your Excellency's information, copies of a despatch from Mr. Malet, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Athens, and of the answer which I have returned to it.*

You will perceive from Mr. Malet's despatch that the Greek Government have apparently entered upon a new and friendly policy towards Turkey, which Her Majesty's Government consider it very important to encourage.

Whether this policy is merely the result of the personal convictions of M. Tricoupi, or is, as he himself maintains, a national policy, which any Greek Government, in the present state of affairs, will feel itself bound to adopt, it is equally to be wished that the Porte should strengthen and confirm the disposition thus shown by a correspondingly friendly attitude. Your Excellency will, therefore, take every opportunity of calling the attention of the Turkish Government to the new state of things that has arisen, and will impress upon them the expediency of taking advantage of it.

The policy indicated by M. Tricoupi is opposed to the traditions of Greece, and will not improbably have to encounter much popular prejudice; it is the more important, therefore, that its good results should be made obvious to the Greek Government and people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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* Nos. 267 and 328.

No. 330.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 12.)

(No. 22. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, September 28, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for the information of your Lordship, a copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, relating to Servian inroads into the south of Bosnia, and to the tranquillity which reigns in my Consular district.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 330.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Salonica, September 28, 1875.*

ACCORDING to recent intelligence received here from private sources, it seems that bands of Servian volunteers continue to cross the border into Bosnia between Yeni-Bazaar and Novo-Varosh; that they are invariably defeated and driven back by the Turkish troops; and that the Christian peasants on this side of the border are quiet and take no part in these inroads.

In Monastir, Serres, Uscup, Larissa, Drama, and other chief centres in my Consular district, perfect tranquillity reigns, and the taxes continue to be regularly paid. I am also glad to add that the prediction that there would be a revival of brigandage in the Greek frontier provinces consequent upon the removal of Mehmed Ali Pasha has not been fulfilled so far. On the contrary, the brigand Chief Rappos, with three or four followers, has very recently surrendered himself to the Ottoman authorities in Thessaly.

As regards military preparations, no further troops have arrived at Salonica since the date of my last Report.

Ammunition and military stores continue to be dispatched daily to Novi-Bazaar.

The three battalions of Thessaly Rediffs have embarked at Volo in Government steamers, and left that place on the 18th to be landed, I believe, at Antivari.

Large supplies of breech-loaders, cartridges, and gunpowder have been dispatched to Prisrend, the chief town in North Albania.

Yesterday morning 140 tons of gunpowder were conveyed by the railway to Pristina, destined for Prisrend.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 331.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 12.)

(No. 57. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, October 6, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of the Declaration or "Note Verbale" presented to the Servian Foreign Office jointly on this day by the (Agents) Consuls-General of five of the Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris in 1856.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 331.

Déclaration presented jointly on behalf of their respective Governments, by the Consuls-General of the five undermentioned Powers, to the Servian Government, on the 6th of October, 1875.

LES Représentants de l'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, de l'Italie, et de Russie, Puissances Signataires du Traité de Paris et garantes de l'autonomie de la Serbie, sont chargés de recommander vivement au Gouvernement Princier, dans l'intérêt même du pays, de s'abstenir de toute mesure pouvant fournir à la Porte un prétexte pour se dire attaquée, et de déclarer que ces Puissances se verraient dans l'impossibilité de se prévaloir du Traité de 1856 pour préserver la Principauté d'une occupation Turque si le Gouvernement Serbe se livrait à des actes aggressifs contre la Porte.

No. 332.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 14.)

(No. 56.) *Bucharest, October 6, 1875.*

My Lord,

ON reading a telegram in the "Times," to the effect that the Government of Servia had inquired at Bucharest what would be the attitude of Roumania in the event of Servia declaring war against Turkey, I inquired of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Boerescu being still absent) whether there was any truth in the report.

He said it was entirely untrue; that the only colour for the statement was that the Servian Agent here had asked, as I had done, whether the military concentrations were intended as a demonstration against Turkey, and that the same reply was given to him as to me, namely, that the concentrations were only for the ordinary military divisional exercises; that no demonstration of any sort was intended, and that the Roumanian Government firmly intended to maintain the strict neutrality they had hitherto observed in a question with which, however much they might sympathise with their co-religionists, it was no business of theirs to meddle.

I believe that the Roumanian Agents abroad will receive instructions formally to contradict the report.

In consequence of the dismissal of the Servian Ministry, M. Marniovitch, the Servian Conservative leader, has been telegraphed for, and he left Bucharest for Belgrade yesterday. I have already informed your Lordship that he has more than once expressed to me his strong disapproval of the foreign policy of the late Government of Servia with respect to the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

The unofficial Government newspaper, the "Journal de Bucarest," states to-day that General Floresco, the Minister of War, has received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Medjidié, and his two Aides-de-camp the Cross of Officer of the same Order.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. VIVIAN.

No. 333.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. White.

(No. 6.) *Foreign Office, October 14, 1875.*

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch No. 53 of the 4th instant, respecting the joint representations made by your colleagues to the Servian Government regarding its relations with the Porte, I transmit herewith, for your information and guidance, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna on that subject.*

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

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* No. 322.

No. 334.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 15.)

(Confidential.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 14, 1875.*

NEGOTIATIONS appear to have been renewed at Vienna between three Powers for a demand to be made upon the Porte for reforms in Bosnia.

I learn from General Ignatiew that Count Andrassy said that he could put no faith in those promised or given by the Turks, and that the Powers must state what they expect.

The General believes, however, that Count Andrassy has at last consented that it shall be left to the Porte to declare and carry out the reforms.

He was on the point of going for a few days to the Crimea to see the Emperor, but delayed his departure till this was arranged. He expects to go next week.

No. 335.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 15, 1875.*

I HAVE sent the following telegram to Mr. Holmes:—

"If you have an opportunity, endeavour to make Server Pasha understand the importance of giving immediate effect to the reforms announced by the Porte.

"You have said that good might be expected from appointment of Christians in the local government, and it is understood that Server Pasha has sufficient authority to make such appointments. You can tell him officially and confidentially from me that I consider it specially important that he should do this without delay. He will incur much blame if he shrinks from the responsibility which his position renders necessary."

No. 336.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 16.)

(No. 42.)

My Lord, *Scutari, le 5 Octobre, 1875.*

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie ci-joint copie de la dépêche que j'ai adressée aujourd'hui à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople, au sujet des combats qui ont eu lieu dans le district de Goutsigné, entre les Turcs et les insurgés; concernant le débloquement de la ville de Niksitch par les troupes Impériales; un échange de notes entre l'autorité locale et le Gouvernement du Monténégro; et enfin, sur la gravité des événements qui se déroulent dans l'Herzégovine.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure in No. 336.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Scutari, le 5 Octobre, 1875.*

EN rapport à ma dernière dépêche, datée 28 du mois dernier, j'ai l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence que dans le district de Goutsigné ont eu lieu des autres engagements entre les Turcs et les insurgés; toutefois Ali Bey, Commandant des Turcs, a débloqués les trois routes qui avaient été cernés par les révoltés, qui ont eu à déplorer des pertes sensibles, tandis que les Turcs ont à regretter des pertes moins graves.

En outre les Généraux de Division Chevket et Selim Pachas, qui combattent dans l'Herzégovine, ont marchés à la tête de cinq bataillons et demi de troupes régulières pour débloquer la ville de Niksitch, et, malgré les efforts des insurgés pour les en empêcher, ils ont atteint le but qu'ils se proposaient et en livrant plusieurs combats victorieux ont pénétrés dans la place, et après l'avoir ravitaillée pour quelques semaines et y avoir

augmentée la garnison d'un autre bataillon, ils sont partis de nouveau pour combattre la révolte.

Ayant eu connaissance du résultat heureux de la marche de ces généraux vers Niksitch, le Mutessarif de Scutari a adressé un télégramme au Prince du Monténégro lui demandant s'il permettait qu'on y envoyât des approvisionnements par voie du Monténégro, venant en suite les retirer aux frontières les troupes de Niksitch. En réponse le Prince lui télégraphia qu'à ce propos il allait lui répondre par lettre, et d'après à ce que je sais, jusqu'à présent le Mutessarif de Scutari n'a reçu aucune dépêche de son Altesse sur ce sujet.

En outre, je dois soumettre à votre Excellence un autre échange de notes qui a eu lieu entre l'autorité locale et le Gouvernement de Cettigné.

Un négociant de Niksitch, certain Hussein Bey Musovich, vient d'être assassiné sur les frontières du Monténégro, où il s'était rendu pour ses affaires commerciales.

Le Mutessarif de Scutari réclama auprès du Prince, qui lui répondit avouant le fait et l'assurant qu'il avait donnés à ses capitaines les ordres les plus sevères pour trouver les coupables et que les mesures les plus rigoureuses avaient été prises pour empêcher répétition de ces crimes.

En ce qui concerne l'attitude du Monténégro vis-à-vis des événements assez graves qui se déroulent dans l'Herzégovine, nul doute qu'il continue à aider les insurgés, toutefois il a lieu à croire que si la Serbie continue à rester en paix, le Monténégro ne commencera pas le guerre ; et d'après ce que nous savons du théâtre de l'insurrection, tantôt ce sont les Turcs qui ont le dessous ; tantôt, et le plus souvent, les insurgés ; chaque jour ont lieu des combats entre eux. A la longue cet état de choses deviendrait plus difficile encore, si les Commandants des troupes Impériales dans l'Herzégovine ne feront pas des efforts énergiques pour étouffer au plutôt possible le soulèvement avant qu'il ne prenne des proportions plus menaçantes encore, et éclatant même dans la voisine Bosnie. Nul doute qu'alors la répression ne pourra plus s'effectuer qu'en livrant bataille sur bataille et en versant à flots du sang ; d'ailleurs, à ce que l'on dit, il est fort possible que même dans l'état actuel, les insurgés puissent prolonger la lutte dans les districts montagneux du pays, qui est propre aux guérillas, en attendant qu'enfin l'on intervienne en leur faveur.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 337.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 326. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 16, 1875.

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me at Knowsley on the 9th instant, having, as he said, been desired by the Emperor to do so, in order that he might explain the general view taken by his Government of the insurrection in Herzegovina and Bosnia, and ascertain how far it met with the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government. He had lately, he said, had an interview with Prince Gortchakow, whom he had found much preoccupied on the subject, and inclined to take a gloomy view of the possible results. A long conversation followed, principally of an unofficial and friendly character, from which I gathered that it was not the wish of the Russian Government to lay before that of Her Majesty any specific proposition for acceptance or rejection, but simply to learn whether, and to what extent, the policy of the two countries was likely to be in accordance. It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate the statement of facts with which Count Schouvaloff began his explanation, and which he entered into, apparently, with a view to see how far the reports which I had received from your Excellency tallied with those which had reached St. Petersburgh. I could observe no material difference, with the single exception that Count Schouvaloff appeared to consider the insurgent force as more formidable than I had been led to believe. He spoke of the danger of Montenegro and Servia being induced to join in the movement as one which the Great Powers, and especially his own Government, had done their utmost to avert, but he could not even now feel entirely certain of success. He described the insurgents as being, like the Carlists in Spain, able to hold out for a great length of time in their own country, even though outnumbered and unable to move beyond it. To this I objected, that from the slowness and apathy of the Turks in the earlier stages of the revolt, the insurgent leaders had had every opportunity of making use of their force, being for a considerable time virtually unopposed; that, nevertheless, they did not appear to have accomplished any result except burning and plundering in their own immediate neighbourhood; that the Turkish army was now very numerous, and, whatever might be its state of discipline, certainly superior to anything that could be brought against it; that the Servian authorities and people, whatever might be their sympathies, would think twice before they committed themselves to the support of a movement which, without the help of the Great Powers, was manifestly hopeless; in short, that the Porte might reasonably feel itself strong enough to deal with the insurrection for itself, if only allowed to do so.

Count Schouvaloff pointed out in reply, that whatever might be the superiority of the Porte in military strength, the expenses of such an army as it was obliged to maintain in the disturbed districts would fall heavily on a bankrupt exchequer; that if Servia were to join, which was not impossible, the result might be more doubtful than I supposed; and that in any case the war, if protracted, would assume a character of barbarism which would make it difficult for other Powers not to interfere. He also laid stress on the right of the Powers to claim some gratitude from the Porte for the exertions they had made, since the beginning of these troubles, to prevent their assuming a more serious character.

The general result of this preliminary discussion was, that no very wide divergence of opinions existed between us as to the state of matters with which we had to deal, although it was evident that the Russian Government regarded the danger to Turkey as greater, and the risk of the insurrection extending as more formidable, than I had done.

Count Schouvaloff then went on to disclaim, in strong terms, any desire on the part of Russia to weaken the Porte, or to raise the Eastern Question again. He referred confidentially to a conversation in which Count Andrassy, summing up the points on which the Russian and Austrian Governments were agreed, had said, either to himself or to some other Russian official, "We will raise no Polish agitation, you will raise no Sclave agitation, and as for the Eastern Question let it be relegated to the Greek Kalends." The Emperor, he said, was determined to act on this programme, and he did not doubt but that the same might be said of the Austrian Government.

As I expressed satisfaction at this latter statement, and perhaps showed an absence of entire conviction, Count Schouvaloff repeated that whatever advice might have been given by any Austrian authorities, or whatever language might have been held, he was well assured that neither Count Andrassy nor any of his colleagues desired the increase of the Sclave population of Austria. It was already to them a difficulty and a trouble, which they certainly would not go out of their way to aggravate. To this I replied that I was glad to hear what he said as to Austrian intentions. With regard to those of the Russian Government, I had no difficulty in accepting his assurances, and less so as the language and conduct of General Ignatiew since these disturbances broke out had been in strict conformity with them. The wish of his Government, Count Schouvaloff said, was to induce the insurgents to lay down their arms, and to persuade the Porte to take such steps as might, without in any way endangering the unity of the Empire, prevent such outbreaks in future. They entirely repudiated the idea of local autonomy, such as had been granted to Roumania and Servia; nor did they desire to see any such arrangement as had been made for the Lebanon. Better government, administrative and fiscal reforms, but especially the latter, were wanted, and beyond this their advice would not go. Did Her Majesty's Government take the same view?

I answered that I agreed entirely as to the first part, believing that the Roumanian and Servian precedents did not apply to the case of a mixed population like that of the districts now in revolt, and that I equally concurred in the principle of improving the local and especially the financial administration of the districts in question.

He would clearly understand that I could pledge myself to no details, nor did I understand that he wished me to do so, to which Count Schouvaloff assented.

I went on to say that whatever advice we might give at Constantinople, it seemed to me essential that the reforms which might be made should proceed from the initiative of the Porte, and not appear to be extorted by foreign pressure. This also, Count Schouvaloff said, agreed with the views of his Government.

I expressed to Count Schouvaloff the satisfaction I felt at the result of our interview, and at the good understanding which existed between our Governments.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 338.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 327. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, October 18, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatches Nos. 596 and 597 of the 26th of September; relative to the instructions which General Ignatiew proposed to send to the Consuls at Mostar, and in reply I have to convey to you my approval of the language which you held to your colleagues on this subject, and of the modified instructions which you addressed to Mr. Consul Holmes, directing him to abstain from joining in any collective project of arrangement.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 339.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 328.)

Foreign Office, October 18, 1875.

Sir,

IN reply to your Excellency's despatch No. 605 of the 28th of September, I have to convey to you my approval of the instructions which you have addressed to Mr. Consul Holmes, directing him to report on the grievances of the people, and the means best adapted, in his opinion, to remedy them, but warning him at the same time to adhere to the course prescribed in his original instructions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 340.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 329. Confidential.)

Foreign Office, October 18, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 606, Confidential, of September 28, reporting a conversation which you had had with the French Ambassador on the subject of the proposal of certain of the Consuls at Mostar for an armistice and a Conference at Ragusa, and, in reply, I have to state to you that I approve the language which you held on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 341.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October* 18.)

(No. 8.)

Mostar, September 30, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of my despatch of the 28th instant addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, containing the details of my mission to the insurgents near Nevessine, with observations suggested by the present state of affairs in this country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 341.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Mostar, September 28, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE already reported to your Excellency in various telegrams the general result of our mission to the insurgents. I will now relate some of the details.

On the 12th instant I arrived at Nevessine, with my French and Russian colleagues.

We found all the eastern part of the town towards the plain, and all the bazaar, burnt and in ruins. Dead bodies were lying in various corners unburied; and we noticed the head of a boy in one of the streets blackening in the sun. A little Turkish girl was brought to us, wounded in the throat, and we were told that an insurgent was on the point of cutting off her head when she was snatched from him by another less bloodthirsty, and allowed to escape. We were told that, as far as could be ascertained, some fifty or sixty persons perished on both sides during the attack.

We remained at Nevessine until the 15th, arranging a meeting with the insurgents, which was fixed for that day, at a certain spot in the vicinity of the village of Biograd or Belgrad, two hours' distant from Nevessine. We encamped there, and were met by about thirty insurgents, the Chiefs of whom seemed to be a certain Juro Simovitch, formerly Christian member of the Medjlis at Nevessine, and Costa Prodan, Hodja Bashi of Trussina. We declared to them, on the part of our respective Governments, that they could hope for no assistance from any of the European Powers, or from Servia or Montenegro. We represented to them the hopeless nature of their revolt, the sufferings they would experience, the misery and privation they would inflict on their families; and advised them to put an end to this state of affairs by laying down their arms, and stating all their grievances to Server Pasha. We explained to them that his Excellency was specially sent by the Sultan, who was most anxious that justice should be done, and that they should be freed from oppression and live in peace. They replied that they had no faith in the Turks; they had had the same promises before, and had been deceived; that they dared not, and would not, lay down their arms, and could not return to their homes and villages, as they had none left to return to: all had been destroyed, as they declared, by the Turks. They then began to expatiate on their grievances, which were chiefly the extortion and cruelty of their Agas, and the zaptiehs sent among them. We told them that these matters were precisely what Server Pasha had come to inquire into, and punish the guilty, and it was to him they should explain their grievances.

They then begged us to wait a day or two, while they sent for some of their leaders from other parts of the country, who would come without fail on or before the 19th, and we agreed to do so.

During our stay every day, and all day long, separately and together, we were obliged to listen to the complaints of the insurgents who remained with us, and to repeat to them the same reply—that it was to Server Pasha, and not to us, that these matters must be presented.

In the course of our interviews we were constantly asked whether the Powers would guarantee the execution of justice and reform. We replied that we were merely charged to give them friendly advice as to the best means of relieving themselves from the difficulties in which they were involved, but that they might be sure the Turkish Government was sincere in its promises, and that the attention of Europe having been drawn to their affairs, the Government could not deceive them without serious loss of honour, and damage to its own vital interests. They asked why Server Pasha had not come with us, and why the Delegates of Austria, Germany, and Italy were not with us, if they had the same message to give them. We replied that we had nothing to do with Server Pasha; that we were not acting as Turkish agents, but simply as friendly messengers from the European Governments, who, disapproving the means they were adopting to obtain their desires, had sent us to advise them what course they had best pursue, and that we had not come in one body in order to save time, as, while we were here with them, the other Delegates had gone to the neighbourhood of Trebigné, and along the Dalmatian frontier.

They repeatedly declared that they were, and wished to remain, faithful subjects of the Sultan, taking off their caps at the mention of his name, but that His Majesty was deceived by his Pashas, and could not be aware of their condition. We again pointed to Server Pasha's mission, this time proceeding direct from the Sultan as a proof to the contrary.

In short, the result was that unless Europe would guarantee their safety from their Agas and the authorities, and that the reforms promised should be really carried out, they dared not and would not lay down their arms.

While we were at Belgrade, the insurgents repeatedly expressed a fear that they would be attacked by the Turks. One night they nearly all left us, fearing an attack from Hojuk, a neighbouring Turkish village which they had not been able to destroy. We assured them that while we were with them we did not think they would be molested.

We had several zaptiehs with us as guides, as well as our cavasses, all of whom were in abject fear the whole time of our stay, as the insurgents, while we were absent, did not hesitate to express their sentiments of hatred and vengeance against all Turks.

On the 18th, Jovan Giumbetta, the Hodja Bashi of Stolatz, came with a few followers, and our interviews with them were to the same purpose, and with the same results as with

the others. We were told that, as their chief leaders were engaged in active operations, they could not probably come to meet us, but if they could, they would see us the next day at Trussina, on our way to Dabar. We had previously intended to go to Gatzko, but the insurgents assured us that it would be useless, as their people were dispersed in the mountains defending themselves against Selim Pasha.

On the 19th we left Belgrade, accompanied by a small band of insurgents, and at Trussina we met with about an hundred and fifty more, but no other leading men beyond those we had already seen. We dismounted near a fountain and had a last interview, in which the same questions and statements were made as at previous meetings—the same replies on our part, and with the same result. At parting, the insurgents said that if we would go to the neighbourhood of Bilekia, they would meet us there, and we should perhaps be able to see many others, as the chief body of insurgents was between Bilekia and Trebigné. They said if we went they should see us and join us; if not, they would send a final message to us at Stolatz before the 22nd, but still repeated that they would not submit.

We left them with the intention of proceeding, if possible, to Bilekia. On the way to Stolatz, however, whither we had decided to go first in the hope of receiving some intelligence of our colleagues, we met a certain Ali Pasha, with a couple of battalions, provisions, and ammunition, proceeding in the direction from which we had come. I stopped and spoke to the Pasha, and asked him where he was going. He made a mystery of the matter, and replied, "Oh, here, there, or anywhere I like." I then left him, and ordered my cavass to inquire of some of the soldiers in charge of the baggage where they were going. My cavass found some friends from Serajevo amongst them, and they informed him that they were going to attack the insurgents we had just left next morning before daybreak. I felt very indignant, as did my colleagues, at this unworthy attempt, as it seemed, to profit by the fact of our having assembled together a certain number of insurgents, to attack them when off their guard. On arriving at Stolatz, the Kaimakam also stated that an attack was to be made on the insurgents we had left, and on my expressing my disapproval of this proceeding, he appeared struck with the idea that he had said too much, and stammered out that he did not know, that he rather thought the troops were marching to Bilekia with provisions for the garrison there. The Governor-General had been at Stolatz, and had only left for Mostar two hours before our arrival.

That evening my colleagues and myself came to the conclusion that the Governor-General, who was perfectly acquainted with our whereabouts, had ordered the expedition to surprise the insurgents. He did not, however, know when we intended to leave them, and therefore he had acted without the slightest regard for the consequences which might result to ourselves and to our mission, and that this proceeding rendered perfectly useless our going to Bilekia or anywhere else, as the insurgents who might escape would naturally warn their comrades of the danger of meeting to confer with us.

We heard at Stolatz, also, that our colleagues were at Trebigné and Zupci, and would therefore meet the Chiefs of the rebels, who were all in that direction. We waited till the 22nd, and, not having received any message from the insurgents at Trussina, as promised, we returned to Mostar.

On the 23rd I spoke to the Governor-General about the expedition to Trussina, and he first said that Ali Pasha had not orders to attack the insurgents there, but the affair was brought on accidentally by the insurgents attacking a convoy. I said it might have been a very serious thing for us if it had happened one day sooner, and he immediately replied that he had given a certain Omer Bey, an officer on the staff, strict orders to attend to our safety. Now, if he had done this before the expedition started from Stolatz, where he was at the time, he must have contemplated the attack; and his statement as to its being a mere accident was clearly untrue. I mentioned it also to Server Pasha, who seemed embarrassed what to say about it.

Our colleagues of Austria, Germany, and Italy arrived at Mostar on the 23rd, with the same impressions and the same results as ourselves.

The Chiefs of the insurgents demand an European intervention and an armistice to allow them to consult and assemble at any place which might be fixed to discuss their affairs. They do not, and never have desired independence or annexation to Montenegro, but they wish to remain Turkish subjects under very extensive administrative reforms, the execution of which to be guaranteed by Europe.

Whatever your Excellency may hear to the contrary, I can assure you that, in the Herzegovina, the only part of the people wishing for annexation to Montenegro are the districts adjoining the frontier from Sutorina to Kolashine. These districts are mere rocks, the scanty population herdsmen; and they are a burden rather than a profit to Turkey. The frontier districts of Bilekia receive annually:—

	Piastres.	Piastres.
From the Government for the pay of Pandours	124,000	
And pay for taxes	93,284	
Which leaves a charge on the Government of	.....	30,716
The districts of Trebigné receive	123,000	
And pay for taxes	54,400	
		68,600
Those of Pira receive	128,250	
And pay for taxes	108,594	
		19,656
		118,972

Thus these districts are an absolute annual loss to the Porte of about 119,000 piastres. They enjoy the most entire independence, and yet they rise against the Turks on the first occasion. The Government had better concede them to Montenegro as soon as possible. This would render much easier the defence of the rest of the Herzegovina, which desires to remain what it is, only better governed. In Bosnia, almost to a man, the population would refuse to be annexed to Servia or Austria, and they have never dreamt of independence, which, from the nature of circumstances and the state of education, is impracticable. They also only wish to be Turkish subjects, but to be governed with justice, and placed on an equality in law with the Mussulman compatriots.

There is no doubt that the Mussulmans and Christians agree much better in Bosnia than in the Herzegovina, where there is much more oppression to complain of; at the same time, acquainted as I am with the social condition of the country during fifteen years, I do not hesitate to declare that the oppression in the Herzegovina in general is greatly exaggerated by the Christians, and that the discontent which undoubtedly exists against most of the chief Turkish landowners and against the zaptiehs and tax-farmers has been the excuse rather than the cause of the revolt, which was assuredly arranged by Servian agitators and accomplished by force. The mass of the inhabitants, unarmed, had no choice. Their homes were devastated and their lives threatened, and they were ordered to follow their leaders. And now the ruin is such that those who wish to submit cannot. They have no homes to go to, and the armed bands threaten all who breathe a whisper of submission. These bands are all formed of a mixture of people from different parts of the country, and all mutually watch each other to prevent any combination to submit.

The ruin and devastation in the plain of Nevessine and along all the Dalmatian frontier, and wherever the insurgents have passed, is piteous to behold, and renders any satisfactory arrangement more hopeless than it would otherwise have been.

The military authorities hope in the course of ten or fifteen days to have a free of 20,000 men in the Herzegovina, and to be able to drive the insurgents and the foreigners who aid them beyond the frontiers. But this will be no termination of the struggle. The armed bands, who know all the passes and traverse the rocky mountains with incredible swiftness and facility, will always manage to continue a harrassing guerilla warfare. The winter will soon arrive, and the masses of fugitives, men, women, and children, in Dalmatia and Montenegro, will augment the prevailing excitement. Server Pasha seems to be utterly perplexed as to what steps to take. No insurgents have submitted and none have returned to their ruined villages. Many would do so, no doubt, were they permitted and had homes to go to, but, as a fact, nothing of the kind has happened, notwithstanding the telegrams I have seen published to the contrary. No one will communicate even with Server Pasha, who, in spite of all his Proclamations, finds he can do nothing.

Under these circumstances, I foresee either the necessity of European intervention, to which there are many obvious objections, and to which the Turkish Government will not readily consent, or, failing this, an armed intervention on the part of Austria, who will not be able to permit this state of affairs to be prolonged. What may be the consequences of such a proceeding, your Excellency is better able to judge than myself, but I think that the former alternative will be preferable to the latter for all parties, and particularly for Turkey.

Your Excellency will observe that I have passed over the grievances of which the insurgents complain in a few general terms, because I think that at present the principal question is how to put an end as soon as possible to the actual state of affairs, which is apparently a complete deadlock. When it becomes a question of redressing these grievances, I can give your Excellency every possible information regarding them, and, without exaggeration, they are sufficiently serious, and urgently require attention.

I cannot conclude, however, without asking, supposing an European intervention to be accorded, how it will be possible to guarantee reforms, which, with the best intentions at Constantinople, it will be so difficult to carry out. The present laws are admitted to

be generally good, but the complaint is, that they are not fulfilled. Who will be the agents charged with the execution of new ones? Will they not be the same ordinary provincial authorities of the Empire, in concert with the chief men of the country—the very Beys of whom the people complain? Will not the Provincial Councils consist precisely of these same people, who are ignorant, fanatical, and opposed to all progress? But, even admitting the possibility of administrative reform, how will it be possible to reconcile the Christian and Mussulman population after the terrible destruction of property and the mutual cruelties and bloodshed, which have raised an apparently insuperable barrier between them? Can Europe, or even Turkey, extinguish the feelings of vengeance for wives, sisters, and children murdered, and homesteads obliterated, with which the Mussulmans are animated? And can Europe guarantee the Christians from the effects of this intense animosity? These are grave questions. It will require years to efface the impressions which have been engendered, and, in the meantime, I confess, I see no means of restoring confidence and harmony.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 342.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October* 18.)

(No. 10.)
My Lord, *Mostar, October* 6, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two despatches, dated the 5th of October, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, regarding late occurrences in the Herzegovina, and the reforms it would be advisable for the Porte to announce, with remarks on the present situation of affairs here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 342.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, October 5*, 1875.

SINCE I left Mostar for Nevessine several encounters between the troops and the insurgents have occurred, resulting in favour of the latter.

On the 15th September the rebels, under Tope Simoviteh attacked a convoy of flour, escorted by Nedjib Pasha, at a place called Jassen, between Bilekia and Trebigné, when they killed some twenty-seven baggage-horses, and captured others. The Turks deny these details, but the Austrian, Italian, and German delegates were convinced that they were true. The number of killed on both sides could not be ascertained.

On the 19th, Peiko Paulovitch captured at Drieno, on the road from Ragusa to Trebigné, a convoy, almost without escort, of fifty-two mules, laden with coffee, flour, and sugar. The animals belonged to Dalmatians, and the merchandize to the contractor for the Turkish army, Pasko Kaisiteh. The Turks at Trebigné, on learning this, sent two battalions, with a number of bashi-bozuks and zaptiehs, to recover the convoy. Peiko Paulovitch, however, went to Slivnitza, not far from Drieno, to which he set fire; and the troops, seeing the smoke, proceeded in that direction. In the meantime Paulovitch had sent to Lubobratitch for assistance, who advanced from Grab, and thus the Turks were taken between two fires. They were severely beaten, though they admit only 25 soldiers, 6 agas, and 8 zaptiehs killed; but a certain Signor Monteverdi, correspondent of the Havas agency, who is here, declares that a day or two afterwards he counted no less than eighty Turkish heads collected by the roadside. The wounded were numerous. The convoy was not recovered, but taken by the insurgents to a secret place in the mountains, where, the above-named gentleman states, they have collected an incredible quantity of provisions of all kinds taken from the Turks.

On the 29th, Peiko Paulovitch attacked a convoy coming from Kleck to Stolutz, and there, again, according to Signor Monteverdi, the Turks had many baggage-horses killed, and others taken, laden with ammunition. He also saw there some fifty heads of Turkish soldiers. The Governor-General denied to me that the Turks had lost anything, or any

horses, and only admitted some eight or ten killed; but I think that his Excellency must be egregiously deceived by his officers, or that he will not state the truth. I heard from Turkish sources accounts much more in accordance with Signor Monteverdi's version of the affair than with that of the Governor-General.

Another affair occurred the day before yesterday, of which I have not many details. It would appear that the insurgents drove off a large number of cattle belonging to the Turks at Trebigné. The latter pursued them, but they concealed themselves, and, allowing the Turks to pass on, returned to Trebigné, and set fire to the houses surrounding the fortress. The Turks, seeing this, returned, and were then attacked. Many are said to have been killed, and they also lost their cattle.

These are but incidents which may be expected to occur frequently as long as the revolt continues, and, from the nature of circumstances, must almost always result in favour of the insurgents, who watch a favourable moment, who choose their own ground, where they are sheltered by rocks, and who never attack or resist the troops when in much force. These incidents encourage the insurgents, and furnish them with provisions for the future.

I think these affairs would not have happened so often if Dervish Pasha had been left in command. When he was withdrawn the insurgents felt as if they had gained a victory, as he is, perhaps, the only Turkish General they dread on account of his activity and energy, and his perfect knowledge of the country. His successor has as yet done nothing of any importance. It is true that Shefket Pasha has relieved the little garrison at Piva, and also, I believe, at Nicksitch; but where the troops march in force they find no serious resistance, and generally no enemy.

The principal Chiefs of the insurgents are—Liubobratitch, of Zupci, who affects the title of Voivode of the Herzegovina; Pope Simoviteh, of Dabra; Pope Milenti, of Bilekia; Milichevitch, of Nevessine; Pope Zarko, of Gatzko; Pope Milo, of Piva; Bostina, of H'rasno; and Pecko Paulovitch, a Montenegrin. Of all these Paulovitch is the man of action, and may be considered as General-in-chief. He arranges all these attacks on the convoys. His forced marches are wonderful, and the Turks never know when or where he may next appear.

In attacking the Turkish convoys the insurgents always fire first upon the horses, which, wounded and dying, produce confusion among the escort, and distract their attention. Latterly, instead of cutting off the heads of their enemies, they are said to content themselves with their noses only. They are for the most part armed with native guns; but a considerable number have muskets, chiefly purchased in Dalmatia. Their number is estimated at between 6,000 and 7,000, but they are scattered in small bands all over the mountains. They have scouts stationed in every direction, and, when needed in any particular place, the word is passed by these scouts, and, as if by magic, some thousands assemble in a few hours. The occasion past, they disappear, immediately to collect again, perhaps in some locality where their presence is least expected. Should they chance to be hard pressed by the troops, which is not likely under commanders quite ignorant of the country, they can always escape across the Montenegrin or Dalmatian frontier.

Thus the insurrection seems likely to be indefinitely prolonged. In the meantime three-quarters of the Herzegovina are in ruins, and, among its other embarrassments, the Porte would do well to think of the approaching winter and next spring, when there will be something very like famine in those regions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 342.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, October 5*, 1875.

IN answer to your Excellency's telegram of the 3rd, I replied:—

"Many other reforms required, particularly of tribunals, forced labour, employment of Christians, and stability of authorities unless after legal condemnation. Reforms granted will be probably attributed to fear, and will encourage insurgents. The question is to suppress the insurrection without delay. Concessions become useless before the insurmountable distrust of insurgents, who require a guarantee for their execution. This is the difficulty."

In answer to that of to-day's date, I have telegraphed:—

"The estimate of the insurgents is correct. The people in general may wish to submit, but their Chiefs will not allow them. Server Pasha will publish the reforms granted, which will reassure the districts which have not revolted, but will not, I think, influence insurgents. The best guarantee the Porte could give for the execution of reforms would be the immediate nomination of some superior Christian authorities."

The reforms which ought to be announced, as well for Bosnia as for the rest of the Empire, are as follows:—

1. The abolition of tithes, and their conversion into a land-tax.

2. A tax, according to individual wealth and position, to be substituted for the tax in lieu of military service, called "askerich," which at present weighs most unjustly on the poor.

3. The four days' labour on roads, demanded from each individual, to be replaced by a tax to be specially affected to the construction of roads; the money to be kept and administered in the Province.

4. Legal election by the people of the members of the different councils ("Medjliss"), and their thorough reform.

5. Abolition of the tax on sheep, replaced by a tax on individual and communal pasturages.

6. Reorganization of the tribunals, choice of proper and honest functionaries, and admission of Christian evidence.

7. Immobility of functionaries, except after trial and condemnation.

8. Admission of Christians into the police force, and the reorganization of that body.

9. Abolition of every kind of forced labour, both by man and horses.

10. To substitute for the complicated system of the tobacco monopoly a tax on the field of production.

11. Disarming alike the Christian and Turkish population.

I would also add to these, which should be proclaimed at once, but which requires some time to carry out, the immediate nomination, at least in Bosnia, of a Christian Counsellor for the Vilayet, who should rank after the Governor-General, with real authority; and also the admission of the native Christian element to a considerable participation in public affairs.

Your Excellency will see that this almost amounts to a change of the whole administration of the Turkish Government. It may be difficult, but it is my perfect conviction that the safety of the Empire depends on precisely such a radical reform.

Such a reform, properly and sincerely carried out, would render it almost impossible for political agitators to disturb public order, as the position of the people would be infinitely improved, and the Government would obtain a larger revenue than at present, with less pressure on the people, and peace and contentment in its provinces.

The grand difficulty at present in the Herzegovina is to overcome the distrust of the insurgents, who say the Turks will promise, and even commence, any reforms at this moment, but when peace is restored, they will relinquish the work, and let everything relapse into its former condition. They feel convinced that unless there is an outside power to force the Turks to carry out their promises, they will be made in vain; they say they have been made before. The Hatti-Houmayoun promised the admission of Christian evidence, but it has never been properly carried out, and remains, in general, a dead letter. Hence their repeated and obstinate demands for an European intervention, and the objection of the Government to this measure makes the insurgents more tenacious of it.

The Porte seems disposed to make every reasonable reform, and if peace could be restored, I hope and believe, would endeavour to give her Christian subjects satisfaction; but the urgent necessity of the moment is to put an end to the revolt and the present situation without delay.

The insurgents are bent on prolonging it to the utmost; until they feel sure of obtaining their desires, or of necessitating an armed intervention by Austria, which they think will be a means of securing what they wish, or of bringing about an European complication which in some way or other will assure an improvement in their condition. It must not be forgotten, also, that they have been instigated, and are now dominated by Servians and Montenegrins, who have their own separate ambitions, besides which the welfare of Herzegovinian peasants is of small account.

If Austria and Montenegro would, or could, close their frontiers to the insurgents, the matter would assume a different aspect, and the Turks would be able to subdue the revolt. The country is already in ruins and a desert, but there would be quiet, and they could commence reform and reorganization. Without this I see no way out of the deadlock at which affairs have arrived.

I have heard some people talk of an attack by the whole force of the Empire on

Montenegro and Servia as a solution, but to me this appears at once to involve an European complication.

Possible means of solution sometimes occur to me, but they are such as one might verbally suggest in extreme difficulty, but which one would hesitate to write.

I have read with care the pamphlet which I sent to your Excellency by last post, and I cannot conscientiously deny much, if anything, that it contains; but it is solely written from the point of view of the sufferers, and leads the reader to suppose the facts stated to be invariable, whereas they are not entirely so. This is all I can say to the contrary, except that these abuses are infinitely more prevalent here than throughout the rest of Bosnia, where, in general, more harmony exists between Turk and Christian. The arrogance and extortion of the armed Turk of the feudal ages seems to have reached its climax in the Herzegovina, and has been opposed to the utmost by the falsehood and dishonesty of the unarmed Christians—and both are exceedingly bad specimens of humanity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 343.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October 18.*)

(No. 9.)
My Lord, *Mostar, October 1, 1875.*

THE inclosed pamphlet has this instant been placed in my hands. I have only time to forward it to your Lordship with a warning that it may probably contain a good deal of exaggeration. As soon as I can read it I will send your Lordship my observations on its contents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 343.

A glance at the Grievances which are the principal cause of the Insurrection of the Christian inhabitants in the Herzegovina.

ANYONE who wished to describe the variety and extent of the manifold burthens which weigh upon the Christian populations of the Herzegovina and Bosnia would have to write a considerable volume, which would require not a little time, as well as many investigations and much labour, for he would have to pry into every department, every district therein, and every communal division of the villages, as well as the various proceedings in the Courts, because in each of the separate localities there are characteristic specialities of imposition on the part of the respective Governments, the Agas, &c., according to the arbitrary and exacting will of the rulers and their dependents, more or less inclined to fill their own purses, more or less fanatical in their religion, more or less swayed by the prejudices of caste. Wherefore, merely to give some kind of idea respecting the deplorable condition of the Christians in these provinces, we will draw a brief sketch of the principal burdens arising from the direct impositions of the Government, from the frauds of the Agas, from the partiality of the Courts, and the insecurity of life, honour, and property, with suitable observations.

I.—*The various Imposts.*

1. *Tithes or Tenths, now Eighths.*—The tithes are an ancient tax, but since the present Sultan travelled in Europe an extra impost upon grain has been introduced under the name of "zam," at first as an extraordinary tax, but which has now become an ordinary one like the tithes, for instead of tenths eighths are collected, that is to say, instead of taking a tenth part of the produce, an eighth part is taken, and so where the tax was 10 per cent., it is now 12½ per cent. This 12½ per cent. is taken from all kinds of cereal grain, tobacco, vegetables, fruit, grapes, and hay.

The method of collecting the tithes is as follows:—

Private farmers buy the tithes by auction to the highest bidder, and it not unfrequently happens that the produce is not equivalent to the exhorbitant price paid to the Government by the farmers, and as the latter wish to make a good profit anyhow, it

follows that they avail themselves of any means to do so, and these are the most unjust extortion and arrogance. For example, the confederate speculators arrive in the villages of which they have bought the tithes, bringing with them their followers and horses. There they mostly behave as absolute masters, and they live at the expense of the poor peasants, who have to provide them with all they require for eating and drinking to any extent they please. There are, however, some rare exceptions to this conduct. So great is the expense of supplying the wants of these voracious oppressors, that the poor people are often obliged to borrow from them at usurious interest the very means to provide for them.

The "spahi" or farmers of the tithes ought to see the thrashing of the grain, and when it is measured they ought to fix the proper tithes; but it is very difficult to get them to do this, for the most blustering and powerful tithe-farmers buy the tithes of many villages, and as they cannot be present at all of them, and will not trust to others, it is their pleasure to fix the tithes by an approximate calculation ("tamin") in which, of course, they set down more than there is. In vain the owner complains; he must be satisfied with his assessment, for he knows very well that the farmers are sure of Government support, and not unfrequently some of the most influential members of the Government act in concert with the speculating tithe-farmers.

It happens in many places, especially where there are fields, that the tithe-farmer leaves his grain as it were in deposit in some poor hut or shed in the village with no one to look after it, and then if any damage or loss occurs, the peasants of the village are bound to make it good. Other tithe-farmers will not take to their grain at once, but leave it with the peasant for any length of time, so that it gets dry, and the peasant has to bear the loss; or the grain is left in expectation of a rise in price, or that the peasant in his need may consume it, and so be charged for it at double price. If grapes are dear they take to them at once; if cheap they endeavour to put them off on the peasant at a profitable price. If the vintage is not abundant they accuse the peasant of concealing and consuming it.

Hay, and the various produce of gardens, such as potatoes, cabbages, garlic, onions, fruit, and so on, are not taken in kind; an approximative price must be fixed, which has to be paid in ready money. If application be made to the Government it will always decide the prices in favour of the tithe-farmers. But why should the Government act in this manner between the tithe-farmers and the owners? This is the reason; apart from the fact that many influential members of the Government share in the profits of the confederates, the Government itself endeavours to sell the tithes at the highest possible price. Therefore, to encourage the buyers in their competition with each other, it favours them in every way that it can. On this account also the Government defers the assignment of the tithes for months, in the hope of getting a higher price. This is a cause of grevious suffering to the poor people. They are hungry, and they dare not touch the fruits of their own labour to satisfy their wants for if they did, they would inevitably have to pay double tithe. This delay in selling the tithes is one of the most insupportable and injurious grievances of the poor people. Many representations have been made to the Government in their behalf, to induce it to take a middle course, and to fix the price of the tithes according to the average years; then to let the villagers pay so much a-year and thus prevent the abuses and injustice which always accompany the farming of the tithes. But all has been in vain.

Finally, when all these tithes are assented and registered, they will not always be found correct when the accounts come to be liquidated. If the assessment is higher than it ought to be, what matters? it must be neither more nor less than what is registered, for a Mussulman never mistakes nor deceives, and a Christian deserves no credit. And then if the unfortunate villager has not the money ready for payments of what is due, misery upon misery, his house will be occupied at his expense until he has paid the whole. He is bound to maintain and to serve those who are quartered upon him, at their imperious pleasure, and his expenses in so doing go for nothing in the account. By way of example, if a person owes 20 piastres and spends 100 in the maintenance of these people, it is not taken into consideration. At last an arrangement is made, the peasant acknowledges his debt with double interest, or an animal is taken for 50 piastres, though it may be worth 100 and more. Many cause the poor people of the villages to be put in prison, where they suffer from hunger, cold, flogging, and other ill-treatments. Sometimes false receipts are given, and the amount of the debt has to be paid again. All these proceedings in the collection of the tithes, take place likewise in levying the tobacco-tax, of which we shall speak hereafter. Taking everything into consideration, it may be said without fear of exaggeration that the poor people pay a sixth or seventh part of their produce.

2. The "Gumruk," or Direct Excise.—We do not speak here of the transit-excise, or of smuggling, but of the excise upon tobacco grown in the Province, and upon wine and spirits. It has already been stated that tithes-eighths in fact are collected upon grapes; the same is the case with regard to tobacco. The tithes upon tobacco are sold by auction separately from the other tithes; but in like manner all the business is conducted by the Government and the tithe-farmers, as in the case of grain above-mentioned, and if the purchasers are cruel, as for the most part they are, the same arbitrary extortion takes place. But the Government is not satisfied with the eighths upon tobacco, but requires something besides the fixed special "gumruk;" that is, every "oka" of tobacco has to pay 8 piastres (Government valuation), of which the owner of the tobacco has to pay 3 piastres, and the purchaser 5 piastres, and the latter, before purchasing it, is bound to obtain the permission of the Superintendant of the "gumruk," and when he has purchased it, he must leave a written certificate of the quantity he has purchased with the owner of the tobacco. This applies to the subjects or inhabitants of Turkey; foreigners are not allowed to purchase tobacco.

We have now to state the mode of ascertaining the quantity of the tobacco for the imposition of the "gumruk." Immediately before or after the farmers of the tithes on tobacco go their rounds through the villages with a goodly company, to set down the amounts in their own way, there is a visitation of five or six low and cunning persons with horses; these have to examine and record the quantity of tobacco still growing on the stalk; they go in procession from house to house, and from plantation to plantation, and prolong the time as they please, in order to feed gratuitously. But, for fear they may have put down too little, the round is repeated twice again, on the pretext of correcting any mistake that may have been made. Then they are in the habit of sending other searchers after the first, on pretence of finding out any trickery on the part of these, as if they were not all accomplices; and they give themselves airs of patronage, and would make it appear that they are acting with a scrupulous regard for justice and the public welfare. So that the people are ever in the midst of inconceivable injury and abuse of authority.

The "gumruk" on wine and spirits. Of the wine drawn from the must, which remains to the owner after deducting the eighths, the tenth "oka" is considered to belong to the Sovereign, less two loads (200 okas) left to the family of the owner. These are registered by the "gumruckers," or others chosen for the purpose, who make the usual overbearing round through villages and houses in the manner above-mentioned, and search every corner.

From the lees of a load of wine it is supposed that ten okas of brandy may be produced, so that for every 100 okas of wine an oka of brandy goes to the Sovereign. When the registers of the searchers are taken to the Medjlis Court, the latter fixes the price, which is usually 2 piastres on every oka of wine, and 5 piastres on every oka of brandy, so that the owner may pay the "gumruk" in ready money.

Here is an instance: if a person has 1,000 okas of wine, he must give 80 okas to the Sovereign, that is, 160 piastres—the Government valuation; moreover, he must give 10 okas of brandy, that is, 50 piastres. So that, besides the tithes, the Government receives at least 210 piastres, equal to 23 florins, or more, on ten loads of wine, without reckoning the extortions of the "gumruckers" and their adepts.

3. The impost on the herb called "brod," which is used as a red dye by the dyers. For every bit of ground planted with this herb, though it may be only a few square fathoms, 4 piastres must be paid every year, notwithstanding that the peasant derives no profit from it till the fourth year.

4. *The Land-Tax ("Canpatico").*—For some years past the land-tax has been introduced into this province also. When the land has been measured, and its quality estimated by a deputation of Turks, accompanied by some ignorant Christian, it is charged at 4 in the 1,000. Thus, if the land be valued in money at 1,000, 2,000, or 10,000 piastres, or any other amount, 4 piastres for every 1,000 of the valuation must be paid to the Treasury yearly; for 10,000, 40 piastres, and so on. But as the Christians have but little land, and the Turks a great deal—for they are always getting possession of it in some way—it follows that the valuations of the land are evidently low and partial, so that the Turks have to pay very little land-tax.

5. *The House-tax ("Casatico").*—Houses and other buildings are estimated at so much by the deputation as above, and, according to the valuation, they likewise pay four in the thousand to the Treasury. But in order to escape from the burthen of the house-tax, the Turks have manœuvred to have their own houses estimated at a very low price. There are, for example, some which are worth fifty thousand piastres, and they are only valued at five thousand. It is fitting to notice here, that the Turks exhibit a barbarous

avidity in appropriating even the wretched houses erected by the Christians on their ground, and in many places they have registered them in their own names, in order to drive the Christians from their habitations the more easily, and to claim the houses as their property; but they never pay the house-tax thereon.

The Grass-tax ("Tsaarina").—This strange impost is laid upon the pastures among the mountains, where the peasants go with their cattle in the summer. For every head of neat cattle, four piastres are paid, in some places more, besides the quantity of small animals and butter which must be given up to the Government, and taking no account of what is given to the pretended owners of those waste and desert lands, for the Turks cannot bear that there should be any spot of ground there without some arbitrary Turkish lord.

7. *The Porez.*—Where the "tanzimat" of the land-tax and "rad" is not yet perfectly introduced, there is the "porez" on large cattle, every head of such cattle having to pay from 15 to 20 piastres.

8. *The Agnam-impost on Small Animals.*—Two piastres are paid on every head of small cattle. The local authority is not entrusted with the telling of the animals, but other persons are employed for the purpose, rarely honest, but choice rogues, greedy of sly gain, who go shares with their employers in what they get by cheating. They come down upon the villages without notice, sometimes by night, in order to make sure of finding all the animals. If they find but few, they think they are deceived; then they go again on a sudden, frighten, threaten, and curse. Sometimes they purposely omit to register a number of animals, and this, on the understanding with their employers, to come down on the poor peasant and accuse him of fraud, in order to double the tribute in money, and so they get half for themselves. The numbers are taken in the month of March, and a short time afterwards they begin to demand the money. And though this is the time when the greatest mortality occurs among the cattle, no matter, every registered head of cattle must be paid, even if half of them be dead. The conduct of these wretches is altogether brutal, though they live at the expense of the poor people, who at that time of the year are in want of everything, and half-dying with hunger in many cases; yet must provide those fellows and their horses with plenty to eat and drink gratuitously. Sometimes as many as sixteen of such persons have been seen over and over again in a single village, armed to the teeth as if they were going to attack a fortress.

9. *Royalty.*—This is a special impost of four piastres a year on every full-grown hog.

10. The Turks are very fond of honey, and they go in search of every hive for it; if they do not take the produce, from two to four piastres have to lie paid annually.

11. *The Poll-tax.*—Every male Christian, from birth to death, must pay the poll-tax for exemption from the military conscription. For this, every male person has to pay 29 to 30 piastres a year. Not even the poorest beggars are exempted; and as they, of course, cannot pay, the respective villages must pay for them.

12. *The "Rad," or Labour Tax.*—A monstrous invention and clever contrivance of the Turks of late years to save their estates from a higher land-tax. They suppose that the poor agriculturists may earn from 500 to 1,500 piastres in money by daily labour or hire, as if all their time were not taken up with the various kinds of produce upon which they pay the tithes, the "gimmuk," and other taxes, as well as in the services which they have to render to the Agas. This appears to us a malignant insult to humanity—to suppose the poor peasant always healthy; to take no account of sickness or other accidents, but to insist always on the poll-tax; for, though the wretched creature may be laid up with illness, he must still pay the poll-tax in his misery! Then, if the Christian is engaged in any miserable trade or calling, or keeps horses for carriage, it is supposed that he may earn as much as 2,500 piastres a-year. On the presumption of these imaginary earnings it is decided that every one shall pay the 40th piastre to the Treasury. So that if it be supposed that any one can earn 1,000 piastres, he must pay 25 to the Government, and so on.

13. *The Duty of Working on the Public Roads.*—The more necessary public roads are, the worse they are begun and carried out in our parts, and this is obvious to all. The Christians have to work on the roads. It was said that the Imperial Government had ordered that every one fit for labour should work four days in the year, or, as others say, eight; in short, we are in the dark respecting this. It was said also that the Government had assigned some pay to the Christian labourers, but they have never seen or received any. The fact is, however, that according to the "nufuz," or the number of males fit for work, every peasant spends from ten to fifteen days in going from and returning to his house, according to the greater or lesser distance of the places, as was the case with the work on the road leading from Mostar to Serajevo, where for several years the Christians had to go and take with them their sorry fare, at the time of their most urgent work at home, which had to be neglected, to their very serious loss; and they worked for eight whole days, besides the three, four, or five spent in the journeys according to the distance of the road, without ever receiving even a morsel of bread. This must have cost each of them not less than 100 piastres every time he went; nor could any one absent himself, even though there were ten in the family. How much the cost was to large families may be calculated from this. Where there are many labourers in a family the loss is great, and where there is only one it is serious, because all work at home is stopped. We say nothing of the ill-usage received by the poor rayah from the Mussulmans on these occasions also.

14. *The "Komore," or Horse-Service.*—These unfortunate Provinces, separated from the rest of the Empire, without carriage-roads, mountainous, and adjacent to populations hostile to the Government, are continually suffering from a special grievance, called "komore," or service of horses in the difficult and dangerous conveyance of the army and its requirements, which shatters both men and horses. Thousands and thousands of horses have perished in this service without any compensation whatever. How many more must perish in this most painful crisis! Dire ruin to Christian men and families; drudgery without end. Were they at least treated with some sort of humanity; but no: they get brutal usage, scorn, outrage of every kind, danger of life, from those to whom they render this bloody service. From the loss of the horses both people and communes incur other great damages, for the saleable goods can only be conveyed on horseback, so that the slight trade which is carried on goes to ruin, for the poor wretches have to carry on their own shoulders what is required for themselves and the Agas. It appears incredible that such an accumulation of miseries, wrongs, and vexations should so often be found in the world.

15. *Summary of the Imposts in a Certain Case.*—Here we give an example of a farmer of moderate means in our parts. He will have:—

	Piastres.	Florins.
1. Grain, 40 loads; for the tithes he gives 5 loads, ordinary value	500	50
2. Hay, 20 loads; for tithes, 2½ loads	60½	6·05
3. Cabbages, 8 loads; for tithes, 1 load	55	5·50
4. Potatoes, vegetables, and fruit, approximately ..	150	15
5. Must, 16 loads; for tithes, 2 loads	200	20
6. Wine, 10 loads; for the "gimmuk" (Government value)	160	17·60
7. Brandy, for the "gimmuk"	50	5·50
8. Tobacco, 1 load; tithes, 12½ per cent. ..	125	12·50
9. Tobacco, for the "gimmuk"	300	33
10. Dyers, soil, 2	8	·80
11. Land-tax for his ground, valued at 5,000 piastres	12	1·30
12. House-tax, houses and buildings, valued at 2,000 piastres	8	·88
13. Grass-tax, on mountain, neat cattle 10 head, animal and butter	80	8
14. "Porez" for 15 head of large cattle	235	25·80
15. "Agnam" for 100 head small animals ..	200	22
16. Royalty for 2 hogs	8	·80
17. Beehives, 10	20	2
18. Poll-tax on 5 males	145	16
19. "Rad" or labour-tax on 5 males, supposed average earnings 3,000 piastres	75	7·62
20. Road-work, by 5 men, each him at least ..	300	30
21. His share in the extortions of the tax-farmers and the various persons employed in the village, at least	100	10
	2,700	290·35

Note.—The variation in the piastres and florins arises from the difference between the commercial and the Government value; the former being 10 piastres and the latter 11 piastres to a florin.

16. Whoever takes a just view of the circumstances of this Christian family, supposed to possess moderate means, amongst others who are not worth more than 10,000 piastres, or 1,000 florins, altogether, will easily perceive the enormity of the taxation. If, moreover, it be considered that not even a tenth of the Christian families can, in ordinary years, make sure of their yearly keep without running into debt, surely the poor people here are entitled to compassion from those who have feelings of

humanity, and to some effort to assist them in their deplorable state—in their opprobrious servitude, where the cry is continually heard, "O, Lord, send us our death!" And all this exists where the Turkish masters, who possess fifty times the means, do not pay as much in taxes to the Government as the above-mentioned Christians.

We think it in keeping with the subject to mention another instance of partiality on the part of the Turkish rulers and "Medjlis," towards the Mussulmans. It is this:—If a Mussulman is indebted to the Treasury on account of farming the tithes, good reasons are found to wait, even for years, until he can discharge his debt, whilst with the Christians, instead of waiting, there is always an endeavour to make them to pay the taxes beforehand.

17. The taxes are multiplied with marvellous facility, and they are harshly and rigorously collected. No effort can be made to promote the public welfare by providing resources, for obstacles are put in the way. Vain are the proposals and the zeal of intelligent persons, useless the entreaties of the Christians; for our Turks put them off and oppose the best undertakings, preferring to remain in trouble rather than allow the Christians to get any advantage. Witness the uncultivated fields near Mostar and many others, which might, at comparatively little expense, be drained and irrigated, to the benefit no less of the Treasury and the Agas than of the Christians; yet all endeavours have hitherto been useless.

Note.—No one believes that the Public Treasury gets all the benefit of these taxes, but it is most certain that they are all wrung from the people by the Government officers and in the name of the Government. To have an empty Treasury, and the people reduced to extreme misery, and not to apply a remedy, is ruin to both.

II.—*Grievances proceeding from the Agas.*

1. The Agas are Turks, owners of the lands held and cultivated by the Christians, called "kmet," or colonists, for their own profit. There are some Turkish owners who have acquired their lands in a legal manner; but most of them have got the land from time to time by usurpation, dispossessing the original Christian owners by main force, without any legal title; in this way many Christian families have been obliged to give way to overbearing power protected by tyranny, and to acknowledge themselves as tenants of another, where they were the real hereditary owners.

All the Agas are prepossessed and ruled by the mediæval feudal spirit, accompanied by a rude and disdainful obstinacy which scorns any progress which appears against their interests. These look upon the "kmet" as their slaves, and claim absolute power over them. In this they all tenaciously agree, and united by community of interest, they form a compact phalanx to oppose both the Government and the Christians. They adhere to their opinions the more because they are convinced that the Mahometans are destined and authorized by God to rule over the rayah.

The surly Aga will also use a stick and strike the "kmet" without pity, in a manner that no one else would use a beast. Then to blaspheme what the poor man holds most dear, to insult him outrageously, is an action worthy of a true Mussulman and entitles him to reward in the other world.

2. The lands held by the Christians of the Turks are, from the quality of the soil, the ruggedness of the region, especially in the Herzegovina, the scantiness of the ground lit for cultivation, insufficient for the poor "kmet," and do not produce what he requires; so that the produce usually depends more upon the labour and industry of the "kmet" than upon the natural fertility. The Agas wish rather to have many "kmet" than to provide them with sufficient land to maintain them: the greater the number the more the service.

They reserve the best lands for themselves. There are portions in the largest fields which are acknowledged as belonging to the colonial ground, but held to be free, so that they may afford more advantage. If a Christian holds a piece of Turkish land, and erects a house or other building in the neighbourhood, even beyond the bounds, the Turk seizes the ground upon which the house stands. In like manner if the farmer encloses with a hedge or a wall some tract of free and communal land for pasture, wood, or other use of his own, there is no remedy, the Aga becomes master of that also. If the Christian "kmet" clears any wooded ground or excavates a garden amongst rocks and stones by his own labour, whatever may be the distance from the master's land, the Aga appropriates that too, on the ground that the slave "kmet" has worked at it whilst he was maintained by the master's estate. For this same reason the Turks, in concurrence

with their co-religionists, prevent the recovery and cultivation of land where they know they cannot appropriate it, so that the Christians may not possess it.

3. The contingents supplied to the Agas from the produce of the estate, and the amounts of service and labour rendered on the part of the "kmet," vary arbitrarily according to the temper of the masters, as there are no regulations prescribed by law; and this is one of the chief causes of abuse and oppression. The Government had made some kind of arrangement in this respect, directing that there should be agreements between the Agas and the "kmet," but the majority of the Agas in these parts have hitherto ignored that arrangement, and so with the "kmet," who desired to make agreements with the Agas, for the latter have since become more harsh, more exigent, and more menacing towards the "kmet," revenging themselves on every occasion, restricting the farms, increasing their services, and sometimes turning the poor "kmet" out of his holding, where he must leave the buildings he has erected and the improvements he has made, without any compensation or repayment. And if anyone make application to the Government for such repayment, the Agas at once have recourse to the subterfuge of debts; they bring forward these pretended debts for years and years; find false witnesses, if necessary, and so it is well for the "kmet" if, instead of receiving anything from the Aga, he has not to pay him something more. Meanwhile, from the land which is considered as the regular estate of the settlement, the "kmet" has usually to give the Aga—

(*a.*) A fourth part of the various produce obtained from the ground.

(*b.*) Some animal yearly, as well as a certain quantity of butter and cheese.

(*c.*) To carry him so many loads of wood, and, if the Aga is building a house, the "kmet" must carry the materials for it.

(*d.*) To work for, and serve the Aga gratuitously whenever he pleases. Sometimes the Aga requires one of the "kmet's" children to serve him for nothing.

(*e.*) To make a separate plantation of tobacco, to cultivate it and bring it to maturity until it is lodged in the master's house.

(*f.*) To plough and sow, without remuneration, so many acres of land, and to do all that is necessary until the produce is lodged in the master's barn. The amount of this produce, gratuitously attended to for the Aga by the "kmet," mostly exceeds the produce of the land held by the "kmet."

(*g.*) If the Aga comes to the "kmet's" house, the latter must provide him, as well as his horses and dogs, with all that they require; he must do everything to satisfy his master in regard to service and the best food he can procure, and must appear as if he were pleased and honoured by the visit of the Aga, and the opportunity of maintaining him gratuitously for days and weeks, and even for a month.

Finally, when several brothers or other relations forming a family settled upon a Turkish estate, separate into new families and divide the estate so that each may labour for himself, the Aga insists that each of them shall do as much work for him and render him as much service as they all did together, although the land occupied is neither more nor less than it was before.

III.—*Grievances proceeding from the Medjlis.*

1. The Turkish Courts consist, like others, of civil and criminal. In the first the Pashas, or Kaïmakam, sit in the districts, the Mufti, two or three Mussulmans, two Christians—one for the Orthodox, the other for the Catholics. In the second, the Cadi, with two or three Turks and two Christians, as in the first. The preponderance of the Turks will immediately be seen, and their decisive majority in every case. Moreover, the Mussulmans have this advantage, that the Pashas, the Kaïmakams, and the Cadis, who are the presiding authorities and Judges in the Courts, are of their own religion, and if these are not satisfied with the judicial decision, nothing is done. To this is to be added the close union and joint understanding of the Mussulmans amongst themselves, from political and religious motives, from the knowledge of their own laws, and from the exclusive use of the Turkish language in the Courts; whereas those few Christians who apply to the Courts, without any knowledge of the laws or of the Turkish language, go for nothing, and in most cases had better keep away from the Courts altogether.

Besides, many of the officers, or other rich and powerful Turks, have a direct or indirect influence on the Courts, whilst no intelligent or able Christian is allowed to advocate the cause of the Christians. In short, we believe that there are no Judges in the world so ready to receive donations for the perversion of justice as the Turkish Judges. And then, as the Mahometans acknowledge no other law and ground of justice than the "scerint" of the Coran, only adapting themselves to the Canon and other modern

laws from political necessity, their decided intention always is to favour the Mussulman and Mahometanism in regard to other religions. Another incident is in favour of the Mussulman party: the principal Turkish officers and functionaries being Osmanli, and not knowing the language of the country, can never be well informed of the state of the various cases; they have to get at it by means of the interpreters, more or less ignorant, more or less malicious; for if these are Turks they never explain the affairs of the Christians with sincerity, but in their own way, concealing everything unfavourable to the Turks; and if they are Christians it is very seldom that they know the Turkish language sufficiently to be able to convert the expressions of the Slav.

2. In bringing actions and taking proceedings the Mussulmans have these advantages over the Christians:—

1. In having the Judges predisposed and favourable to their causes.

2. In the freedom which they enjoy of making any accusation against the other religions, without corroboration.

3. In the countenance of special and powerful co-religionists, always ready to protect them.

4. In their ability, as the richer, to bribe the Judges, whose weaknesses they know better than the others.

5. In easily having the charge drawn up in the Turkish language.

Whilst the Christian is destitute of these advantages, fears the revenge of the Agas and other Turks, does not understand the judicial ways, and is afraid of spending a great deal and losing his cause; or because he is too poor to incur the expense of the proceedings, finally on account of the difficulty of getting any one to draw up the charge in the Turkish language, for the Mussulmans will not assist the Christians in this if their complaint is against a Mahometan; or if they serve him for a good fee, they make it appear that the Christian is in the wrong, and so the poor wretch is bewildered, dares not bring his cause before the Court, or, if he does, he proceeds so dilatorily and awkwardly, that he must necessarily lose it, and repent that he ever undertook it. But if a Turk proceeds against a Christian, the latter not daring or knowing how to defend himself, and browbeaten by the Turk, must necessarily lose. The Christians are so thoroughly discouraged by similar tricks and manœuvres practised by the Turks, of which they are conscious from their very infancy, that it is impossible to induce them to take proceedings against the Turks, be the offences and injuries ever so serious. Therefore the Turks always act together, and enjoy the pleasure of keeping the Christians in a state of terrorism.

3. The Turks are well versed in the art of misrepresenting the causes of action, mocking at them, and perverting the evidence to the injury of the Christians; and this they do with perfect ease and arrogance, secure of success from long practice. First of all, it should be mentioned, that no recompense or payment is prescribed by law for the loss of time and trouble of witnesses called to the Court to give evidence; they must go at their own expense; therefore every one tries to keep clear of such matters, which are not only dangerous enough, but also of considerable cost. Now, if a Turk has an action with one of the Christians, he will always get some one of his confraternity, who, from community of civil and religious interests, will give evidence in his favour; and they know marvellously well how to arrange matters amongst themselves, and to manage all the proceedings in the case, so that it is very difficult for the Christian to bring forward countervailing evidence. If there be no Turks in the neighbourhood of the place where the crime or cause of action occurred to come and give evidence—no matter whether they be eye-witnesses or hearsay witnesses—they will come even from a hundred miles away, if they receive information from a plaintiff of their own religion and will protest and swear that they were at the place at the time of the occurrence, and know all about it, laying hands on their hearts, and interspersing their speech with "din" and "jemin;" then a hundred other Turks, moved by this witness's veracity, will confirm him throughout. Well, this is sufficient for the application of the "seeriat," and to decide in favour of the Mussulman, for every means is allowable to free the faithful Mussulman from the annoyances and claims of the ginour—Christians. If a Turk requires any testimony from the Christians, he can always get it without much difficulty, if not otherwise, by threats, or by appealing to the Aga to make his "knet" give the required testimony; and if such testimony be against an infidel it is received as valid. On the contrary, no testimony can be got against a Turk, because his co-religionists will not give evidence against him, though they know him to be guilty. Then, if a Christian brings another Christian as a witness, the latter will say something faintly against the guilty Turk; but it is of little use, for the Turkish Judges always adhere to the principle of the "seeriat"—pernicious and fatal to the Christians—according to which the evidence of the infidel Ginour is of no avail against the Mussulman. Although this maxim is usually kept secret, from policy, it

often escapes, in full Court, from the lips of the chief Mussulman Judges in their passion. Supposing that there is a case in which they cannot get rid of a Christian's evidence, after a thousand objections, they have recourse to this artifice: whilst the Christian witness is passing through the square of the city, they place some fellow of their own in the middle of it, who immediately with a loud voice utters some infamous accusation against him, such as thief, &c., and then the same cry comes from a hundred Turkish mouths, and the false accusation sticks to the poor witness, and invalidates his evidence. They do just the contrary in regard to any Turk of notorious bad character whose evidence is wanted, that is, they require from the canton of the city where he lives a certificate of his good report, and this is given at once; then the "seeriat" comes into play, as they say, and the juggle ends in favour of the good Mussulman.

4. The sad maxim which the Christians apply to the Turkish Courts; there is no justice there for Christians is fully justified. If anyone should take it into his head to consult and turn over the proceedings of the Mussulman Tribunals, looking with a steady eye at the trials, decisions, and sentences, he would be disgusted with that labyrinth of confusion, contradiction, and injustice, and would feel deeply for the down-trodden humanity of those children of Adam. From the above-mentioned character of the Turks, of the Judges, and witnesses, anyone may, on the principle of causality, easily comprehend the justice of the sentences and decisions. The complaint having been lodged in the Turkish language (otherwise it would be rejected) in the hands of the Pasha, or Kaimakam; if it is found to be in conformity with the legal formalities, it is sent to the Cadi. He puts it up with a hundred others not yet settled, and orders the complainant to come back at given date; this is repeated several times, and the applicant is reproached for his importunity. When the time has at last arrived to take the case in hand, the counsellors stammer something or other about it, and the Cadi reserves his final decision until the other side has spoken; he, however, regulates his conduct according to the maxims of the "seeriat" and his own interests. If the litigating parties are Christians, after having heard them both, he will defer the case in order that they may have time to mollify the exasperated mind of the Judge by secret donations, the weight of which will decide in the scales of the Cadi. If the donations of both parties are equal and abundant, he will give them earnest advice to agree amicably between themselves, and dismiss them from the "Medjlis." If the case is one of a Christian against a Turk, even donations will be of little use, unless they should be so large as to incline the mind of the Cadi to give way somewhat in favour of the Christian, otherwise he will act rather as the advocate of his Mussulman than as a Judge, indulging in a number of capricious and foolish questions irrelevant to the matter, with remarks on the offence and the accompanying circumstances, and on the character of the witnesses, whose evidence he will reject, whilst he brings forward some silly falsehood in discredit of Christian honesty:

1. If the witnesses do not quite agree, even in regard to incidentals and minutiæ, though they may have nothing to do with the subject-matter of the case.

2. If they change any word on repeated examination.

3. If they have ever been imprisoned, justly or unjustly matters not; and this goes on to weary out the complainant and the witnesses, and make them relinquish the suit.

Finally, if the evidence legally proves the crime of the Turk, there is some subterfuge; the judgment is suspended, the Turk is remanded, to see if by chance he can find out any circumstances and witnesses in his favour, and he is sure to find them. If, for example, it be proved that the said Turk slew a Christian at a certain place on a certain day, he will find witnesses who will prove that on the said day he was at another place at any distance from that where the crime was committed, and they will confirm their evidence by oath on the Kitab. Then the scene suddenly changes, and severe penalties are incurred by the ginour calumniators who have dared to profane the sanctuary of the Courts with base lies and aspersions to the injury of an innocent Mussulman. Then the remarks and the just anger of the Cadi and Medjlis echo throughout the city, and those poor fellows are at once thrown muzzled into prison, fined, and rendered infamous for ever.

Supposing the case of a Turk against a Christian for some serious offence, instantly the Cadi, the Medjlis, and the other Turks are in commotion; they one and all make common cause to do whatever they can against the Christian rabble, against those blackguard Montenegrins, who are all alike. Suppose a Turk is killed in some distant place among the barren mountains by an unknown person, they do not wait for inquiries and legal investigations, they cry aloud for vengeance and massacre; if they meet any Christian there, they sack whole villages of Christians near the place of the crime, and ill-treat the inhabitants with impunity; they drive, like a herd of cattle, hundreds of heads of families with kicks and musket-butts; and when they come to the city the

unrestrained Turkish rabble await them and accompany them to the Courts and prisons with cries and groans, stoning, and the most cowardly outrages, so that the consternation of the prisoners and the atrocities of the crowd reach the highest pitch. After that the wretched Christians groan in the foul prisons, or are dragged to the Courts where they are again threatened, to make them confess the crime. They are told, you know all about it, all you villains have conspired to murder that innocent Mussulman; we have evidence to prove it, and if you don't confess you will go the gallows and the stake. This tragedy goes on for months, until it is found out that the assassin was some foreigner who had nothing to do with those poor Christians, or some Mahometan adversary of the murdered man; then after their ill-treatment the Christians are sent back to their homes without any satisfaction, or when the fury has somewhat abated, and the Christians are found to be innocent, they say they have not ascertained with certainty (metaphysical perhaps) who was the assassin; so for the greater security, or rather to cover the enormous and disgraceful injustice, some of the principal Christians, or those most hateful to the Turks, must rot in chains for years in the prisons; others, by favour and on giving bail, are sent to their wretched homes with a warning to be careful not to do so again.

Would to God that such scenes were seldom and few in these unfortunate and thus barbarously-tormented provinces.

IV. No security for life, for honour, or for property. How can we seek for liberty and progress when we do not possess the most essential of the rights of man? that is, the right of life, honour, and property, for at every slight check, every trumpery suspicion amongst the Turks, from the arbitary greed or fierce envy of the ill-disposed master, everything is uncertain, everything in danger. There is no energetic provision on the part of the Government against these evils, no safeguard on the part of the Tribunal; all rests upon the insolent and brutal will of the fanatics, always intent upon ill-treating and oppressing the poor Christian, degrading him and depriving him of every civil right; and all this with unexampled malignity on political and religious principle, not to be changed but by fire and sword. This is proved—

1. By hundreds of things that have happened in every direction, and which are continually happening in these provinces.

2. By the blindest religious fanaticism, innate in our Mussulmans, and the fiercest hatred of everything appertaining to Christianity.

3. By the continued threats of the Turks against every Christian, which are carried out with impunity every day in the most cruel manner.

4. By the fact that the Government takes away the arms of the Christians, whilst it distributes them to the Turks, which refers to the massacre in Syria. Nor is this imagination only, for our Mussulmans have been heard to speak of this project, by several and more than once. They were and are very much disposed to commit such a crime, and if it has not been committed yet, it is because some more discreet Mussulman has restrained them by pointing out the doleful consequences that would ensue for them.

5. By the continual provocations on the part of the Mussulmans even under present circumstances; thus, certain Mussulmans take upon themselves to force the poor Christians faithful to the Government to deliver up to them any rusty old pistols which they may have, so that they may be ill-treated the more safely. So they fall upon the Christians everywhere, beat them, wound them, and threaten their lives; burn their houses, lay waste their vineyards and gardens, besides the most disgusting blasphemies against everything the most sacred and dear in the Christian religion; outrages on the honour of persons and families, calumnies and forged documents to accuse the most respectable persons among the Christians of rebellion against the Government—all proceeding from their passion and hatred.

We think we ought not to omit a characteristic event which happened lately. Whilst His Majesty the Emperor of Austria was passing our frontiers, many went to see him—some out of curiosity, some out of gratitude to a Sovereign who is, by Treaty between the two Empires, the protector of Christianity in these provinces; and who would believe that our Turks would take offence at this, many of them having gone for the same purpose? Yet, for that reason some of those Christians met their death from the Turks, as Father Karaula at Livno; others have fled from their homes to foreign countries, others dare not go out of their houses for fear of the threats and snares of the Turks.

Now, how could the lives, the honour, and the property of the Christians, with the enjoyment of civil rights, be practically insured? How could the advanced gangrene of such abuses be cured? It would be necessary to change the nature of the Mussulman; would be necessary to paralyze the blind fanaticism and the brutal haughtiness which

upset everything. In deeds, and in deeds only, can the remedy be found. Promises made a thousand times over are but dust in the eyes. Clauses are illusions, the game of the crafty; they are worth no more than the paper on which they are written, if there be no strong and resolute hand able and willing to enforce respect for social order and the laws. The Powers have obtained guarantees on paper from the Ottoman Government in the clauses of the Hathumayun, but no security has, or ever will be, obtained in that way. Our Turks mock at such clauses and guarantees; they even abuse both law and Sultan in the coarsest manner, as well as the protecting Powers. They impose their orders on the miserable Rayah with execrable blasphemy and insulting words: I spit on your Christ, I am your law and your Emperor; and it appears that they are right in so expressing themselves, for the higher Turkish officials and the great men act as real emperors; whence it is quite common with our people to say, there are hundreds of emperors before you come to the Emperor himself. These men drain the people and empty the treasury. They intercept the complaints of the oppressed and will not suffer them to reach the ear of the Sovereign. Oh! how many unjust acts might be proved if the poor people dared to speak freely! Documents signed under pressure and fear are worthless. A thousand of such subscribed through false representations would be annihilated by the voice of truth. But woe to him who dares to advance the cause of truth and justice, who appeals to the observance of the laws! he is sure to feel the vengeance of those interested, even after the lapse of years; for he will either be cruelly beaten, or secretly slain, or he will be burnt in his house. Even now, many of those Christians who, in the time of Omar Pasha's wars, were faithful to the Sovereign, and gave a faithful account of the state of things in these provinces, are still the mark of vengeance, and pay the penalty of their loyalty. They have been, and are, watched and obstructed; therefore they try to make their way by fire and sword.

Gentlemen, it is impossible for the Turkish Government to apply a remedy now; long experience demonstrates this; the weakness and continual decline of the Government show it; and the constant and firm resistance of the Mahometans of the province shows it. The hope of a remedy from that quarter would be as delusive as it always has been; our Turks would know well how to deceive the Sultan and the Powers by many arts and in many ways; they would know how to procure official documents in an unknown language with signatures and seals which would endanger the lives and the property of the Christians. They would even find not a few Christians in the city who would act with them against their co-religionists, just because they not unfrequently go shares with the Turks in their unlawful gains, and because they are not so heavily burdened with taxes as the poor Christians in the villages. We hope that this consultation of the Christian Powers on our misfortune will not be like that of the physicians on a desperate case and come to nothing.

In order to get out of this misery, to put an end to such sufferings, to free the Christians from the rule of the Turks and from continual oppression, to remove the fuel of the raging insurrection, and to ensure a durable peace, we find no other means than one of the following resolutions:—

1. The Christians are resolved to die rather than suffer such slavery, therefore they should be left to seek their liberation by arms, and if they are not assisted they have at least a right to have no obstacles put in the way of their enterprise, and to expect that no aid should be given to the oppressor.

2. Or we are forced to beg some Christian Power to grant us a corner of land so that we may all emigrate to it, and abandon this unhappy country so cursed with misfortunes.

3. Or the Powers should prevail on the Sultan to let an autonomous State be formed of Bosnia and Herzegovina, tributary to the Sultan, with some Christian Prince from elsewhere, but never from here.

4. Or finally (the minimum), let the Powers agree at once to put a strong body of troops from some neighbouring State into the principal cities of the Province, and let the representatives of the Powers enter the principal Medjlis as judges until things are put in order, and the lives, honour, and property of the Christians are rendered secure, with equality of civil and religious rights.

Herzegovina, September 17, 1875.

To the Representatives of the European Powers
in the Herzegovina.

No. 344.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October* 18.)

(No. 621.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 2, 1875.

THE Sultan has issued the inclosed Iradé sanctioning the abandonment of the additional 2½ per cent. laid upon the tithes two years ago, and the remittance of all claims for arrears of taxes up to the year. The "fermiers et garants," who are excepted from the benefit of their remittance, are, I understand, not the cultivators of land, but the farmers of the tithes and their guarantees.

Measures are to be immediately taken for replacing the tithes by a land-tax.

The provision contained in the Organic Law of the Vilayets, but which has never been put into operation, is to be carried out, and deputations from each district are to be sent to Constantinople to make known the wishes of the local Councils, with the view to future reforms, and the different communities are to be properly represented in those Councils.

At the same time, special Controllers are to be sent to the provinces where necessary, to see that the taxes are equitably levied.

All these measures are calculated to be of the utmost benefit; but so great a change as an entire alteration of the system upon which the tithes are taken will require much consideration before it can be carried out.

On the other hand, the relief given by the sacrifice of the arrears and the extra 2½ per cent. will be immediate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 344.

Imperial Iradé.

TOUS les sujets de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan sans distinction sont l'objet constant de sa haute sollicitude et de son inépuisable bienveillance; ceux qui s'écartent de la voie tracée par les devoirs de sujétion et qui se rendent coupables d'illégalité, ceux-là seuls seront privés de la jouissance de ses bienfaits et la faute en retombera sur eux.

Cette sollicitude impériale vient de se manifester une nouvelle fois à l'égard des populations agricoles si honnêtes et si paisibles de l'Empire. En premier lieu, il a été décrété l'exemption immédiate de ces populations du quart supplémentaire de la dîme, précédemment établie. En outre, tous les arriérés des impôts accumulés jusqu'à la date de l'année 1289 de l'Hégire ont été abandonnés à leur profit. La radiation des inscriptions de ces arriérés est ordonnée dans les registres au Trésor, et publication en sera donnée. Seront exceptés de cette mesure les fermiers, les garants, et les classes aisées pour leurs dettes envers le Trésor.

Les diverses communautés doivent être représentées au sein des Conseils Administratifs des provinces par des personnes de leur choix et jouissant réellement de leur confiance. Les avis émis par ces dernières, dans les limites de la légalité et du bon sens, seront prises en sérieuse considération.

Le principe d'après lequel une délégation était autorisée, conformément à la Loi Organique des Vilayets, à se rendre à Constantinople pour soumettre les demandes des Assemblées Générales Annuelles des Provinces, et qui était abandonné depuis quelque temps, a été remis en vigueur; des personnes honorables et jouissant de la considération de leurs communautés respectives seront appelées, non en masse, mais par groupes, des vilayets et des mutessarifats. Les informations que l'on aura recueillies, soit par cette voie, soit par d'autres moyens serviront de base aux réformes et aux modifications à adopter en vue de l'accroissement du bien-être, de la prospérité, et du progrès général.

Des agents et des contrôleurs spéciaux seront désignés selon la nécessité, pour assurer la répartition, et la perception des impôts conformément à la loi existante et aux règles de la justice.

Des ordres viennent d'être transmis à tous les vilayets pour la mise à exécution de ces mesures.

Des études sont entreprises en ce moment à l'effet d'établir un système de perception des dîmes sur les fonds de terre, basé sur la justice et propre à assurer la satisfaction des populations. De plus, on est à la recherche d'un mode fiscal uniforme en ce qui concerne les taxes. Il est décidé de réaliser au fur et à mesure ces réformes ainsi que celles qui regardent l'organisation de la gendarmerie.

Que la divine Providence accorde de longs jours à notre auguste et magnanime Souverain pour la gloire de l'Empire et le bonheur de ses sujets!

No. 345.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October* 18.)

(No. 625. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 2, 1875.

MY correspondence has made your Lordship aware how urgent I have thought it that the Porte should not delay the adoption of measures for the immediate removal of the just cause of complaint of the populations of all parts of the Empire in reference to the collection of the tithes, and to the manner in which alleged arrears of taxes were being levied.

I frequently represented to the Grand Vizier that in this and other reforms he should endeavour to forestall the representations which might soon be made by foreign Governments; and by determining upon the immediate promulgation of the measures, of which I have informed your Lordship, there can, I think, be no doubt that His Highness has adopted the proper course.

Such, however, is not the opinion of all my colleagues.

General Ignatiew, upon being made acquainted with the nature of the Imperial Iradé, did his utmost, I am told, to persuade the Grand Vizier not to issue it at once, but to allow time for preparing the people of the Herzegovina to receive it as a great concession.

The Grand Vizier replied that the Sultan, having given his Iradé, he could only execute it.

The object of the Ambassador was obviously to cause it to be supposed in the Herzegovina that the great concession about to be granted is due to the diplomatic action, which is precisely what the Porte is anxious to avoid.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

P.S. *October* 3.—Since writing the above I have seen General Ignatiew, whose language, now that the Iradé is made public, was very different from that which he had held to the Grand Vizier, whom he greatly praised for taking the measures of reform so promptly in hand. He added, with some exultation, that in this way His Highness would completely take the wind out of Count Andrassy's sails, in preparing a list of reforms to be enforced by the Porte.

H. E.

No. 346.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October* 18.)

(No. 627. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 3, 1875.

SOME uneasiness has been caused to the Porte by a report from their Ambassador at Vienna that frequent consultations, of which neither he nor Sir Andrew Buchanan knew exactly the object, were going on between Count Andrassy and the German and Russian Ambassadors.

General Ignatiew tells me confidentially that they have been held with the view of coming to an understanding, upon what he calls a pretension of Count Andrassy's, of which he entirely disapproves.

Count Andrassy wishes, he says, that the reports of the Consuls at Mostar of the impression and views which they had formed during their mission should be sent to Vienna, where the three Governments should concert upon a project to be submitted to the Porte for the administration of Bosnia.

General Ignatiew had, he said, been combating this proposal with the utmost energy, but seeing in his Government symptoms of giving way to Count Andrassy, he had finally telegraphed his views and objections direct to the Emperor, whose answer he had not yet received, though he hoped that His Majesty would share his opinion.

He had stated to the Emperor that the Sultan and his Government must feel such a

natural resentment, if a question of internal reforms in Turkey and the administration of one of its Provinces was to be disposed of by foreign Governments, discussing it in a foreign capital, that they would almost certainly refuse to entertain it.

He hoped that it would not be expected that he should advocate at the Porte any project so prepared, for, besides being insulting to the Sultan, it would be drawn up on theoretical principles by persons having no practical knowledge of the country they were dealing with, or of its requirements.

Count Andrassy's object was plain.

He was bent upon making it appear that every reform in the administration of the northern provinces, and every amelioration of the condition of the Christians, proceeded directly from himself, and to attain this end he was regardless of everything else.

The remark is probably not far from the truth, and it agrees with the declaration of Count Andrassy himself, two years ago, that the Slavs were to be taught that they had more to gain from Austria than from Russia.

My colleagues, however, did not seem to remember that it might perhaps, with equal truth be retorted upon himself, for it has been his invariable habit to arrogate the merit of every useful measure adopted by the Porte.

Seeing that General Ignatiew, while anxious to prevent projects of reform from being drawn up at Vienna, apparently wished that something of the kind should be done here, I warned him that there was little probability of Her Majesty's Government consenting to take part in it.

He then said that he did not wish that there should be any concerted project presented to the Porte, but after hearing what the different Consuls said of the grievances complained of in the Herzegovina, we should each of us be in the position individually to recommend the redress of the complaints that appeared well founded, which is, in fact, precisely what we have already been doing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 347.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 629.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 3, 1875.*

HADJI MICHALI, the most famous of the leaders of the Cretan insurrection, who went to Russia after its suppression, arrived here a few days ago with the intention of proceeding to the Island in order to endeavour to get up a new movement.

General Ignatiew tells me, confidentially, that he applied to him for a passage in a Russian steamer, but his Excellency caused him to return to Odessa.

Hadji Michali had lately been in Austria, from whence he was coming when thus turned back.

I likewise learn that one of the Austrian Lloyd steamers was found the other day to have conveyed from Syra to Crete fifty barrels of gunpowder, which were landed as casks of olives, and were detected by the powder leaking from one of them.

Although the island is said to continue quiet, the above facts seem to indicate that some designs of exciting it to insurrection are entertained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 348.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 630.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 4, 1875.*

BY the last information from the Herzegovina, the Porte is led to believe that, with the exception of the insurgents actually under arms, of which the number is estimated at from 4,000 to 6,000 men, the population in general is ready to make its submission.

I have telegraphed to Mr. Holmes to inquire whether he concurs in this opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 349.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 631.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 4, 1875.*

THE Austrian Ambassador having called upon Safvet Pasha to-day, the Minister observed to him that the Consuls, although with no great success, having performed their mission, by making the communication entrusted to them to the insurgents, it would be desirable that they should be instructed to return to their posts.

He did not mean that they should come away without holding any communication with Server Pasha; but their prolonged presence would retard the submission of the insurgents, by encouraging hopes of an European intervention.

The Ambassador seems to have returned an undecided answer.

I told Safvet Pasha that, as far as Her Majesty's Consul was concerned, I agreed with him in considering that he had performed all the special service required of him. Mostar was within his natural Consular jurisdiction; and being, for the moment, the point from which information could be best obtained, he would remain there for the present in the discharge of his ordinary Consular duties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 350.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 632.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 4, 1875.*

THE disposition prevailing among the Bulgarians being at this moment a consideration of importance, I directed Mr. Vice-Consul Dupuis to keep me informed upon the subject.

He has hitherto stated that perfect tranquillity prevails; and, by the despatch herewith inclosed, he transmitted the accompanying copy of a letter from a correspondent at Philipopoli, upon whom he thinks he can rely.

Although this gentleman expresses a confident opinion of the loyalty of the Bulgarians, the information which I have received here, from persons who have unusual opportunities of being acquainted with the temper of the Bulgarians, is of a very different nature.

They are not an adventurous or warlike race, and will be unlikely to embark in any rash movement against the Turkish Government; but they are represented to me as deeply imbued with a wish for independence, which they might be prepared to assert if the occasion seemed favourable; and should Servia engage in active hostilities with Turkey, it would not be possible to feel confidence in their remaining tranquil, although they have no desire to see themselves annexed either to that Principality or to Roumania.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 350.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Adrianople, September 18, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Excellency herewith inclosed copy of a letter I have received from my correspondent in Philipopoli as to the state of feeling of the Bulgarians with regard to the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

I may inform your Excellency that Mr. Milcoff, although a native of Bulgaria, is a British subject by naturalization, and, I should think, a likely person to know what is transpiring among his countrymen.

As I hear, though I cannot vouch for the truth of the report, that the French Government contemplates the establishment of an Agency at Nisch, I would respectfully suggest that, as the British Government has no recognized authority nearer that place than at Belgrade, in Servia, the jurisdiction of this Vice-Consulate should be made either to include the whole of this Vilayet, so as to bring it more within the reach of the Bulgarian element, or that some one be appointed Agent, either at that place or at Philipopoli.

The jurisdiction of this office, as your Excellency is aware, is confined to Adrianople,

and as such, in my humble opinion, is far too limited to be of much service to Her Majesty's Embassy. In the absence of outlying agencies, I find it exceedingly difficult to obtain anything like reliable or trustworty information on any subject, nor do I feel sure how far I am called upon to take cognizance of events or occurrences happening beyond the limits of this jurisdiction. Restricted as I am to my district, I am unavoidably obliged to rely on private and other unauthentic sources for such intelligence as I am able to collect and convey to your Excellency.

Believing that Her Majesty's Embassy must experience some inconvenience in not being better and more regularly informed as to what is passing in the interior of the country, your Excellency will know what course to adopt to remedy the evil.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. HUTTON DUPUIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 350.

Mr. Milcoff to Vice-Consul Dupuis.

(Private.)
Dear Sir, *Philipopoli, September* 15, 1875.

ACCORDING to your wishes, I give you in a few lines some information respecting the feeling of the Bulgarian population at the present moment.

As I wrote you some time ago, the Bulgarian nation, as I understand, is not mixed up with those revolutionary movements from the beginning; it knows its interest, and it keeps aloof from those revolutionary movements. Many times the Committee from the Principalities, and some emissaries from other Governments, have tried to influence the minds and disturb the peace of the Bulgarians, but they found the nation against them. It is true the people are suffering a great deal from taxes and other oppressive measures, but they are, nevertheless, faithful to the Imperial Government at Constantinople, and the authorities have many proofs of the loyalty of the people. The interest of the Turkish Government will, therefore, be to improve the prosperity of the country, instead of overwhelming it with taxes, and then the Government will be sure of always finding the Bulgarians ready and united to shed its last drop of blood for the sake of the Imperial Government.

The gratitude of the Bulgarians towards their rulers for the separation of their Church from the Greek Patriarchate is acknowledged by the whole nation, and the people see that the Government takes to heart the welfare of the country. But most of the Governors of the Vilayet do not carry out the good intentions of the Central Government, and instead of encouraging and fostering the industries, they oppress them.

The revolution in the Herzegovina and Bosnia, as you know, has been organized and aided from outside, but it will be limited to those two Vilayets, and will, I hope, soon be put down. All the Redifs have been called out and forwarded to Nisch and the neighbouring country; also many thousand troops have passed this way by rail, as well as quantities of ammunition and military stores of all kinds; so that the Government has taken in proper time every necessary measure to put an end to the insurrection as soon as possible.

I may safely inform you, for the intelligence of Her Majesty's Embassy, that the Bulgarian nation will always be faithful to the Turkish Government. No revolutionary movement exists or ever will exist.

(Signed) M. MILCOFF.

No. 351.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 633.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 5, 1875.

I HAVE asked the Grand Vizier whether the new Minister of War had been able to ascertain the number of the troops at present collected in the northern provinces.

His Highness replied that Riza Pasha stated that, after a close examination of the records of his office, he had been unable to form even an approximate opinion, for no returns seem to exist of the forces that have been sent.

He will have to ascertain from the different generals the forces at their disposal.

Riza Pasha had, he said, thought it right to send to his predecessor to inquire what plan he had proposed to follow.

Hussein Avni Pasha had replied that his intention had been first to suppress the insurrection, and afterwards to march into Servia.

Mahmoud Pasha entertains such a strong animosity against Hussein Avni, and is so little likely to be scrupulous in an attempt to damage his rival, that his assertions cannot be accepted without suspicion; and, although it was generally understood that the late Seraskier was inclined to adopt a very high line in regard to Servia, it may be doubted whether he ever intended to go the length attributed to him by the Grand Vizier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 352.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 635.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 5, 1875.

Mr. Agent and Consul-General White informed me yesterday that the other Agents at Belgrade, under instruction from their respective Governments, had agreed to make a representation to the Servian Government, insisting that it should strictly observe a pacific attitude towards the Porte, and threatening it with the consequences if it held a contrary conduct.

Mr. White had more than once been instructed to impress the necessity of neutrality on the Servian Government, but I have not thought myself authorized to direct him to repeat this advice, and to accompany it with a threat.

A telegram from your Lordship received this evening informs me that the Italian Agent at Belgrade had been instructed to join his colleagues in the communication to the Servian Government proposed by Russia, relative to the XXIXth Article of the Treaty of Paris, and I presume that this must apply to the representation alluded to by Mr. White.

I have myself no knowledge of any proposal having been made by the Russian Government, but if an agreement has been come to that a warning should be given to Servia, I would suggest that it might come with greater weight if Mr. White were to make it under direct instruction from Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 353.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 19. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna Serai, October* 9, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that there are still large bodies of insurgents and Servians in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar. They have frequent encounters with the troops, and, if the official reports are to be believed, victory is always on the side of the Turks—a great number of the insurgents being invariably killed while the losses of the former are quite insignificant. There is, however, very little faith to be placed in these reports, and, though in most cases the insurgents are repulsed, I believe their losses are inconsiderable. Their aim appears to be to continually harass the troops without risking any decisive engagement, and by these tactics they will doubtless succeed in prolonging the struggle until winter, when active operations must for a time cease.

In the Sandjaks of Banialuka and Bihach there are also from time to time unimportant skirmishes between the Turks and the scattered bands of rebels which still exist in different parts of the country, but with the same absence of any decided result.

I regret to say that the revolt now seems spreading from the Herzegovina by way of Ljubuoka to Duvno and Livno, in the Sandjak of Travnik. Troops have been despatched thither, and tranquillity has been partially restored, but considerable excitement is still said to prevail.

The peasants of these districts are chiefly Roman Catholics, and it is a bad symptom to find disaffection spreading amongst them. There is as much fanatical hatred between Catholics and Greeks in this Province as between Mussulmans and Christians, and many Catholics, priests as well as laymen, have frequently expressed to me their conviction that they would be no better off under a Serb administration than under a Turkish one. The fact of their now rising therefore would seem to indicate either that they have been incon-

siderately harassed by the authorities, or else that the feeling is gaining ground that the insurgents will be ultimately victorious, and that it is politic to side with the stronger party.

While making every effort to suppress the rebellion, the Turkish Government should not be unmindful of those districts which have hitherto remained loyal, but should endeavour to content the populations by a just administration and a few timely concessions.

Unfortunately the constant requisition for transport of animals for the use of the army, and the frequent passage of troops, more especially of the undisciplined Redif and Bashi-bozuks, are not calculated to calm any existing irritation or counteract the efforts of foreign agitators, but still much may be effected by judicious and mild government, and an endeavour to prevent the perpetration of any abuses by zaptiehs and other petty officials.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 354.

Mr. Doria to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 307. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, October 12, 1875.*

WHEN I was in Moscow I was informed by a person, whose information ought to be worthy of consideration, that on each occasion of the Emperor's arrival, it is made a subject of secrecy. That if, for instance, His Imperial Majesty's was publicly announced to arrive in Moscow at one station, the Imperial train stopped and the Emperor alighted at the other. On a recent occasion the whole arrangements for his reception were altered and the time for the Emperor's arrival was not allowed to be known.

While the Duke of Edinburgh was at Nijni Novgorod, the Governor Count Koutaissow mentioned to His Royal Highness the excessive anxiety which he had been kept in for some time, living in expectation of a public disturbance.

I have hitherto been unwilling to trespass on your Lordship's time with these remarks; and, although some persons attribute great significance to a supposed disaffection and discontent existing through Russia, I am not impressed myself with a sentiment that great importance is to be attached to this belief. The sympathy now felt for the insurgents in the Herzegovina by Russians as their co-religionists has been general, and much compassion has been expressed, and collections have been made, and money has been sent to the Herzegovina to alleviate the sufferings of the Slave population, represented as oppressed by the most cruel barbarity of the Turkish Government.

This movement, in the sense of a Slave Protectorate, which the press in some instances favours, I have reason to think, causes embarrassment to the Imperial Cabinet. Persons connected with the Court have spoken to me as if anxious to disavow that any complicity or accord exists between the Government and the general sympathy for their oppressed, as they are termed, Slave brethren. No doubt the Government is awkwardly situated in the present crisis, being persuaded that it cannot openly espouse the national sympathy for the Slaves without arousing suspicion of the other European Courts, while it does not venture or wish to show a disregard to the traditional policy of Russia in regard to the Slave population.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. DORIA.

No. 355.

Mr. Doria to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 308. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, October 12, 1875.*

SINCE I had the honour to address your Lordship on the subject of the affairs of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, I have again had an interview with Baron Jomini, who, in conversing on the subject, expresses himself more confident that the insurrection may be suppressed, and the peace of Europe remain undisturbed. Baron Jomini informed me that his Government had obtained positive assurances from the Prince of Servia of his

maintenance of a strict neutrality towards Turkey till next spring. I observed, then, his Highness has fixed a definite term to his neutral attitude. To my remark, his Excellency said before spring he trusted that the insurrection would be entirely quelled and a better administration initiated. His Excellency expressed openly his regret that Her Majesty's Government does not join with the other Great Powers in their representations to the Porte, he avows his belief that the only efficacious method to arrive at an improvement in Turkish administration for the benefit of the whole population is by placing a pressure on the Government at Constantinople by the collective action of the European Courts. Turkey is in a state which exists only by sufferance, because necessary for the balance of Europe, and, therefore, the principle of non-intervention cannot be applied to Turkey as to other States. If, however, the non-intervention principle is to be acted upon in her case it must be equally respected with regard to the Christian population, and, if it had been carried out in the present crisis, the Northern Powers ought not to have used their strenuous efforts to restrain Servia and Montenegro from joining the insurgents, without which Turkey must have been involved in a calamitous war. This pressure to be exercised in the interests of Turkey for her own preservation can only be used beneficially and with success when all the European Powers are agreed to act in concert. The Ottoman Government will relax its efforts and disregard its promises of better administration as soon as divergence of opinion and absence of cordiality is manifested among the Contracting Powers to the Treaty of Paris. Baron Jomini attributes the publication of the Sultan's Iradé to this beneficial pressure, the Turkish Government wishing thereby to avoid the intervention of the European Powers who might propose special measures.

But, said his Excellency, there is the doubt whether Turkey can be regenerated even under the influence of this pressure. His Excellency always terminates his phrase with this terrible *but*; although he states as his opinion that the maintenance of the *status quo* is the only solution of the Eastern question. "C'est inutile de se casser la tête en cherchant d'autres solutions" is Baron Jomini's expression. Under such conflicting doubts and opinions it is difficult to arrive at a conclusion what the future aims of Russia may be with regard to the integrity of the Turkish Empire. A Russian author has written that the Eastern question is the southern half of the Slavonian question which cannot be solved singly, or only in a sense hostile to Russia. The Turkish half cannot be approached alone.

Russia is content, therefore, to follow an expectant policy.

Baron Jomini repeated to me again that his Government was prepared to co-operate with Austria in support of her views and proposals for the re-establishment of tranquillity in the Balkan Provinces on a lasting footing. It has been also asserted to me that large sums of money have been furnished to the insurgents from Russia from the commencement, and General Ignatiew's name has been used in connection with the assertion. I cannot, however, at all answer for its truth.

The inclosed article, which I have the honour to forward to your Lordship, from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of the 9th instant, in combating an article from the "Monde Russe," expresses opinions entirely similar to those which Baron Jomini has held to myself in conversation, and which I have recapitulated to your Lordship in this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. DORIA.

Inclosure in No. 355.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of [illegible], 1875.

LE "Monde Russe" nous somme de déclarer que les opinions que nous émettons n'appartiennent qu'à nous et que nous n'avons aucun rapport avec le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

La sommation était en tout cas déplacée, et cela à un double point de vue; d'abord parce qu'on n'en lance que quand on a les moyens de se faire obéir . . . quand même, et puis notre honorable confrère devrait savoir que tout ce que nous publions en dehors de la partie officielle du journal est sous notre propre responsabilité.

Toutefois il nous permettra de conserver la conviction que les opinions émises par nous sur la marche des affaires en Orient se rapprochent beaucoup plus des vues du Gouvernement Impérial que celles du "Monde Russe."

La profonde sympathie pour les malheureuses populations de l'Herzégovine, le désir de mettre un terme à leurs souffrances, et d'écarter les griefs qui les ont provoquées, sont

des sentiments que tout le monde partage. Mais pour y donner la satisfaction réclamée par l'opinion publique, les moyens diffèrent.

Le "Monde Russe" paraît croire que, dans ce but, le Cabinet Impérial aurait dû faire entendre, comme il l'a fait plusieurs fois, une voix sévère et menaçante, dénoncer à l'Europe les vices de l'administration Turque, réclamer et imposer au besoin des enquêtes Consulaires, des interventions diplomatiques, une tutelle Européenne et des institutions politiques destinées à soustraire à tout jamais les provinces insurgées à la domination directe de la Porte.

Dans notre conviction cette marche conduirait aux résultats suivants :—

L'initiative de la Russie éveillerait immanquablement les défiances et les oppositions qu'elle a toujours rencontrées dans les affaires d'Orient. Elle resserrerait les liens unissant les Puissances sur le terrain des Traités en vue de l'indépendance souveraine reconnue au Sultan dans les affaires intérieures de la Turquie. La Porte trouverait dans ce désaccord un encouragement à repousser toutes les améliorations. Il faudrait les lui imposer par la force, ce à quoi l'Europe n'est nullement disposée.

Par conséquent la Russie se verrait réduite à l'alternative ou bien d'avoir parlé en vain, d'avoir entretenu par là les illusions fatales qui ont mis aux populations de l'Herzégovine les armes à la main, d'avoir prolongé les calamités d'une lutte inégale, augmenté le nombre de ses victimes et aggravé, au lieu de l'améliorer, la position des malheureux insurgés, ou bien de provoquer une guerre que la situation présente de l'Europe rendrait générale et dangereuse au plus haut degré.

Nous avons pensé et nous pensons encore qu'il était plus sage, au point de vue des intérêts généraux et plus utile aux populations dont les souffrances excitent nos sympathies, de travailler à réunir les Cabinets Européens ainsi que la Porte sur un terrain de conciliation, dans le but d'empêcher l'extension de la lutte, d'en arrêter les violences, et d'amener des transactions de nature à en écarter les causes. Il est évident que cet accord ne pouvait se faire que sur un programme modéré. Toute exigence excessive, toute intervention formelle, eût rencontré l'opposition invincible de la Porte et désuni les Cabinets. Certes cela n'eût profité en rien aux Chrétiens de l'Herzégovine. En ne poursuivant qu'un but possible et pratique dans l'intérêt de tous, on est parvenu à établir une entente Européenne, bien rare dans les affaires d'Orient. Cette entente a circonscrit la lutte en posant de part et d'autre, elle en a ainsi diminué les périls et les calamités, elle a exercé une pression morale qui a déterminé la Porte à accorder spontanément des améliorations qu'elle prévoyait devoir être réclamées par l'opinion publique et les Gouvernements de l'Europe. Cette entente générale des Cabinets peut continuer à s'exercer utilement, dans les mêmes voies de conciliation, pour amener les insurgés à cesser une lutte sans espoir de succès, et pour engager la Porte à veiller à l'exécution sérieuse et sincère des réformes promises.

A notre avis, cette marche est la seule rationnelle dans la situation présente de l'Europe et de l'Orient, la seule conseillée par les intérêts de la Russie, et celle qui peut le mieux adoucir la situation pénible des Chrétiens de l'Herzégovine, sans compromettre leur avenir.

C'est pourquoi, en la soutenant de nos faibles efforts, nous sommes convaincus de ne pas nous trouver en désaccord avec la politique toujours rationnelle et modérée que le Cabinet Impérial poursuit depuis vingt ans en Europe aussi bien qu'en Orient.

No. 356.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 127. Confidential.

Sir, *Buda Pesth, October 13, 1875.*

UNDERLYING the natural excitement which recent events beyond the Save were calculated to produce here, and which affected alike all classes of Hungarians, there seems to have been among well-informed Magyars considerable uneasiness as to the possible results of those events in relation to the future of their own nationality. Suspicions as to the ultimate intentions of the Vienna Foreign Office have been quietly circulated, and certain facts, very positively vouched for, have given an appearance of reality to these suspicions.

M. Kullay, for several years the Austro-Hungarian Agent at Belgrade, is now a journalist in Buda-Pesth. This gentleman was, as I believe to have been reported at the time by the late Mr. Longworth, engaged some two or three years ago in making a tour in Bosnia. According to his own statements he was expressly sent by Count Andrassy with

the object of putting matters in train in view of an eventual ebullition such as has recently occurred. His dealings were exclusively, it would seem, with the Bosnia Catholics, who, in spite of their numerical weakness, are a not uninfluential element in the community of the Province. Sums of secret service money to the amount of 500,000 florins passed, as he declares, through his hands as subventions to the Catholics of Bosnia; and he was able to report that everything was matured, as far as he could effect it, for a demonstration in favour of annexation to this Empire whenever the favourable opportunity should arise.

According to the same account, the Emperor's journey to Dalmatia was a long contemplated element in the arrangements of the scheme. This journey has been so frequently, vehemently, and spontaneously declared to me by Baron Wenckheim to have had no connection at all with the Herzegovina insurrection, that, on the principle of "qui s'excuse s'accuse," I should be tempted to believe that his Excellency had reason to think the contrary. Whatever the truth may be, your Excellency will, I hope, pardon me for alluding to these statements as a prelude to a remark or two upon the light in which the Magyars regard the contingency of an annexation of Bosnia. That the national pride would be flattered by the recovery of a Province formerly Hungarian, is not considered sufficient compensation for the risk which would be incurred by the addition to the monarchy of a large Slav population; for the Hungarians assume that the annexation of Bosnia would mean its incorporation with the other Provinces of the realm of St. Stephen, and that it would not, like Dalmatia, form a portion of the Austrian moiety of the Empire.

To give your Excellency an example of Magyar opinion on this point, I may quote Count Zichy, the ablest of the Ministers who quitted office in March. He tells me that during the three years of his governorship at Fiume, he made frequent excursions into Bosnia, and was for some time at Serajevo. He speaks of the condition of the people as immeasurably inferior to that of the Dalmatian, Slavonians, or inhabitants of the military frontier. He describes them as "nomads," with very little notion of the rights of property, and possessed of hardly the rudiments of civilization. This language, which sounds exaggerated, is only a fair example of the way in which the Magyars speak of the Slav subjects of Turkey; and it is impossible for them, from the Prime Minister downwards, to be too emphatic in repudiating any project of annexation. Until Magyarisation has done its work among the dissatisfied nationalities which already owe obedience to the Government at Buda-Pesth, that Government, they say, is hardly likely to approve of any increase of the Slav element. They would on this ground reject the offer of Bosnia as a gift, even were its acceptance unattended by any danger to the independence of Turkey. I have been assured that very recently Mr. Déak himself was sounded as to his opinions on the subject, and that he replied in the forcible language which is his characteristic, that he would never give any encouragement to an act which might one day place in the hands of the Hapsburg an instrument for the degradation of the Magyar.

Such being the sentiments of the Hungarian statesman, the idea, which has obtained partial credence here, that Count Andrassy was not unfavourable to a policy of annexation has somewhat damaged his Excellency's position; and for the first time since I came to Hungary, I have heard him accused of insincerity in his public utterances, with reference of course to his explanations on foreign affairs before the Austrian and Hungarian Delegations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 357.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 341. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, October 15, 1875.*

MY Turkish colleague informs me that Count Andrassy, with whom he had an interview yesterday, has recommended to him the expediency of the Porte giving to the Christian peasantry in the Herzegovina a proprietary interest in the land.

Raschid Pacha, however, is of opinion that the financial difficulty, however great, of carrying out such an arrangement, would be the least serious obstacle against its adoption.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 358.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 343. Very Confidential.)

Vienna, October 15, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE read with much interest Mr. Monson's despatch No. 127 of the 13th instant, which I forward to your Lordship to-day, and more particularly the charge which it reports, on the part of Baron Kallay, against Count Andrassy of having distributed secret service money among the Roman Catholic population of Bosnia, with a view to prepare the country for annexation to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is well, however, to remember, when considering so serious a charge against the Prime Minister of this country, that the person making it considers himself to have grievances against Count Andrassy with regard to his official career, and exaggerated language, which is common in Hungary, is naturally more so in the mouths of those who are under the influence of passion.

I would therefore refer your Lordship to my despatches No. 243 of September 15, and No. 278 of October 20, 1872, in the latter of which I report Count Andrassy having acquainted me with his intention of employing secret service money in Bosnia among the Roman Catholics, in order to have as much influence among them as Russia exercises there among the orthodox subjects of the Sultan, by supporting their schools and religious establishments.

I remember also his observing on that occasion that he did not intend Roman Catholic Bishops in those countries any longer to ride on donkeys, while their orthodox rivals were provided with carriages.

With reference, however, to this subject, I should mention that I was struck two days ago by a confidential secretary of Count Andrassy stating it to be the interest of Austria and of Europe generally to prevent the conquest of Turkey by a foreign Power, but that the inherent weakness of the Empire, and many influences at work within it, may ere long bring about its dissolution, and if so, natural and legitimate heirs would be found in the country to succeed to it.

It is thus that Russia looks forward to replacing Turkey eventually, if she cannot annex Constantinople, by several weak States, which could not prevent her being supreme on the Bosphorus and Dardanelles; and if Count Andrassy is beginning to take the possible dissolution of the Ottoman Empire into his political calculations, the question naturally arises whether the contingency may not have become familiar to him since the establishment of friendly relations between St. Petersburgh and Vienna.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 359.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 23. Political.)

Salonica, October 3, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of my despatch of this date to Sir Henry Elliot relating to Turkish armaments, and to the outrages which are perpetrated by the insurgents in the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 359.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Salonica, October 3, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that two Government steamers, the "Houdavendighiar" and the "Izzeddin," left this port for Klek on the 29th ultimo, the former with 350 bat-horses, 750,000 lbs. of biscuit, and 3,500 trusses of hay; and the latter with ammunition, barley, and other stores on board, destined for the Imperial troops in the Herzegovina.

The steam-frigate "Feizi Bahri" arrived here from Smyrna on the 30th ultimo, with

two battalions of Rediffs on board. These troops disembarked here, and were immediately dispatched by the railway to Pristina, with orders to march to Nisch. The "Feizi Bahri" left this morning for Smyrna, to embark two more battalions.

The "Shani Nousret," a Government transport, also arrived here on the 2nd instant, from Smyrna, I believe, with four battalions on board. Two of these battalions will proceed to Novi Bazaar, and two to Nisch.

Within the space of one month, that is to say, between the 3rd of September and the 2nd instant, fourteen battalions of Rediffs have landed here,* and have been dispatched to Nisch and Novi Bazaar. This number does not include the Monastir, Useup, Istip, Serres, and Salonica battalions, which have been enrolled and despatched to the frontier by the provincial authorities; and I am assured that twelve more battalions, which are being enrolled in Asia Minor, will shortly arrive here for the same destination.

No recent official information that I know of has been received by the authorities here from the insurgent districts.

The following is an extract from a letter which I received yesterday from a correspondent (an Italian), dated Mostar, September 17, 1875:—

"The insurgents commit atrocities; they pillage and burn the villages, and massacre the families of those who refuse to join with them against the Government. They respect not the aged, the women, and the children; they kill all, and many families are thus obliged to take refuge in Ragusa. Eight Italians embarked on board the steamer "Lucifer," at the Bocchi de Cattaro; they had gone to join the insurgents, but have returned as beggars, having been robbed by them of all they possessed."

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 360.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 331.)

Foreign Office, October 20, 1875.

Sir,

UNDER the circumstances reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 614 of the 30th ultimo, I approve your having given to the Grand Vizier a Memorandum of the grievances complained of in the Provinces of Turkey, a copy of which was inclosed in your despatch above mentioned.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 361.

The Earl of Derby to Mr. White.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 20, 1875, 4 p.m.*

I APPROVE the communication which you propose to make to the Servian Government, as reported in your telegram of the 7th instant.

No. 362.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 21.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 20, 1875.*

REOUF PASHA is about to be appointed Governor-General of Bosnia.

There is probably no one so well adapted to the post. As Governor-General of Crete he was as popular with the Christians as with the Mussulmans.

Sadick Pasha, a former Minister of Finance, will be sent as Ambassador to Paris, and Cahouli Pasha, Minister of Commerce, to St. Petersburgh.

General Ignatiew left last night for Livadia.

It is the first time I ever knew him to leave without having an audience of the Sultan.

He is expected back in about ten days.

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* With one or two exceptions, all these battalions had their full complement of 800 men each.

No. 363.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 22.)

(No. 43.)
My Lord, *Scutari, le 12 Octobre*, 1875.

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie ci-incluse copie de la dépêche que j'ai adressée aujourd'hui à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople, concernant le refus du Prince du Monténégro d'accorder le passage aux convois des vivres pour les troupes Turques de garnison à Niksitch, que le Mutessarif de Scutari lui avait demandé, ainsi que les motifs que son Altesse a allégués pour ce refus.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure in No. 363.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Scutari, le 12 Octobre*, 1875.

J'AI l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence que le Prince du Monténégro a adressée une note au Mutessarif de Scutari, en réponse au télégramme qu'il lui avait envoyé pour demander le passage pour des convois de vivres pour les troupes Turques résidentes dans la ville de Niksitch, ainsi que je l'ai communiqué à votre Excellence par ma dernière dépêche en date 5 de ce mois.

Par la note précitée le Prince déclarait qu'il regrettait infiniment de ne pouvoir accéder à la demande qu'il lui avait été adressée, alléguant pour motif les esprits de ses sujets, qui était tellement excités (de ne pouvoir prendre part à la cause des insurgés de l'Herzégovine) à ne lui permettre d'accorder le passage qu'on lui demandait; car malgré tous les ordres qu'il pouvait donner sur ce sujet, il n'était pas sûr que dans l'état actuel de choses, les Monténégrins ne vinrent à des actes hostiles contre les convois de vivres, et il ne voulait pas prendre la responsabilité de pareils attentats, qui ne pourraient que s'effectuer au cas qu'on envoyât des approvisionnements pour Niksitch, par voie de Monténégro, et ne voulait non plus qu'il se renouvellassent des scènes de sang, et qu'on eût à déplorer de nouveau des crimes que tel qui a été commis récemment aux frontières sur la personne de Hussein Bey Mousovich, et donner ainsi lieu à des complications regrettables avec le Gouvernement de la Sublime Porte.

Telle étant la réponse donnée par le Prince, puisée d'ailleurs à une source authentique, je crois de mon devoir la soumettre à l'appréciation de votre Excellence, d'autant plus que cette décision du Gouvernement Monténégrin ne laisse plus de doute sur ses intentions hostiles envers le Gouvernement Impérial, et les assertions du Prince sont tout-à-fait insoutenables, puisque en temps de paix avec la Turquie, la route du Monténégro dont il s'agit a été toujours ouverte et le passage y était sûr à l'abri des lois du pays, et c'est pour cela que la récente inhibition donne lieu à des appréhensions à l'égard de son attitude d'autant plus que l'on sait que le Monténégro continue à aider, sousmain, les insurgés et fait une guerre à la sourdine contre la Turquie, n'attendant probablement que l'initiative de la Serbie pour se déclarer ouvertement, et prendre part active à la lutte contre la Porte.

Nul combat a eu lieu récemment du côté de Goutsigné et Niksitch entre les insurgés et les Turcs, et relativement à ce qui se passe dans les districts révoltés de l'Herzégovine je n'ai pû obtenir nulle autre information digne de foi à soumettre à votre Excellence.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 364.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 22.)

(No. 859.)
My Lord, *Paris, October 21*, 1875.

THE Duc Decazes told me yesterday that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires had just asked him whether the French Government intended to take notice of the recent Iradé of the Sultan, and the communication which the Porte had made to foreign Powers on the subject of reforms.

The Duc Decazes went on to say to me that it seemed to him that it would be proper to "prendre acte" of the declarations of the Porte, to show, in fact, that these declarations were held to be binding; but that, for his own part, he was not prepared to express anything like unqualified satisfaction with them. He should be disposed, he said, to point out, on the one hand, that it was very unfortunate that the announcement of measures which were supposed to be calculated to increase the resources of Turkey should be accompanied by a declaration of bankruptcy. On the other hand, he thought that he could hardly avoid saying distinctly that he must look for acts, not words; that he must wait to see the reforms in operation, before coming to any conclusion as to their value.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 365.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 645.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 7*, 1875.

I HAD the honour to report to your Lordship by telegraph that the Austrian Ambassador has made a communication to the Grand Vizier in the sense of the instruction which Sir Andrew Buchanan stated was about to be given to him.

Count Zichy informed his Highness that his Government, having learnt that various incorrect reports were in circulation, attributing to them the intention of proposing a conference or some form of interference in the Herzegovina, had directed him to declare that they were without foundation.

There was no occasion for the adoption of such a course, and the Austrian Government were of opinion that it was for the Porte to propose and carry out the reforms which were necessary in the revolted districts.

During the negotiations which have been going on at Vienna between the three Northern Governments, the care shown by Count Zichy to avoid meeting either me or my French and Italian colleagues has been very striking.

He is living in town while all the other Representatives are upon the Bosphorus; but during the last fortnight or three weeks, although he almost passed our doors in going two or three times a week to see the Russian and German Ambassadors, it was not till to-day, after he had made the communication which I have alluded to, that he has stopped to see any of us.

Mr. Consul Holmes has telegraphed that the reports which he had sent to Ragusa to be forwarded from thence to London and Constantinople, had been returned to him by the Austrian post at Metrovitch as being too heavy.

Such a proceeding with regard to official correspondence is so unusual that, under existing circumstances, it has rather a suspicious appearance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 366.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 649. Most Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 8*, 1875.

GENERAL IGNATIEW called upon me this morning for the purpose of telling me very confidentially what had been passing at Vienna respecting the course to be followed in the question of the Herzegovina.

He had, he said, already told me that he had made known to the Emperor his own opinions against the course proposed by Count Andrassy, with which at that time he was only generally and imperfectly acquainted.

It was only now that he had learnt how extravagant, to use his own expression, that proposition was: it was more so, in fact, than that of the Consuls who had suggested a Conference at Ragusa with the Turkish Commissioner and the Chiefs of the insurgents; for Count Andrassy proposed that there should be such a Conference at Ragusa, but that, out of deference to the feelings of the insurgents, the Turkish Commissioner should be excluded from it.

The Austro-Hungarian Minister considered the demands of the insurgent Chiefs,

which I inclosed in my despatch No. 650 of this date, as perfectly reasonable, and had completely endorsed them, including that for a regular armistice.

The Austrian proposal had not been seen with favour by the Russian Government, but Baron Jomini had written that, as it had been agreed that the direction of the question of the Herzegovina should be left in Count Andrassy's hands, he had not stood out against it, and had assented to the proposed step.

General Ignatiew added that fortunately his own letter to the Emperor, pointing out all that was objectionable in the Austrian project, reached His Majesty at Livadia on the same day as Baron Jomini's report, and His Majesty adopted his views.

The consequence was a renewal of the negotiations at Vienna, which led to the proposal being set aside.

The Emperor's advice was followed and the instructions were sent to Count Zichy, in the sense already reported to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 367.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 650.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 8, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose an extract from a Vienna newspaper, giving the answer of some of the insurgent Chiefs to an invitation from the Austrian, German, and Italian Consuls to meet them and discuss the condition of the Christians in the Herzegovina.

I am assured that the document is authentic.

The insurgents demand an armistice, during which the daily provisioning of the Turkish troops at Trebigné is to be performed by them; the place of meeting to be on the Montenegrin or Austrian frontier, and the Commission to be composed of European Commissioners with the exclusion of any Turkish Representative.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the Porte could never be a consenting party to such an arrangement.

Under no circumstances would it be possible to have a regular armistice with insurgents under no regular or responsible head, and scattered in separate bands, with quite as much of the brigand as the military character in their composition; but, even were such an armistice practicable, it would be childish to expect that the Porte would consent to it for the purpose of allowing the Chiefs to hold a conference with foreign Commissioners in foreign territory upon the administration of a Turkish province.

I am told that two out of three names affixed to the letter to the Consuls are those of men who were engaged in the movement of 1861, and have since been living in Austria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 367.

Newspaper Extract.

L'Herzégovine : La Mission Consulaire.—Le "Tagblatt" de Vienne publie les deux correspondances suivantes, échangées entre la Commission Consulaire de Mostar et les chefs des insurgés :—

"A Michael Lubobratitch, Luka Petkovitch, Trifko Vucalovich, au camp de Sjemaedo près Begovichté.

"Par ordre de nos Gouvernements, nous demandons une entrevue afin de nous entretenir sur l'état des Chrétiens en Herzégovine.

"Nous sollicitons cette entrevue comme amis, sans aucune autorisation Turque, sans troupes ni zaptiés.

"Nous vous adressons nos saluts, &c.

"*Trebigné, le* $\frac{5}{17}$ *Septembre*, 1875.

(L.S.) "Wassa
(L.S.) "Lichtenello.
(L.S.) "Durando."

Il a été répondu à cette réquisition de la manière suivante :—

"1. Michael Lubobratitch, Luka Petkovitch, Trifko Vucalovich ne peuvent accepter aucune entrevue avec les Consuls des Puissances sans la présence des autres Chefs de l'Herzégovine, car l'insurrection actuelle est une révolution de toute l'Herzégovine.

"2. Pour que tous les Chefs puissent se réunir, il faut du temps; c'est pourquoi un armistice de quelques jours est nécessaire.

"3. Cet armistice doit laisser les troupes Turques dans les positions où elle se trouveront le jour où il sera conclu; l'approvisionnement journalier des Turcs à Trébigné se fera par l'entremise des avant-gardes des insurgés.

"4. Le lieu de l'entrevue doit être choisi soit sur la frontière du Monténégro, soit sur celle de l'Autriche.

"5. La Commission qui assistera à l'entrevue doit être composée de Commissaires Européens à l'exclusion de tout représentant Turc.

"6. Les citations doivent être expédiées par les Commissaires Européens.

"*Brecenik, le* $\frac{7}{19}$ *Septembre*, 1875.

"Expédié au nom de Michael Lubobratitch, Luka Petkovitch, et Trifko Vucalovich par le fondé de pouvoirs général.

"Dr. Costa Gruic."

Cette pièce, reçue sous forme de procès-verbal, fut certifiée conforme à l'original par les Consuls et expédiée aux Cabinets Européens.

No. 368.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 651.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 8, 1875.*

AS the Austro-Hungarian Government appear anxious that the Porte should not only redress the grievances of the population of the Northern Provinces, but should give in to their demands, however extravagant, it is but fair to call to mind their own way of acting when, only four years ago, they had to contend against an insurrection of the kindred population of Dalmatia.

Notwithstanding the superior organization they possessed, they found the suppression of the movement so hard a task that it was at last thought simpler to put an end to it by the payment of a species of black-mail.

This was accomplished by giving every insurgent a sum of money and a supply of arms; many of these recipients of this Imperial bounty being known to have been guilty of those acts of mutilation and barbarity in which those races habitually indulge.

Your Lordship must not consider this as one of the calumnious rumours so common in times of civil commotion.

It is a simple historical fact, freely admitted by the Austrian Ambassador, which conveys an idea of the position of the Austro-Hungarian Government towards their own border populations.

They purchased a nominal submission, but established no real authority.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 369.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 659. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 12, 1875.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW tells me that the dismissal of M. Ristich and the Servian Ministry was caused by Prince Milan having found that they had, without his knowledge, sent an Agent to the Prince of Montenegro to concert the policy to be followed by the two Principalities.

It was upon learning the step taken by Prince Milan that the Emperor of Russia at once telegraphed his readiness to send a Representative to attend his marriage, which His Majesty had previously declined to do.

General Ignatiew states that there is reason to suspect that M. Ristich was intriguing to bring matters to such a pass in Servia as to force the Prince to leave the country, when he himself would assume the Regency.

With this view he was flattering the Prince of Montenegro with the hope of having both the Principalities ultimately placed under him.

The vigour with which Prince Milan had acted had defeated his scheme.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 370.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 660.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 12, 1875.

MR. ADAMS, by his despatch No. 764, reported to your Lordship a conversation with the Duc Decazes upon Eastern affairs, in which his Excellency expressed his strong desire that there should be a concert of all the Great Powers, and not of three alone; adding, that he could only repeat again and again that, if anything was to be done, it should be done by all the six.

However desirable it is that all the Powers should act in concert, Her Majesty's Government will probably not be disposed to go so far as to endorse in full the Duc Decazes' opinion.

If the something to be done should prove of such a nature that, by undermining the authority of the Porte in the Northern Provinces, it would only pave the way for more serious changes at no remote period, it could hardly be advisable for Her Majesty's Government to take part in it.

Step by step we might be drawn into participating in the disintegration of the Empire, and although there is no great discredit in recognizing our inability to resist decisions of the united military Governments of the north, the same could not be said if we were found to be acting with them.

The course latterly followed by those Governments precludes the possibility of what can fairly be called acting in concert with them.

They discuss between themselves, and to the exclusion of all others, the line that is to be taken, and when they have come to a decision, the other Powers are to be told that they may join.

This is what was done with reference to the late Consular Commission, and, although Her Majesty's Government certainly judged rightly in allowing Mr. Holmes to take part in it, within the limits prescribed, it would not be advisable to show too great a readiness to consent to any intervention that might be resolved on at Vienna.

If the Russian Government are as sincere as Prince Gortchakow and General Ignatiew profess in wishing that all the Powers should act together, the first step would seem to be that they should all be consulted as to the course to be taken; but, till this is done, it must be idle to talk of their acting by general concert.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 371.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 661.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 12, 1875.

THE newspapers have so frequently spoken of the meetings of the Representatives of the great Powers here to discuss the affairs of the Herzegovina, that it may perhaps be proper that I should inform your Lordship that none have taken place from the beginning of the movement to the present moment.

The account given in the "Times" of the 4th, from its correspondent at Vienna, of a conference of the Ambassadors upon the demand of the insurgents for an armistice, is as purely imaginary as most of the other reports of what has been passing here.

Although there has been no such conference the demand for an armistice had naturally been alluded to in the conversations we have had with each other, but it was never advocated by the Representatives of the Northern Powers, as stated by the "Times'"

correspondent, and there has, I believe, been a perfect unanimity of opinion among us all as to its being impracticable.

The Russian and German Ambassadors expressed themselves very decidedly in this sense.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 372.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 662.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 14, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two despatches from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Adrianople respecting some disturbances in that vilayet and the employment of Bashi-Bozouks, which the Turkish Government continue to deny.

Safvet Pasha, whom I informed of the substance of Mr. Dupuis' despatches, communicated to me the report of the Governor-General of the occurrence, which was to the effect that the revolutionary committees had concerted a movement against some Mahomedan villages, which the inhabitants had defeated, after a conflict, in which a few persons were killed and 160 arrested.

Nothing serious was apprehended in the Province, but the Governor-General has asked that a battalion of regular troops should be sent to Adrianople to be ready to be dispatched to any point at which the public tranquillity might appear to be threatened.

The Minister of War, to whom I also spoke of the employment of Bashi-Bozouks as certain to lead to excesses, which must exasperate the populations and provoke general indignation, affirmed as positively as his predecessors had done that they are not employed.

I could only reply that it was difficult to reconcile these assurances with the reports from Her Majesty's Consular Agents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 372.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Adrianople, October* 4, 1875.

I BEG leave to submit to your Excellency herewith inclosed extracts from a letter received this morning from M. Milcoff, in Philipopoli, concerning the employment of Bashi-Bozouks.

Your Excellency will perceive from this letter that there was some foundation for the statement made in Constantinople as to the destination of these troops, and that from my despatches of the 27th and 28th ultimo I fear the Governor-General of Adrianople to some extent caused me to mislead your Excellency on this subject.

Under these circumstances, and with the view to extend the sphere of my observations as to what is transpiring just now in this vilayet, and to be less dependent upon the local authorities and other sources for such information as they choose to impart, I may be pardoned if I renew the subject of my despatch of the 28th ultimo as to the necessity of the extension, or a better arrangement, of this jurisdiction.

I may inform your Excellency that it has been stated here, and there seems some truth in the report, that the railway line in the neighbourhood of Yamboli had been torn up by the Bulgarians or other insurgents who have found their way to that part of the country, and that the Cossack troops which left this for Kasau, as reported in my despatch of the 30th ultimo, were temporarily impeded in their journey to that place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DUPUIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 372.

M. Milkoff to Vice-Consul Dupuis.

(Extract.) *Ouzoundjora, October* 3, 1875.

IN answer to your letter of the 28th September, which has been delivered to me this morning, I beg to say that, as I hear, a large corps of Bashi-Bazouks has been collected, from 3,000 to 4,000 men, at Philipopoli. They have not been sent away yet till yesterday, waiting I suppose new orders, or the return of our Mutessarif, who is at present staying at the fair of Ouzoundjora, and I think after the return of the Mutessarif they will be sent, because fresh troops are passing by the train twice in the week for Nisch.

You have heard I suppose that some small disturbances occurred at Zaagara and Tchirpan, but it is not so serious a thing as some thought it. Some of the Bulgarians, as I heard, people without business and without work, made a secret committee, and they intended to disturb the peace, but some of the inhabitants got to know their intention and they gave notice to the authorities about their intentions, some of them fled away, and some are in prison, and I expect the matter will be ended. As I wrote you before, and as our Mutessarif has explained himself the Bulgarian nation is faithful to its Government and always will be.

Inclosure 3 in No. 372.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Adrianople, October* 8, 1875.

A LETTER received this morning from my dragoman in Jeni Zaagra reports considerable excitement and agitation in that neighbourhood, owing to the presence there of a body of Bashi-Bazouks, who by their unruly conduct are sure to provoke the resentment of the Christian and Turkish populations alike.

He states in his letter that a panic seized the officials at the Konak on the 24th-5th instant at Yeni Zaagra, who, alarmed at the sound of firing, called the Mussulman population to arms. The firing, it appears, proceeded from some Bashi-Bazouks, who discharged their pistols at some strangers on horseback.

I beg leave to submit to your Excellency that however unimportant may be the disturbances at Zaagra, Tchirpan, Keson, Islimié, and other towns, still the presence there of that dreaded soldiery, who are allowed to go about armed, and who set the local authorities at open defiance, is almost sure to bring about serious conflicts.

The Government would, therefore, do well to send regular troops to restrain those lawless irregulars.

I have, &c.
(Signed) D. H. DUPUIS.

No. 373.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 665. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 14, 1875.

GENERAL IGNATIEW called upon me this afternoon to say that, as he had mentioned a few days ago, that he was about to go to the Crimea to see the Emperor, he wished to tell me the cause of his having to defer his departure till next week.

It had been understood that the Austro-Hungarian Government had agreed that there should be no interference in the affairs of Bosnia, but Count Andrassy afterwards insisted that a representation should be made to the Porte of the reforms required by the Powers, it being, he argued, impossible to put faith in those promised by the Turks.

This had formed the subject of fresh discussions with the Vienna Cabinet, and he had had again to combat Count Andrassy's views, and to show that, as whatever reforms should be theoretically adopted, the execution of them must be left to the Porte; those imposed by the Powers would be less likely to be honestly carried out than any which might be voluntarily made by the authority of the Sultan.

He had been taunted by Count Andrassy with being more Turkish than the Turks,

but had answered by pointing out that the course proposed by the Austro-Hungarian Minister would be contrary to the provisions of the Treaty of Paris.

The position, the General observed, was a strange one for the Representative of Russia to take towards the Minister of a country which had not only signed the Treaty of Paris, but that of April, which declared that any infraction of that Treaty would be regarded by it as a *casus belli*.

With regard to Count Andrassy's proposal, General Ignatiew again repeated that it became daily more evident that his real object was not to ameliorate the condition of the Bosnian population, but to make it appear that they had obtained important concessions through the influence of Austro-Hungary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 374.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 666. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October* 15, 1875.

AFTER writing my preceding despatch, reporting a conversation with General Ignatiew respecting the wish of Count Andrassy to impose upon the Porte certain reforms in the administration of Bosnia, I received from him the private and confidential note, of which the copy is herewith inclosed, asking whether it would not be possible for Mr. Holmes to persuade Server Pasha of the necessity of giving immediate effect to the reforms sketched in the Imperial Irade, and the Vizirial instructions.

As I have always strongly felt that the course advocated by General Ignatiew was the proper one for the Porte to follow, and knowing that Her Majesty's Government were of the same opinion, I could not hesitate to telegraph to Mr. Holmes to hold, unofficially to Server Pasha, the same language as I had here been holding to the Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Commissioner is a man wanting in the decision of character and readiness to assume responsibility, which are the qualifications especially required in his difficult position, and a friendly and unobtrusive recommendation sent by me through Mr. Holmes may possibly be of some benefit.

Your Lordship will be struck with the strange position in which the Russian Ambassador is at this moment placed, in being forced to appeal to his English colleague to urge the adoption of steps which shall defeat the object of the Austro-Hungarian Government, with which his own profess to be acting in strict concert.

It may be doubted whether General Ignatiew would venture to telegraph to the Russian Consul in the same sense as he asked me to do to Mr. Holmes, but there cannot, I think, be a question that it is desirable for us to assist him at the present moment in resisting the extreme pretensions of Count Andrassy, when it can be done in an open and straightforward way, and I have never concealed from the Austrian and German Ambassadors, any more than from General Ignatiew, that I was doing all in my power to urge the Porte to make the administrative reforms in Bosnia and the Herzegovina at the earliest possible period.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

P.S.—I need not beg your Lordship to consider Ignatiew's letter as very strictly confidential.

H. E.

Inclosure in No. 374.

General Ignatiew to Sir H. Elliot.

(Personelle et Confidentielle.)
Mon cher Collègue, *Buyukdéré, le* 14 *Octobre*, 1875.

EN vous quittant à Thérapia il m'est venu à l'idée que Mr. Holmes, qui se trouve dans d'excellents termes avec les autorités Ottomanes, pourrait agir amicalement sur

Server Pacha pour le reveiller de sa torpeur en lui démontrant la necessité d'appliquer en Herzégovine des réformes palpables, réelles, satisfaisantes pour la population Chrétienne, et dans le cadre du dernier Iradé, ainsi que des instructions Vizirielles. C'est la meilleure manière de faire croire à l'initiative bienfaisante de la Sublime Porte, à l'existence des ordres du Sultan, et à la valeur des réformes "qu'on met en doute." Une action pratique et loyale du Commissaire Ottoman paralyserait entièrement les efforts de ceux qui voudraient que des programmes de réformes en soient confectionnées à l'étranger et mettrait virtuellement fin à toute cette question.

Vous savez que nous sommes animés des meilleures intentions, mais il faudrait que les Turcs, et en particulier Server Pacha, nous secondent un peu pour que la question Herzégovinienne disparaisse des préoccupations Européennes.

J'ai pris le parti de vous écrire des quelques lignes, sachant que nous nous entendrons à ce sujet, et que peut-être vous jugeriez convenable de faire quelques suggestions confidentielles à Server Pacha par le canal de Mr. Holmes.

Mille amitiés, &c.
(Signé) N. IGNATIEW.

No. 375.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 672. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 15, 1875.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW tells me that the Vienna proposal for the administration of Bosnia was a Règlement much like that of the Lebanon, which he considers unsuited to the requirements of the Province.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 376.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(No. 674.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 15, 1875.*

THE telegram, of which the copy is herewith inclosed, has been received by the Grand Vizier from Server Pasha, announcing the return to their homes of the inhabitants of seventeen villages, who had taken part with the insurgents, and some important successes obtained by the Imperial troops.

I sent this morning to the Grand Vizier to point out what a good opportunity was afforded by the return of these people to put into practice the measures to be adopted in their favour.

The district of Popova, to which they belong, lies between Klek and Trebigne, and I am told that in it many of the inhabitants are Catholics.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 376.

Server Pasha to the Grand Vizier.

(Télégraphique.)

Il résulte d'une lettre du Général Chevket Pacha que les habitants de dix-sept villages du Nahiyé de Popova sont venus faire leur soumission et ont été, par les soins des autorités, installés dans leurs foyers respectifs; le retour dans leurs foyers de ces populations, qui avaient pris une part active à la revolte, est un commencement dont il faut se féliciter.

J'avais informé votre Altesse, en date du 25 courant, que d'après un télégramme du Consulat-Général de Raguse de l'arrivée du Général Chevket Pacha à Trebigné, et du succès qu'il avait obtenu sur les rebelles, il résulte d'une lettre dudit Général que par une tactique habile plus de 2,000 insurgés cernés par les troupes Impériales à Grup dans les environs de Ojanpitcha ont été défaits complètement. Les insurgés ont du s'enfuir et passer au Monténégro, laissant 160 morts sur le champs du combat.

No. 377.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 23, 1875.*

THE Grand Vizier tells me that the conversion of the tithes into a land tax will be immediately carried out in the Provinces, and in the Christian districts Christian police will be employed.

The arrogance of the Turkish police in dealing with Christians has been one of the most serious and real of the grievances.

No. 378.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 62. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, October 8, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by me on the 6th instant to Sir Henry Elliot, in which I reported the visit of the Prince of Servia to the Skoupstchina, the conference there, and the resignation of the Servian Ministry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 738.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, October 6, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that a few hours after I had the honour to address to the Earl of Derby, by messenger, my despatch No. 54, the Prince of Servia adopted suddenly the resolution to proceed himself to Skoupstchina, and to enter in direct intercourse with the Deputies.

His Highness proceeded there on the morning of the 4th instant, without the escort which usually guards over his person, and on arrival he found his Ministers extremely surprised at this unexpected visit, and these gentlemen employed all their eloquence to persuade the Prince to desist from his intention to enter into personal communications with the Deputies without the intervention of his Constitutional Advisers, but all to no purpose; and having threatened the Prince with their resignation, he signified his readiness to accept it at once, and having done so, His Highness informed them that their services were no longer required from that moment, and that he dispensed them even with the necessity, according to existing usage, of directing the affairs of their several Departments until the appointment of their successors.

Upon this Mr. Ristich entered the Assembly to announce the resignation of the Ministry, and on his retiring, the Prince entered the Assembly, and addressed the Deputies with closed doors, all strangers having withdrawn.

From what has transpired with regard to this secret conference, it appears that the Prince entered into some details as to the position of Servia, that he assured the Deputies that, as an Obrenovitch, he could not be suspected of a leaning towards Turkey, but that it was his duty to inform them that he was about to receive a solemn warning from the Great Powers, and he appears to have entered into the subject in such a way as to show that the moment had not yet arrived for an open rupture with Turkey, and that he was fully cognizant of the nature of the communication which was to be made by five of the foreign Agents to-day to his Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 379.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 63. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, October 8, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed on the 7th instant to Sir Henry Elliot, in which I reported some further particulars about the new Ministerial crisis at Belgrade.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 379.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, October 7, 1875.*

THE sudden determination adopted by the Prince of Servia on the 4th instant has produced a considerable degree of excitement at Belgrade, and has given rise to many conjectures as to the immediate cause of so unexpected a resolution.

Amongst these, the one to which I am disposed to attach the most importance is the rumour that the Prince had received some confirmation that several of his Ministers were carrying on clandestinely negotiations with the Prince of Montenegro, and that they had even dispatched a secret envoy to that Prince a few days ago.

The idea of keeping the Prince of Montenegro in view as a possible candidate of the "Omladina" for the Servian Throne or princely office is no new notion, and is one with which the partizans of Russia here have been generally credited at a time when Prince Milan was supposed not to be sufficiently deserving of approbation at the Court of St. Petersburg.

I am not aware whether such a possibility has ever been contemplated at Vienna, but I am certain that a contingency of this kind would be viewed with serious displeasure both at Pesth and in official circles in Austria, and I hear from a reliable source that the Austrian Government seized some correspondence quite lately, giving indications of intrigues in this sense, and that information on the subject was given at once confidentially both to Prince Milan and to the Russian Political Agent in Servia.

Other circumstances may have struck the Prince as ominous; it was reported that the loyalty of the superior officers of the Servian army to his person was being seriously tampered with, and the secret Bill drawn up by the Skoupstchina, authorizing the Government to contract a loan for war purposes, is said to have had a clause tacked to it for the special purpose of entrusting the management of the war funds to a Committee which, with the extraordinary powers conferred upon it, the exact nature of which has not become known, might, it is asserted, become in the hands of the late Ministers, a body trenching on the powers of the Executive.

The Prince had refused giving his signature to this secret Decree, though they were urging him constantly to do so; he may have felt that, if it once became law, it would have the effect of almost placing the princely authority in commission, and that, in the hands of some of his present most objectionable advisers, who would thus become irremoveable as members of the Commission, though they should even cease to be Ministers hereafter.

On the other hand, the Prince was unwilling to take upon himself the odium which he might incur if it became known that the resignation of the Ministry Ristich-Grouitch had been merely due to a refusal on his part to sanction a law which was to provide Servia with the means required for the defence of the Principality against a Turkish invasion.

Whatever may have actually passed between the Prince and the Deputies, the result appeared at first highly favourable to His Highness, who had been cheered by the Assembly, and had elicited from a large majority of members cries of "mir" (peace), whilst a few called out stardily for war.

If the Prince had entered the Skoupstchina with a list of new Ministers ready to accept office, and if he had, at the same time, modified by this precedent the modern practice, and reverted to the more ancient one in Servia, according to which the Prince may treat of public matters directly with the delegates of the people, he might have recovered much of his influence by following up the revival of a popular mode of exercising influence in so primitive a country.

It is true that he invited the Deputies to his palace again to a Conference this afternoon, but he has failed in securing, up to this moment, the services of a Ministry prepared to undertake the duties of an administration of Servia, and, having failed in his applications right and left, he has forced the conclusion upon the people that it will be impossible to form a Government at this juncture unless with the tacit consent and approbation of the Ministers who have just resigned, and who thus appear to be much more powerful in reality than it would be agreeable for the Prince to acknowledge.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 380.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 64. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, October 8, 1875.*

IN compliance with your Lordship's instructions conveyed to me by telegraph on the 6th instant, and in conformity with the explanation given by me by telegraph on the 7th instant, I saw M. Pavlovitch, the Chief Clerk of the Foreign Department here, and as the post of Minister is not yet filled up, I informed that gentleman that I had been instructed by Her Majesty's Government to join in the warning addressed to the Servian Government, and communicated to himself two days ago by the other five Representatives of the Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris of 1856.

In doing so I begged Mr. Pavlovitch to observe that I had held all along a similar language to this Government ever since the commencement of the present complications, and that I had been the very first to make representations to M. Bogitchevitch as long ago as the 5th of August last, and to the Prince of Servia himself on the 17th of August, 1875, as reported in my despatches Nos. 25 and 30, Political, to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 381.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 65. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, October 9, 1675.*

WITH respect to the warning addressed jointly to this Government by the Great Powers, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that its effect here was not probably as great as it might have been six weeks ago: the lateness of the season, the condition of the insurrection, and the domestic complications, have all no doubt contributed to lessen its bearing on the native mind.

The news of the increasing financial difficulties of the Porte have been most acceptable here, as the people see in it a confirmation of the result which many of them were aiming to produce when forcing the Empire to set its army in motion, whilst Servia has incurred very little expense as yet.

Moreover, the warning of the Powers is not likely to produce a sufficiently deterrent effect on those agitators who are looking forward to a general and combined rising of the Rayahs at no distant period, as these people do not look with dread on a Turkish occupation of Servia, for they base their calculations on a dissemination of Ottoman forces, and on the revival of Servian ardour for the common cause, which they allege has been declining in the masses since the evacuation of the fortresses in 1868.

On the other hand, the agreement of the Powers constitutes in this instance an important precedent: it enables Austria to speak with more authority here. It may be construed as indicating considerable regard for the immediate interests of that Power, on the part of Russia, and has produced a much more communicative intercourse between the Agents of these two Empires at Belgrade than had existed hitherto, as well as a momentary depression amongst those who were sanguine enough to look forward to the Russian Government for immediate active support of their plans.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 382.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October 25.*)

(No. 65. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, October 9, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the following list of the new Servian Ministers, who assumed their respective offices this morning, viz. :—

M. Kalievitch, as President and Minister of the Interior.
Colonel Nicolitch, the only one of the former Cabinet, as Minister of War.
M. Pavlovitch, as Minister for Foreign Affairs.
M. Stephen Zdravkovitch, as Minister of Public Works.
M. Stoian Boskovitch, as Minister of Worship and Public Instruction.
M. Stoian Marcovitch, as Minister of Justice; and—
M. Milovane Yaukovitch, as Minister of Finance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 383.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October 25.*)

(No. 67. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, October 11, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed this day to Sir Henry Elliot on political parties in Servia, and on the new Ministry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 383.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, October 11, 1875.*

WITH reference to the last Ministerial crisis here, which has just terminated, as previously reported, by the appointment of M. Kalievitch and of his colleagues as Ministers, it may interest your Excellency to hear that these gentlemen belong to a section of the "Omladina and Radical party, still more extreme than their predecessors in office."

Servia having been without an Administration an entire week, the Prince was almost compelled to terminate the crisis in this the only way available to him, and even this was only possible by MM. Ristich and Gruitch declaring their willingness to support the new Administration, which is after all only the reflection of their own.

The new Government intend, it appears, introducing some important legislative reforms, and putting the regular forces and the militia of Servia on a more efficient footing, as it is now acknowledged here that the Principality was hardly prepared as regards armament, equipment, and artillery, even for a purely defensive action.

It appears that an insuperable difficulty, in the way of forming a different Ministry, has been found by the Prince in the refusal, on the part of all the best officers of his army, to accept the post of a Minister of War in any other Cabinet.

As regards the relations to the Porte, I am assured that the new Administration will adopt a soothing and dilatory system, and continue it at least for some time.

In that respect I find very little real difference amongst public men here, whether Radicals or Conservatives, of whatever shade of opinion, all are equally imbued with the desire to see Servian aggrandizement accomplished; none are prepared to risk anything for the destruction of that nominal bond of vassalage in which they see more of protection than of hardship, and in this they are certainly right.

The palpable flaw in the above reasoning is the supposition that the action of disintegrating the Ottoman Empire can go on without jeopardising the very existence of this Principality.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 384.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October 25.*)

(No. 68. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, October 15, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed on this day to Sir Henry Elliot, concerning the Servian complaints as to Turkish inroads and acts of violence from Bosnia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 384.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, October 15, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that, having exchanged visits with M. Paulovitch, the new Servian Foreign Minister (hitherto Chief Clerk or Director in that Department), I had some conversation with him about the state of affairs on the Turco-Servian frontier.

He assured me that since the accession of the Ristich Cabinet to power, no inroads of insurgent volunteers from the Servian side had been tolerated, and that those congregated near Shabatz having been reduced to 900 men, had been sent to join the militia, and thus an end was finally put to this kind of irregular organization.

He further assured me that the two brigades of the militia now concentrated near Alexinatz were about to be sent home, and replaced by only one brigade; that he was informed that General Ignatiew was holding out hopes of a speedy withdrawal of the Turkish force from Nisch, and that the Servians had at present nothing to complain of on the side of Nisch and Widdin.

But the new Minister laid great stress on the reports he received from the Drina, of irruptions from the Bosnian side into the district of Oujitza, of the forcible occupation of the contested island on the Drina, and of the inroads of pillaging forays of Turkish volunteers across that river from Bosnia, who occasionally go so far as to destroy or burn some building, and fire on Servian posts.

It appears that M. Magazinovitch is constantly urged to make representations to the Porte concerning these alleged acts of violence, and I promised to mention the subject to your Excellency.

Colonel Rauko Olimpich is the Servian Commissioner on the frontier, and it might, perhaps, be advisable for the Porte to delegate some functionary to perform similar duties on the Bosnian side, so as to exercise a more efficient control, and afford a possibility of adjusting minor differences by mutual conciliation by these two Commissioners, without the necessity of a reference to Belgrade, Constantinople, and Bosna-Serai in each particular instance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 385.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received October 25.*)

(No. 11.)
My Lord, *Mostar, October 14, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of three despatches which I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot respecting the affairs of the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 385.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Mostar, October 11, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Server Pasha has published a Proclamation announcing the following reforms :—

Reorganisation of the Medjlis according to rules to be decided on.

The "ashr" or tithes to be taken on land; but as this will require some time to arrange, next year it will be sold before the crops are ripe, with regulations to insure its being fairly collected.

With regard to the tax on animals, they will be counted before proceeding to their summer pasturages.

Municipalities to be reformed, and the money belonging to them to be expended only for the benefit of the cadilik in which it is collected.

All laws, the decrees of the administration, and judgments of the tribunals will in future be translated into the Slav language.

The "komore," or requisition for horses for Government service, is abolished.

Each individual will be required to give twenty days' labour for road-making in five years, but only in his own cadilik; and except for road-making all forced labour for civil and military purposes is abolished

Zaptiehs will in future be chosen from those who have accomplished their military service. In each district there will be special places for their accommodation, and they will not be allowed to quarter themselves on the peasantry.

Special employés will be appointed to collect taxes.

Registered contracts will in future be made between the Agas and their Christian dependents according to the Law of 1276 A.H. These contracts to be written and registered gratis. Neglect of this law will be punished by certain penalties.

A Committee of Inspectors, consisting of Turks, Greeks, and Catholics, to be named by the Vali and his coadjutor, will be appointed to control the proper execution of these regulations, and their reports will be presented for examination to the Vali and his coadjutor.

I would remark that though most of these regulations are improvements on the existing state of affairs, they are rather vaguely expressed in the Serb of the Proclamation, and partake more of the nature of promises than of accomplished facts; and though they will, to a certain extent, gratify the districts which have not revolted, I do not think they will have any influence on the insurgents.

Among all classes of Christians they are regarded with natural distrust, and it is generally believed that if tranquillity were restored they would never be properly carried out. Many of the regulations appear to have been hastily announced, without sufficient knowledge of the difficulties which exist as to their practical execution. That regarding the labour for roads will not give satisfaction. The regulation concerning the contracts between Agas and their Kmets is a law formerly attempted to be carried out, but which failed. People naturally ask, will it be more efficacious now than before? There is no mention of Christians being employed in the police force. The Committee to be formed to control the working of the administration with regard to these proposed reforms seems to me more calculated to produce confusion than success.

In short, I think that Server Pasha had better at first have simply announced the heads of the reforms accepted in principle, and then have instituted a Commission to decide on the best practical manner of carrying out the details, and when properly elaborated to have declared them as law. I believe, however, such a communication is in contemplation, and that what has been announced is liable to modification.

I have just heard that an attack has been made by Shefket Pasha on the insurgents at Grab, in Tupci. The Turks advanced in two columns, having previously stationed several companies in ambush to cut off the retreat of the insurgents towards Montenegro. Shefket Pasha reports that the latter immediately evacuated Grab, where they had made entrenchments, and, falling into the ambuscades on their way to the frontier, lost 160 men, and had many others wounded. No prisoners were taken.

The affair leads to no practical result. The Turks cannot remain at Grab, and when they have retired the insurgents will return. I imagine the loss of the rebels to be, of course, exaggerated, but, as they were attacked by the troops in force, there is no doubt that they had the worst of the affair.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 385.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Mostar, October 13, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 1st of October, just received.

The error into which my colleagues appear to have been led resulted, I think rather naturally, from the tenor of their instructions. They were told to endeavour to induce the insurgents to open negotiations with Server Pasha. They were told also not to encourage them to discuss their grievances. The insurgents refused to have anything to do with Server Pasha unless we would guarantee their safety and the execution of what he might promise, and we all, therefore, considered our mission at an end. My colleagues then received instructions to suggest a practical project acceptable to all parties, and they imagined that a project to bring about an interview with Server Pasha and a commencement of pacification was intended, and not to redress grievances, which they had been instructed to avoid inquiry into.

I confess that I myself have always imagined that a pacification without delay is the first thing to be desired, and, from what I see, I fear everything is tending to ultimate interference of some kind: if not an amicable intervention of all the European Powers, then an occupation of these provinces by Austria, of which Russia will probably avail to further her own objects, whatever they may be. The Turks are paralyzed by the fact of the Dalmatian and Montenegrin frontiers being practically open to the insurgents, which, added to the extremely favourable nature of the country to the latter, will, I fear, effectually prevent them putting down the revolt by force of arms. In 1869 Austria failed most signally in reducing a small district of similar country in the Bocca di Cattaro with 16,000 men, and had really to buy peace and submit to the most humiliating terms. The insurgents will thus, I fear, prolong the revolt until Austria will be unable to permit a continuance of circumstances pregnant with disaster to herself. Dalmatia depends for subsistence almost on Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and while the revolt lasts trade is at a standstill and communications even almost cease.

Of course, unforeseen circumstances may happen to solve the difficulty, which at present seems hopeless, but it is not satisfactory to have to trust to the chapter of accidents.

With regard to the grievances of the Christians your Excellency has been informed in my previous despatches, but the utmost distrust prevails regarding any reforms. It avails nothing that Server Pasha announces them. They are not yet carried out, and cannot be so for a long time, and the people disbelieve that they ever will be, from the nature of the agents the Porte will have to entrust with their execution. Will they not be the same Turks of whom the people complain? Even if the chief authorities are sincere, the matter virtually depends on the rich and influential Turks of the Herzegovina, who have formerly and who will in future neutralize all the efforts of the Constantinople functionaries. Even now scarcely a day passes without indications of how little the native Mussulmans believe that they will have to change their conduct, and the population in general regard with incredulity, bordering on contempt, all Server Pasha's announcements of reform.

A feeble Government like Turkey, however sincere, cannot change by a decree the nature and traditions of the ignorant, fanatic, corrupt, and obstinate agents which it must necessarily employ, nor can it alter the sentiments of whole populations. I could give endless examples of how the laws are perverted and put aside in these countries, which would show your Excellency how little likelihood there is of the proposed reforms ever being carried out, except, perhaps, in a few cases of taxation which depend on the Government itself. The pamphlet regarding the grievances of the people, which I sent your Excellency, gives a very good idea of this. It was written by a very respectable man, the Catholic Bishop of Mostar, who, during long years as a parish priest in the Herzegovina, had a practical experience of what he writes about. It must not be forgotten that what the people demand is rather that what is the law should be fairly administered, than fresh administrative reforms. The difficulty always has been that the Porte cannot ensure the execution of its laws.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES

Inclosure 3 in No. 385.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, October* 14, 1875.

I HAVE just been informed that the inhabitants of some eighteen villages, about sixty-eight families of Popovopolie, in the Cadilik of Stolatz, have returned to their homes.

This will probably be made much of by the Turkish authorities, but in reality it means very little. These villages have hitherto escaped destruction, and the inhabitants have never entirely abandoned them, only taking refuge in the mountains when they imagined that danger was threatened. Their cattle are now returning from their summer pasturages, and they are anxious to obtain possession of them, which they could not do unless they declared that they would return to and remain in their villages. The authorities showed me their real appreciation of this, when they stated that three battalions had been appointed to protect them, or—to prevent them running away with all their cattle. I did not telegraph the matter to your Excellency, as I thought that, without the necessary explanations, it might mislead to the supposition that the rebels were really beginning to return to their villages.

I fear that matters are not making any satisfactory progress. None of those who revolted, or whose villages have been destroyed, have returned. The troops kill a few insurgents, when they can find them, but this leads to no appreciable result. I expect soon to hear of another convoy attacked, and provisions carried off, as Pecko Paulovitch is a most active leader, and declares that he will keep the Turks on the alert all the winter.

Most of the Servians, Dalmatians, Italians, and others, who were with the insurgents, have left them, not being able to support their fatigues and privations. The insurgents themselves requested them to do so, and rather to send them money, as men, unable to follow them in their forced marches over the mountains, added to their difficulties, rather than aided them. The chief active supporters of the insurgents are Montenegrins and Crivoscians, the people who revolted against Austria in 1869.

The roads in all the revolted parts of the Herzegovina are only open to the troops when in force, and to send twenty wounded from Trebigné to Stolatz they are obliged to escort them with a battalion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 386.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 346. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October* 18, 1875.

THE proposals which Baron Jomini represents General Ignatiew to have made to his colleagues respecting the affairs of the Herzegovina, as reported in Mr. Dorin's despatch No. 297 of the 28th ultimo, and which five of them were said to have accepted, differ so materially from the suggestions Sir Henry Elliot, in his despatch of the 26th September, reports his Russian colleague to have made to him, that I presume the second and third of those proposals were only addressed to the German and Austrian Ambassadors.

But however this may be, and however much Count Andrassy may be responsible for the present insurrection by unwise proceedings in the East during the last two years, it would appear that it has not been his Excellency who, in this case, has shown a want of deference for the dignity and rights of the Sultan, as he is said to have objected to the conference of the Ambassadors at Constantinople proposed by General Ignatiew, and also, if I am correctly informed, to the employment of any appearance of military pressure on the Porte.

I have reason to believe, however, that his Excellency communicated with Berlin before expressing an opinion on the Russian proposals.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 387.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 351. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October* 21, 1875.

WITH reference to Mr. White's report to Sir Henry Elliot No. 77 of the 7th instant, it appears to have been believed here that Prince Milan, in appealing personally to the Skupstchina, was convinced that M. Ristich and his colleagues were not only encouraging the war party in Servia, but were also intriguing for His Highness' expulsion from the Principality, and the establishment of a Republican Government under the Presidency of M. Ristich.

I have been told, likewise, that it was in consequence of an intimation from His Highness to St. Petersburgh that he could not control the Skupstchina without the support of the guaranteeing Powers that the Russian Government submitted to the other Powers the expediency of making the joint declaration recently addressed to the Government at Belgrade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 388.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 354. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October* 21, 1875.

SINCE writing my despatch No. 346, Confidential, of the 18th instant, and forwarding to your Lordship my telegram of that date, I have had an interview with Baron Hofmann, at which I inquired whether I had been correctly informed that General Ignatiew had made the three proposals reported in Mr. Doria's despatch No. 297 of the 26th ultimo, and that the Austro-Hungarian Government had objected to taking part in any proceedings at Constantinople which would have the appearance of a Conference, and to employing military pressure on the Porte.

His Excellency said that General Ignatiew had made the proposals to which I had alluded, and that Count Andrassy had not been able to accept them, as they appeared to indicate the expediency of intervening by a Conference and by military action in the affairs of Turkey, measures of which his Excellency could not approve. What he does wish, however, he added, is something more than an "Iradé," as he considers Austria-Hungary justified in expecting the Porte to establish, without delay, an administrative system in Bosnia and the Herzegovina which will secure justice and good government to the population, and protect Austria-Hungary from a recurrence of the inconveniences and embarrassments which the present insurrection has caused to her.

I asked whether it was true that Halil Pacha had been sent to the Herzegovina, and in stating that he had no official information on the subject, his Excellency said that, if it were true, little good could be expected from the mission of a person so ill qualified, in his opinion, as Halil Pasha for introducing into the insurgent provinces the requisite reforms, and giving confidence to the Christian population.

I availed myself also of the opportunity to inquire whether his Excellency had seen a letter in the "Times" newspaper of the 16th instant from its correspondent at Ragusa, reporting an interview which he had in that town with the insurgent chief Ljubibratich, and giving an account of a visit which he had paid with him to a camp of the insurgents near the Dalmatian frontier.

Baron Hofmann answered that he had learnt from the letter in the "Times" with surprise and regret that, notwithstanding orders of the Government that insurgents entering Austrian territory should be disarmed, one of the leading insurgent chiefs, who appeared to enter and leave Ragusa at his pleasure, had been granting audiences there to the correspondents of foreign newspapers, and I observed had been afterwards accompanied by them, apparently with the knowledge of the authorities, on a visit to his band encamped near the frontier. His Excellency said that, such proceedings being inconsistent with the declaration of the Government, he had called Count Andrassy's attention to them, who agreed with him that they should not be tolerated, though it was impossible to prevent persons passing and repassing on all points of the frontier. I therefore suggested that they might, perhaps, be accounted for by General Rodich's alleged sympathy with the

insurgents, and Baron Hofmann answered that whatever national proclivities General Rodich might have, he was a General in the service of the Emperor, and was not likely to act in opposition to His Imperial Majesty's commands and to his instructions from the Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 389.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 356.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October 21, 1875.*

THE latest intelligence received from the Herzegovina at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs leaves little doubt that the insurgents hope to hold out during the winter, as they are fortifying the positions which they occupy between Trebigné and the Montenegrin frontier. Much will then depend on their being able to support the hardships which they will have to suffer from the climate, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions. The Turkish troops, it is believed, will be less exposed to privations; but though Italian sympathizers are already abandoning the ranks of the insurgents, it is calculated, on the other hand, that, of 13,000 Turkish soldiers who have been landed at Klek, nearly one-third have become unfit for service.

Server Pasha's endeavours to re-establish tranquillity and to induce the peasantry to return to their homes are said to have little prospect of success.

It appears, also, that no precautions having been taken for the protection of some Christians who returned to a village near Ragusa, they were attacked by the Turks, and had to recross the frontier; and this incident has naturally been used by the chiefs of the insurrection to increase the distrust of the refugees in the provinces of the Government.

In consequence of a late inroad of refugees, supported by Austrian subjects, into the Turkish territory near Meektowitch, troops have been sent to the neighbourhood to prevent similar proceedings hereafter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 390.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 358. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October 21, 1875.*

WITH reference to Mr. Monson's despatch No. 127 of the 13th instant, and to the observations upon it in my despatch No. 343, Very Confidential, of the 15th instant, I have since been endeavouring to ascertain whether there has been any foundation for the distrust alleged to prevail in Hungary of Count Andrassy's policy with respect to the insurgent provinces of Turkey; and, as far as I can learn, there seems to be no reason to doubt the sincerity of his Excellency's frequent declarations as to the inexpediency of Austria-Hungary increasing the Slav population of the Empire.

It is believed, however, that there are persons enjoying the favour of the Emperor, and, among others, General Rodich, the Governor of Dalmatia, who would see with satisfaction the annexation of these provinces; and that were it not for His Imperial Majesty's support, General Rodich would long since have been removed from his present position.

I think it probable, also, from an observation made to me by Count Andrassy before the Emperor's visit to Dalmatia, in disapproval of the time it was to last, and to which, then, I attached no importance, that his Excellency foresaw how it might be used by intriguers desirous of creating the disturbances which have since arisen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 391.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, October 25.)

(No. 130.)
Sir, *Buda Pesth, October 20, 1875.*

I HAVE recently had an opportunity of conversing with two or three gentlemen engaged in the Bosnian fruit trade, who in the prosecution of their business, have traversed that portion of the province which is bordered by the Save, and where, according to newspaper accounts, the destruction of property both by the insurgents and by the Turks had been very great. These gentlemen, however, inform me that the stories in question must be gross exaggerations. They maintain that in the districts which they visited they found but little trace of any abnormal occurrences; the villages, which had been described to them as burned to the ground, were standing uninjured, and the plum crops, which were said to have been devastated, were being quietly gathered without any disturbance from marauders.

They were told, it is true, that in several towns and villages ill-conditioned individuals had endeavoured to create such disturbances, and that advantage had been taken of the opportunity by thieves and cattle-lifters to decamp across the frontier with their neighbours' property; but they were assured that there had been no rising nor panic, nor occasion for either.

As a proof that the Bosnian export trade in plums has not really suffered to any appreciable extent, I may mention that this fruit is now being delivered in Buda-Pesth, dried and packed for further exportation, at the price of 9 florins per cwt., the average price of late years having been 18 florins. It is true that the crop is unusually abundant, but had the collection of the fruit been seriously interfered with, or had such destruction as was reported really occurred, it would have been utterly impossible for the contractors to have delivered the commodity here at a price hitherto unheard of for cheapness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 392.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 26.)

(No. 24. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, October 14, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Lord Russell's letter of sympathy for the insurgents of Herzegovina and Bosnia, as published in the "Times," and the theory propounded by the "Times" for constituting these two Provinces into independent Principalities under the suzerainty of the Sultan, have caused a very bad impression among the influential Turks in this city; they think, and indeed it is the general impression among the Greeks here, that Her Majesty's Government have changed their policy towards the Turkish Empire.

I inclose extract of a letter which I have recently received from a Bulgaro-Wlach at Kinpruli, and also the translated copy of a leading article of the "Zaman" ("Times") of Salonica, an independent Turkish paper which has a wide circulation in this province.

The "Zaman" also recently published a very strong article against the "Times," exposing it to contempt and derision for espousing the cause of an insurrection which has been fomented and is supported by foreign agency.

I am glad to say that from all I hear, tranquillity continues to prevail in Thessaly, Epirus, and Macedonia.

Troops continue to arrive here and to be dispatched to Novi-Bazaar and Nisch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 392.

Extract of a Letter in English from a Bulgaro-Wlach at Kiupruli.

I TAKE the liberty of requesting you will have the civility to transmit to me sometimes the English news, which you receive from England the land of liberty, and the fatherland of the freest constitution.

England, as I remarked in the last numbers of the "Levant Herald," and particularly the articles in the "Times," has changed its Oriental politics.

I am glad—even enthusiasmized—to see her again as the first champion of . . . . . : May heaven preserve her for ever!

Inclosure 2 in No. 392.

Extract from the Turkish Newspaper "Zaman," of Salonica.

(Traduction.)

NOUS avions promis dans notre No. 124, de donner à nos abonnés les nouvelles que nous aurions puisés relativement à l'insurrection de l'Herzégovine.

D'après diverses feuilles politiques que nous avons parcouru la cause de la révolte ne serait point, comme on l'a prétendu, le refus de payer les taxes légitimes exigées par le Gouvernement, comme la dîme, le remplacement militaire, &c., &c.: le fameux projet de réunir toutes les races Slaves sous un seul noyau serait le véritable mobile de cette affaire.

Nous savons que l'intention des Slaves est de se condenser tous sous la bannière de la Russie; mais autant ce projet est difficile à réaliser, autant il est facile au Gouvernement Impérial de comprimer la révolte.

L'opinion publique, qui est toujours portée à exagérer les choses, prétend que les forces des insurgés sont très considérables; que celles-ci sont commandées par des chefs étrangers, et que la Serbie et le Monténégro viendront soutenir les agitateurs: tout ceci pourtant n'empêche pas le Gouvernement de venir à bout de ces insurgés.

A part une grande partie de l'armée active qui a déjà été envoyée au théâtre de l'insurrection, voici que la première classe de Rediffs s'y rend; et si besoin est, nul doute qui toute la nation ne s'élève en masse à la défense de notre glorieuse patrie. Nous ferons de nos cœurs une forteresse inexpugnable contre toute espèce d'attaque.

Si les habitants de l'Herzégovine en se soulevant croient suivre l'exemple de Crète et s'attendent à ce que nous fassions pour eux des règlements et des compromis spéciaux, qu'elle grosse erreur! Le temps d'interventions étrangers n'est plus. Afin de conserver l'intégrité de notre pays et de finir une fois pour toutes avec ces insurgés, punissons-les rigoureusement et étouffons cet incendie selons nos propres volontés sans nous soumettre à celles de l'étranger.

Puisque nous savons par des nombreux exemples que dans ces sortes des questions la perte de temps ne sert ordinairement qu'à provoquer l'intervention étrangère et de grandes dépenses.

No. 393.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 27.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 26, 1875.*

I HAVE sent the following figures to Mr. Holmes:—

"The Grand Vizier will telegraph to the Governor-General of Bosnia, ordering the summary execution of the Aghas, or of such others as may be found guilty of the massacre (reported?) in your telegram of the 23rd."*

"Give me any further information you can get on that subject, and especially the number of victims."

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* See No. 347.

No. 394.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 27, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 27, 1875, 8 P.M.*

I HAVE sent the following figures to Consul-General White:—

"The information received by Porte of the incursions complained of by the Servian Government is to the effect that about eighty individuals, out of revenge for what they have suffered from the Servians, passed the frontier at night unnoticed by authorities; neither troops nor Bashi-Bozouks being among them.

"Some have been arrested, and will be punished, and strict orders are given to prevent such acts."

No. 395.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 28, at night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, October 28, 1875.*

I AM informed that Count Zichy has said to one of my colleagues that if the Porte cannot suppress the insurrection by the month of December, Austria will feel obliged to interfere.

No. 396.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 29.)

(No. 44.)

My Lord, *Scutari, le 19 Octobre, 1875.*

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie ci-joint copie de la dépêche adressée aujourd'hui à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople, rapportant que récemment nul combat a eu lieu entre les Turcs de Goutsigné et les insurgés des environs.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

Inclosure in No. 396.

Acting Consul Summa to Sir H. Elliot.

Excellence, *Scutari, le 19 Octobre, 1875.*

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer à votre Excellence que de ces côtés nul combat a eu lieu récemment entre les Turcs et les insurgés, et j'apprends de bonne source que les Turcs de Goutsigné, ainsi que les montagnards de Relmenti qui les aidaient, sont rentrés dans leurs foyers, tandis que les insurgés des environs gardent pour le moment une attitude inactive, prêts d'ailleurs à renouveler, à la première occasion favorable, cette guerre d'escarmouches et d'embuscades, où la haine s'est tellement enracinée qu'ils se livrent mutuellement à des horreurs, au meurtre, et au pillage même sur les habitants paisibles.

Des scènes pareilles se suivent aux environs de la ville de Niksiteh, et d'après à ce qu'on sait sur la situation de cette place, les insurgés ne pourraient s'en emparer que par la famine; d'ailleurs, nul doute qu'on la ravitaillera de nouveau du côté de l'Herzégovine, puisque de notre côté l'approvisionnement y est impossible, à la suite de la défense du Prince du Monténégro d'en accorder le passage sur son territoire; et en ce qui concerne l'attitude du Gouvernement Monténégrin, nul doute qu'il pourrait garder la neutralité d'une façon plus honnête et plus efficace, et sur ce sujet je ne puis, par conséquent, que me conformer à mes dépêches précédentes.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 397.

Consul Blunt to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 30.)

(No. 25. Political.)
My Lord, *Salonica, October 18, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith for the information of your Lordship a copy of the despatch which I have this day addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, in relation to the appointment of Raouf Pasha to the command-in-chief of the Ottoman troops in the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 397.

Consul Blunt to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Salonica, October 18, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that yesterday evening Raouf Pasha, Governor-General of Salonica, received a cyphered telegram from the Grand Vizier, announcing his appointment as Commander-in-chief of the Imperial troops acting against the insurgent districts, and requiring him to make arrangements to proceed to his command with all possible despatch, either by sea or by a special train to Mitrovitza.

His Excellency, who was kind enough to communicate to me this telegram half-an-hour after its receipt, told me that, subject to the Porte's approval, he proposes going by the Mitrovitza route, as he will have the advantage of personally observing the state of things in the districts near the Servian frontier.

He expects to leave this and arrive at Mitrovitza on Wednesday the 20th instant. On Thursday evening he will reach Novi-bazaar, where he will remain the whole of Friday to inspect the army, and confer with Mehmed Ali Pasha. On Saturday, the 23rd, he will continue his journey to Bosna-Serai by way of Sienitza and Tashlidja (Plewle), and arrive there on or about the 27th instant.

Raouf Pasha, during his short tenure of office, acted in a liberal and enlightened spirit, and, appreciating fully the urgent necessity of reforms, appeared determined to carry out the Imperial edicts which have been recently promulgated for the better administration of the provinces.

His removal from Salonica is therefore universally regretted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. E. BLUNT.

No. 398.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received October 30.)

(No. 685.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 20, 1875.*

MR. CONSUL BLUNT having transmitted to me a copy of his despatch to your Lordship, No. 23, reporting that Earl Russell's letter, and the articles in the "Times" newspaper, were producing an impression that there was a change in the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards this country, I have sent him the instructions, of which the copy is herewith inclosed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 398.

Sir H. Elliot to Consul Blunt.

Sir, *Therapia, October 20, 1875.*

I HAVE received the copy of your despatch No. 23 to the Earl of Derby, reporting that the letter of Lord Russell and the recent articles in the "Times" newspaper had given rise to an impression that there was a change in the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards this country.

I have to request that when occasion offers you will explain that such is not the case.

Lord Russell's letter merely expressed his own individual views, and met with little approval in England.

Her Majesty's Government have no connection with the "Times" newspaper, whose articles in favour of erecting Bosnia into an autonomic State do not appear to represent the opinion of any considerable number of those who have practical acquaintance with the requirements of that province.

Her Majesty's Government cannot but sympathize with populations who have grievances to complain of, but there is no change in their policy, which has always been to encourage the Porte to proceed with the improvement which is called for in the administration of the provinces.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 399.

The Earl of Derby to Consul-General White.

(No. 9.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October 30, 1875.*

I APPROVE your having joined the representations made by the other five Powers to the Servian Government, as reported in your despatch No. 64, Political, of the 8th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 400.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 1.)

(No. 20. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, October 22, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that another rather serious engagement has taken place between the insurgents and Turkish troops in the Sandjak of Banialuka. A band of the former, estimated by the Turks at about a thousand, but according to information from other sources not exceeding half that number, landed from boats during the night of the 10th instant, at a point between Svinjar and Kobash, on the Save. A body of about fifty zaptiehs in the neighbourhood, who were apparently keeping no watch, were aroused and apprized of this disembarkment by the shouts of the Austrian patrols on the other side of the river, but they were quickly fallen upon by the insurgents, and with difficulty escaped to Gradiska, after the loss of several of their number. The following day, 600 men of a regiment of Bosnian redif, and about the same number of irregular troops, were sent to attack the insurgents. In the meantime, however, they had taken up an advantageous position at the foot of the Motaïtza hills, and defended themselves most successfully. Fighting continued for three successive days—the 11th, 12th, and 13th instant—with great loss to the troops both in men and arms. The final result of this engagement is not yet known here, but there are rumours that the Turks were ultimately defeated. During the contest, news being received at Banialuka of the critical position of the troops, the authorities wished to send a body of Bashi-Bazouks to their assistance, but the men plainly refused to march, and I hear that about fifty of them have been imprisoned.

The Mussulman population of this province, when called upon at the beginning of the present outbreak, came forward and enrolled themselves as Bashi-Bazouks with the greatest alacrity, partly, no doubt, with the hope of plunder, and also under the impression that the insurgents would soon be dispersed. Now, however, that there is no longer any booty to be obtained, and finding that serious resistance is opposed to them, they are becoming very lukewarm in their patriotism, and are most unwilling to risk their lives in the service of the Government. All the Bashi-Bazouks enrolled some weeks since in the town and district of Serajevo, and sent to Vishegrad, have also returned to their homes. The Mutesarif Ibraim Bey takes credit for this measure, as he said they were doing more

harm than good. Of this I have not the slightest doubt; but I am inclined to think that if they were recalled, it was because it was found impossible to make them keep the field any longer. The whole country from Vishegrad to Nova-Varoot has been devastated; and with no hope of plunder, and a difficulty in finding food for themselves and horses, their military ardour was likely soon to cool down; even when they marched from this place, they made no great display of enthusiasm.

I have also to report an engagement at Tashlidgeh between the troops under Mehmet Ali Pasha and the insurgents under the command of Pop Zarko, who is now said to be at the head of upwards of 6,000 men. The Turks were thoroughly beaten, and it is even asserted that they fled in disorder, leaving several pieces of artillery in the hands of the insurgents.

Skirmishes between the troops and rebels are also reported from Duvno, in the Sandjak of Travnik, and from Costainitza and Priedor, in the Sandjak of Bihach. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy details of these various encounters; but, whatever the result, the fact of their constant recurrence in every part of the province is irrefragable proof that the insurrection in Bosnia is far from being extinct, notwithstanding the repeated assertions made by the different Mutesarifs and Kaïmakans that order now prevails in their districts.

There is no longer any doubt that the struggle will be prolonged through the coming winter. No confidence is placed here in the proclamations of Server Pasha and the promised reduction of taxes and other reforms, and I fear that in the spring the Turks will find their task of quelling the insurrection even harder than hitherto.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 401.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 1.)

(No. 321.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, October 26, 1875.*

ON the day after my return here I waited upon Baron Jomini and had some general conversation with him on the affairs of the Herzegovina and Bosnia with a view to elicit from his Excellency any information he might be disposed to impart to me.

Baron Jomini gave me a cursory account of the negotiations which had taken place in regard to those affairs and to the mediatory attempts which had been made through the Consular body to bring about an understanding between the Porte and the insurgents, and his Excellency confirmed to me the opinions which he had previously expressed to Mr. Doria, as reported in his several despatches to your Lordship.

I found Baron Jomini much preoccupied with the present state of affairs in the Herzegovina and the relations of the Christian populations with the Porte. He expressed great anxiety for the termination of the insurrection before the winter set in, and his fears that, should it be prolonged until next spring, a greater extension may be given to it.

I inquired of Baron Jomini how the question now stands and what hopes he had of a satisfactory termination of the insurrection?

Baron Jomini said that, the Consular mediation having failed, some other measure must be sought for with a view to the submission of the insurgents.

His Excellency said that the Russian Government having full confidence in Count Andrassy, and in consideration of the importance of the question to Austrian interests which, from the closer proximity of Austria to the disturbed districts, were more directly concerned than those of Russia, had left free action to the Austrian Minister President to devise the means of attaining a satisfactory solution of the existing difficulties. Baron Jomini stated that Count Andrassy was informed that the Russian Government were ready beforehand to accept and concur in any mode of solution he might propose, and that Count Andrassy was now occupied with drawing up some plan of arrangement.

Baron Jomini did not apparently know the nature of the proposals which Count Andrassy would make. He observed that since the principle of intervention had already been exercised in behalf of Turkey by the efforts unsuccessfully made by Russia and Austria to maintain the neutrality of Servia and Montenegro it was but just that their same good offices should now be exercised in behalf of the Christian population, and that the principle aim was to seek for some guarantee for the faithful execution of the promises and concessions now offered by Turkey to the insurgents, without which he was convinced that they would not be satisfied, and that even if the insurrection were now physically put down, the embers of it would remain to be rekindled at no distant period.

The Imperial Government were now, therefore, waiting for Count Andrassy to submit his proposals, which he felt certain would be conceived with justice and moderation to both parties.

In speaking in general terms of the state of affairs in Turkey, Baron Jomini said that the policy of Russia might be stated in two words "status quo" and "amelioration." He observed to me that there were two currents at Constantinople. The one directed by Mahmoud Pasha, who represented the moderate and conciliatory party. This party sincerely supported the projected reforms and honestly desired that the concessions and assurances given should be faithfully carried out. General Ignatiew, who was personally well-disposed to Mahmoud Pasha, was a supporter of this policy and party, and was desirous that he should be aided in the course he was pursuing. In order to facilitate his task it was very essential that, in the eyes of the whole Turkish and Christian population, the full benefit of the initiative of the projected reforms should be given to the Sultan and his Government; for otherwise, if they should appear to have been granted under external pressure, their value would be diminished, the influence of the Porte would be discredited, and the prestige of the Sultan's authority would suffer throughout the whole Empire. General Ignatiew therefore recommended that the present Grand Vizier should be seconded in his policy and should be allowed freedom of action ("de le laisser faire"), for were he unfortunately to fail in his present efforts and be replaced in power by the opposite violent party, the most serious consequences might ensue, dangerous alike to the internal tranquillity of Turkey and to the general peace of Europe.

The other current at Constantinople to which his Excellency alluded was the party headed by Hussein Avni Pasha, which was strongly opposed to any foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Empire. This party is in favour of the most stringent measures to suppress the insurrection, and considering that the hot-bed of the insurrection is at Belgrade, entertains the project of occupying Servia with a view to crush the revolutionary elements in that principality, which they consider to be a standing menace to the security and peace of Turkey.

Such a course, Baron Jomini observed, would be productive of very grave consequences, which might place in jeopardy the very existence of the Empire.

Baron Jomini expressed to me his fears that if no satisfactory arrangement could now be effected to induce the insurgents to put down their arms and to return to their peaceful pursuits, and that if the insurrection should maintain itself until next spring, it would then assume other proportions and offer serious dangers to the Porte. Servia and Montenegro could hardly then be held back. Their co-operation with the disaffected population would find an echo in Albania, Epirus, and Thessaly, and more distant portions of the Empire, and a civil war of vast dimensions, animated by that fanaticism inherent in the Mussulmans, would devastate the country and be attended with cruelties and atrocities which would produce a thrill of horror throughout Christian Europe.

The question as it now stands appears to me to resolve itself into the nature of the guarantees for the strict fulfilment of the concessions made by the Porte, which can induce the insurgents to return to their obedience, and the solution of this difficulty, according to Baron Jomini, is committed to Count Andrassy.

I merely stated to his Excellency that since my return I had not had time to read the correspondence relating to the affairs of the Herzegovina, and that I was therefore unable to estimate the dangers of the position which he had described. I could therefore only express a personal opinion, namely, my conviction that the dangers to which he had referred could only be averted by the maintenance of a perfect understanding among the great Powers and the maintenance of the European concert.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 402.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 255.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 1, 1875.*

I LEARN by a despatch from Sir H. Elliot that his Excellency has received a telegram from Mr. Consul Holmes stating that certain official reports forwarded by him to Ragusa for transmission to London and Constantinople have been returned to him by the Austrian post office at Metrovitch as being too heavy.

Such a proceeding, with regard to official correspondence, is so unusual, especially

considering the state of affairs now existing in the East, that I have to request your Excellency to make inquiry as to why the Reports in question were not forwarded.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 403.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 2.)

(No. 13.)
My Lord, *Mostar, October* 22, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copies of two despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople. The former incloses a copy of a translation of Server Pasha's "Instructions" regarding the reforms to be introduced in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 403.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, October* 18, 1875.

I RECEIVED your Excellency's telegram of the 15th at midnight on the 16th; on the 17th, I replied as follows:—

"Server Pasha understands the necessity of immediate action regarding reforms. He promises immediately to appoint Christians to the police force, and also to higher positions, if he can find anybody competent. He tells me that he does not fear responsibility; but finds his greatest difficulty in the administration around him, and the agents he must employ. Nothing of importance has happened lately."

Before sending this telegram, I visited Server Pasha and gave him your Excellency's message. I remarked that, in his "Instructions," he had said nothing about the employment of Christians in the police force, and I urged him, without loss of time, to make some appointments of the kind. He promised to do so, saying that it had always been his intention, and he did not know how he had forgotten to mention it in his "Instructions." I said, that this did not matter, if he immediately named some Christians to the force; and that this would have a good effect, as people would say that he was even doing more than he had promised, and would be more inclined to believe that what he had promised would be really executed. He said that there was a difficulty in persuading respectable Christians to enter a body which was so badly paid; to which I replied that it was absolutely necessary to increase the pay of the corps before either respectable Mussulmans or Christians could be expected to serve in it,—and that I imagined he had power to do this.

He said that he also wished to name some Christians to higher employment, but that hitherto, in spite of diligent inquiries, he had found no one of necessary capacity.

He added, in confidence, that the difficulties he encountered among many members of the local administration were inconceivable; that they neither would nor could understand the importance of real reform; and mentioned that, in spite of his order that no employé should be removed without having committed some fault, and being placed on trial, a Kaimakam had just been arbitrarily removed, without his having been at all consulted in the matter. In fact, he admitted that he was conscious of the extreme difficulty of carrying out his reforms,—difficulties which I have explained in previous despatches.

As to immediate action, he said, he comprehended its necessity, and that all the reforms which were possible to carry out were accomplished facts. Forced labour and Government requisitions for horses had absolutely ceased, and the utmost diligence should be used to execute all the reforms announced.

I inclose copy of a translation of his Excellency's "Instructions" in full, of which I have already sent a résumé, with observations.

No progress seems to be made in quelling the insurrection. I hear that some families have returned to their homes at Gabella; and I have no doubt that many of those who were forced to revolt, and whose families are in abject misery in Dalmatia and elsewhere, will seek to return wherever they can be protected by the troops; but there is no evidence that any who are in arms are thinking of submission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 403.

Instructions addressed by Server Pasha to the Civil Authorities of the Vilayet of Bosnia.

(Traduction.)

1. A PARTIR du 1 Mars de l'année 1876, tous les Medjliss des Sandjaks, Kadilouks, et villages seront institués à nouveau et choisis d'après des règles qui seront fixés plus tard.

2. Si la dîme frappait (c'est à dire, était convertie en un impôt à percevoir sur) les terres, cela serait beaucoup plus avantageux pour la population; c'est pourquoi le mode d'affermer l'impôt sera aboli, mais si le nouveau mode ne peut être mis en vigueur jusqu'à la prochaine récolte, les dîmes seront vendues dans les diverses parties de la province avant l'époque de la moisson.

3. Si ce terme est atteint sans que les dîmes aient été vendues, et que la faute en soit imputable à quelque employé, il sera aussitôt destitué de ses fonctions et mis en cause; dans le cas, au contraire, où les habitants en seraient la cause, quiconque aura occasionné du dommage à autrui sera passible d'une peine.

4. Tout fermier acquéreur des dîmes d'un village, et respectivement de celles d'un Kadilouk entier, devra commencer à les lever dans le premier cas cinq jours, et dans le second dix jours, après la date du contrat. S'il néglige de le faire, les anciens (chefs) du village inscriront la récolte de chacun, et il sera loisible à tout cultivateur d'enlever ce qui lui appartient. Le fermier qui voudra lever la dîme après l'expiration du terme susdit sera tenu d'accepter le registre d'inscription (tefter) qui lui sera présenté par les chefs du village, et il n'aura le droit de rien exiger outre ce qui sera marqué.

5. Les animaux soumis à une taxe seront comptés avant l'époque où on les mène dans la montagne, et la somme fixée d'après leur nombre devra être acquittée.

6. Les sujets du Sultan de toute classe et de toute religion peuvent en pleine liberté et securité vaquer à l'exercice de leur culte, et il est interdit à quiconque de porter en quoi que ce soit atteint à cette juste loi de l'Etat. Dans le cas où il sera contravenu à cette défense par quelque personne ne sachant pas distinguer le mal du bien, elle devra être aussitôt punie suivant la loi, et s'il arrivait que le Mudir du lieu ou tout autre fonctionnaire laissât passer le fait, lui aussi suivra le châtiment légal.

7. Partout où il existe un Conseil Municipal (Beledié) avec un revenu distinct, ainsi que cela est prévu dans le règlement spécial, le dit revenu ne pourra être dépensé hors de la localité. Cependant les subventions allouées aux écoles étant insuffisantes, il sera permis au Conseil de distraire de ce revenu la somme nécessaire aux écoles.

8. Le code est en général le guide de la conduite des employés, aussi chacun est-il tenu de le connaître. La loi et les règlements publics, tout ce qui est appelé du nom commun de "Destour," n'ayant point été traduit en langue vulgaire, il a été décidé qu'une commission serait formée à l'effet de travailler à cette traduction, laquelle sera rendu publique dès qu'elle aura été achevée.

9. Toutes les sentences rendues par les tribunaux seront munies d'une traduction dans une langue que le peuple pourra comprendre, et c'est au bas de cette traduction que le Président et les membres apposeront leur signature.

10. Les objets et articles appartenant à l'armée, ou autrement qu'ils proviennent de l'étranger ou de l'intérieure, ne pourront plus être transportés désormais par voie de réquisition, mais tous ceux qui volontairement offriraient leurs chevaux pour ce service seront payés d'avance, et si quelqu'un a une réclamation à présenter au sujet de ces chevaux, examen fait, ce qui est dû sera payé.

11. La population employée à la construction des routes ne sera plus tenue à travailler que dans le Kadilouk auquel elle appartient, et nul n'ira (travailler) hors de son Kadilouk; cette obligation s'étend à vingt jours, et à rien de plus en cinq ans.

12. En dehors de ce qui concerne les routes, il est interdit d'employer gratuitement personne à aucuns travaux publics ou privés; quiconque agirait contrairement à cette prescription sera sevèrement puni. De même ni les Multezims (fermiers de la dime) ni personne autre ne pourront rien exiger (sans payement) à titre de boire ou de manger: quiconque oserait contrevenir à cette défense sera passible d'une peine.

13. Nul ne sera reçu dans le corps de zaptiés s'il n'a accompli son temps de service

dans l'armée et dans la réserve (les rédifs), et s'il n'est de bonne conduite et de bonnes mœurs.

14. Dans chaque Kadilouk les zaptiés auront leurs officiers pris dans une autre localité, et cela depuis le grade de sergent jusqu'au grade le plus élevé. Les officiers aussi bien que les hommes seront tenus de fournir un garant.

15. Les zaptiés étant affectés aux services civils ne seront plus en état de vaguer à d'autres affaires. En conséquence ils sont déchargés du devoir de percevoir les impôts; d'autres collecteurs (tahsildars), composés de Turcs, d'Orthodoxes, et de Catholiques, devant être institués à cet effet.

16. Ces collecteurs entreront en fonctions à partir du 1 Mars de la prochaine année 1876: leur mode de nomination et leurs devoirs seront réglés par une loi spéciale.

17. D'après la coutume en vigueur dans le Gouvernement de Bosnie, en général les rapports sont réglés de cette façon entre les propriétaires ("aghas") et les colons ("kmets") que ceux-ci donnent aux premiers la moitié, le tiers, le quart, ou le cinquième (des fruits); tous les colons qui ont convenus d'un tel partage des fruits ("dobodak") devront à l'avenir conclure un contrat aux termes du paragraphe 11 de la Loi de 1276.

18. Toutes les conventions verbales existantes et réglant ainsi la location des domaines à condition de partage des fruits devront, conformément au paragraphe précité, être converties en un contrat écrit, lequel sera dressé sans frais par les soins de l'autorité.

19. Le délai fixé pour la rédaction par écrit des conventions verbales, dont il vient d'être question, sera de six mois à partir de ce jour.

20. A l'expiration du terme susdit, si les deux parties ne se sont point entendues, et qu'au lieu de faire un contrat par écrit elles aient renouvelé les anciennes conventions verbales, le bailleur et le preneur seront frappés d'une amende égale au montant d'un impôt (c'est-à-dire, d'une année de l'impôt nouvellement établi sur les terres de 4 pour mille). Si le fait provenait du refus de l'une des parties, et que cela fût prouvé en justice, cette amende toute entière d'un impôt sera à la charge de la partie qui a refusé de conclure le contrat, l'amende sera versée en totalité dans la caisse de la municipalité et l'affaire durera tant que le contrat n'aura pas été dressé.

21. Lors de la réunion de la grande Commission, qui doit avoir lieu annuellement, tous les membres pour les Sandjaks et les Kadilouks devront exercer leurs fonctions selon la loi, et exposer par écrit au Vali toutes les contraventions et injustices qui auraient été commises dans leurs arrondissements respectifs, en indiquant, ou, si besoin est, en célant le nom de la personne dont ils tiennent leurs informations. Le Vali soumettra chaque fait à la Commission, en l'invitant à donner une décision, à moins que cette décision ne fût pas de la compétence de la Commission, auquel cas le Tribunal du vilayet sera définitivement saisi de l'affaire.

22. A l'avenir aucun fonctionnaire ne pourra être privé de son emploi, à moins de faute commise, et s'il en commet quelqu'une il sera aussitôt mis en cause et puni selon la loi.

23. L'honorable Ibrahim Bey a été nommé adjoint du Vali de Bosnie; il remplira conformément aux lois ses importantes fonctions, en aidant le Vali à surveiller l'exécution exacte des lois et des décisions judiciaires, comme aussi la conduite des employés.

24. Il sera institué une Commission dont la tâche sera de contrôler les actes de l'administration publique; les résultats de ce contrôle ne seront connus que du Vali et de son adjoint.

25. Les membres de cette Commission seront pris parmi les Turcs, les Orthodoxes, et les Catholiques; ils seront choisis par le Vali et son adjoint, et prêteront le serment religieux de ne faire que des rapports exacts et véritables, après quoi leurs noms seront communiqués secrètement à la Sublime Porte.

26. Les fonctions de ce Comité consisteront à s'assurer des choses suivantes: (1.) Si la dîme a été vendue en temps utile. (2.) Quelle est la situation des fermiers de l'impôt, des habitants, et des Chefs ("Khodjabashis"). (3.) De quelle manière a lieu l'élection des membres des Medjliss, quels sont les rapports des propriétaires avec leurs colons, comment ont lieu la nomination des zaptiés et de leurs officiers, l'emploi des personnes pour le travail des routes, et s'il se commet quelque injustice à cette occasion. (4.) Quelle est la conduite des Mudirs, des Kaimakams, et des Moutesarrifs, et la manière dont ils s'acquittent de leurs fonctions.

27. Ces surveillants ("mufetich") consigneront le résultat de leurs investigations dans un rapport fait en double, signé de leur propre main, et dont ils remettront un exemplaire au Vali, tandis qu'ils garderont l'autre par devers eux.

28. A la réception du rapport des dits surveillants le premier devoir du Vali et de son adjoint est de faire aussitôt une enquête, et s'il est constaté qu'une contravention aux lois a été commise l'auteur en sera puni immédiatement.

29. On fait savoir à tous qu'il est émané au nom de Sa Majesté notre très gracieux Empereur un Ordre Suprême, par lequel il est interdit à quiconque de faire tort en quoi que ce soit à ses fidèles sujets; tous, au contraire, doivent trouver la même justice, et quiconque oserait enfreindre les présentes instructions, comme aussi les autres décrets qui pourront être publiés, ou négligerait de les faire exécuter, sera puni sans retard, et rigoureusement, pour servir d'exemple aux autres.

Mostar, le $\frac{21 \text{ Septembre}}{4 \text{ Octobre}}$, 1875 (1291).

(L.S.) SERVER.
(L.S.) AHMED HAMDY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 403.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, October* 21, 1875.

IT is almost impossible to obtain any correct information at present regarding what is passing in the Herzegovina. I have reason to believe that the information given by the Governor-General is for the most part false, and that Server Pasha is little better informed than I am. The officers sent in command of expeditions report exploits on their part which, I am convinced, have often scarcely the slightest foundation. For instance, the affair which was said to have occurred at Grab, which I reported to your Excellency in my despatch of the 11th instant as it was told me by the Governor-General, had I really believe no other foundation than that Shefket Pasha fired a few shots among the rocks from which all the insurgents had departed. I learn that it was quite impossible to have placed any ambuscade, as stated, between the insurgents and the Montenegrin frontier, unless the soldiers had been sent round by Bagnani, and that the troops could not possibly, in the face of an enemy, have scaled the rocks which the insurgents had occupied above the plain, but from which they had quietly retired on seeing the Turks approaching at two hours distance. It was said that one hundred and sixty had been killed and many wounded, whereas, from indirect information since received, I cannot learn that there was a man killed, or, indeed, that any encounter occurred. These matters are reported to Server Pasha as well as to myself and colleagues, and his Excellency seems to believe them entirely, if I may judge by the telegrams I constantly see published in the newspapers, said to be sent by him to his Government, and in most of which there is scarcely a word of truth. Thus neither official information, nor that from any other source can be trusted, and it is only when the matter is almost forgotten that an approximation to the truth can be obtained.

I hear that the principal leader of the insurgents, Peiko Paulovich, has retired to Montenegro. Some say that he stated he was going there to arrange the campaign for the winter; others, that the Prince of Montenegro has been made to understand that he will find his interest in recalling Peiko and all the Montenegrins rather than in a continuance of the revolt; and others, that Peiko, finding that himself and his Montenegrins had to do all the fighting, has left the insurgents in disgust. If the retirement of Peiko Paulovich, from any cause, is definitive, it is an event which is of the greatest importance, and may break the strength of the revolt. If this news is confirmed, I shall telegraph to your Excellency, but as yet I hesitate to do so.

I hear also that several Christian families who had returned to Nevessin have been driven away by the Aghas. This I think very probable, and it will not encourage people to return to their homes.

It is a fact that Server Pasha's reforms are even now not being carried out, for though he assured me that the requisition for horses had ceased absolutely, some twenty Christians, owners of horses, applied yesterday to my Russian colleague to obtain their animals, which, after having accompanied hither and thither for many weeks without pay or rations, they had abandoned. Server Pasha does not seem to be able to do anything. His Excellency appears to think that he can do his work here as he would do it as Minister of State at Constantinople. When he is informed of these affairs he refers them to the local authorities and accepts whatever answer they choose to give him. He does not examine into matters himself or hear what both parties have to say, and it has happened that when people have presented complaints to his Excellency, the local authorities, or the parties complained of, have intimidated them into confessing that they were unfounded. The fact is that he is one man alone against a host, and, not looking into matters personally, he is completely deceived, and the Mussulmans laugh at him. Over and over again Christians, when refused their rights, are told ironically to "go to Server Pasha."

I have this instant received your Excellency's telegram, announcing Reouf Pasha's nomination as Governor-General of Bosnia. I think it well that Ahmed Hamdy Pasha has been removed, and trust that with the aid of an enlightened Governor-General, who also looks into matters himself, Server Pasha will be better informed and be enabled to accomplish something more than he has hitherto done.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 404.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 343.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 4, 1875.

I APPROVE your having instructed Mr. Holmes to press upon Server Pasha the necessity of giving effect to the reforms sanctioned by the Porte in Herzegovina, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 666, Confidential, of the 15th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 405.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 4.)

(No. 329.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, October* 30, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith an article which appeared in the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of this day, and which is taken from the official "Gazette," on the affairs of the Herzegovina.

This article, while prominently alluding to the alliance of the Three Northern Courts, observes that this alliance is not to be considered as the arbiter of the destinies, but as the defender of the liberty and the tranquillity of Europe, and is open to those who are favourable to the maintenance of peace.

With a view to calm public opinion in Russia as to the course now taken by the Imperial Government, this article refers to the sympathetic interest which Russia has always evinced towards the Christian population of Turkey, which, it states, is equally participated in by Christian Europe.

It then refers with satisfaction to the efforts lately made by Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, in which they were supported by the Governments of France, England, and Italy, to bring about a reconciliation between the Porte and her insurgent subjects, and to the results which have been obtained. But, in recognizing the sincere desire of the Sultan to ameliorate the condition of his Christian subjects, the article dwells on the want of confidence existing as to the faithful execution of the Sultan's Iradé, in which His Majesty's interest on behalf of his Christian subjects is so strongly evinced, and considers that it will be difficult for the Porte to restore this confidence without the friendly assistance of the European Cabinets.

It terminates with expressing a conviction that the European Cabinets will not refuse this assistance to the Porte, while, on the other hand, the Porte will not fail to give efficient proofs of its firm resolution to fulfil the solemn engagement which it has taken in regard to the Christians, and to put an end thereby to a state of things which causes so much apprehension to Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 405.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of October $\frac{18}{30}$, 1875.

LE "Messager Officiel" public aujourd'hui l'article suivant:—

"Les événements politiques importants qui ont lieu actuellement dans la presqu'île des Balkans n'ont pas trouvé la Russie isolée, mais alliée à deux Puissances animées, comme elle, du désir de conserver et d'affermir la paix Européenne. Cette alliance, étrangère à toute espèce de visées politiques intéressées, fondée sur la confiance mutuelle des Gouvernements et consolidée par l'entrevue des trois Empereurs, se présente devant l'Europe, non

comme l'arbitre de ses destinées, mais comme la défense de sa liberté et comme la sauvegarde de sa tranquillité. Cette alliance est ouverte à tous ceux qui recherchent la paix.

"Mais tout en participant à cette alliance, la Russie ne lui a pas sacrifié l'intérêt sympathique dont elle a toujours fait preuve à l'égard de la population Chrétienne de la Turquie et qui a toujours été partagé et l'est sans aucun doute maintenant aussi, par toute l'Europe Chrétienne. Les sacrifices faits par le peuple Russe en faveur des Chrétiens de la Turquie sont si grands qu'ils donnent à la Russie le droit de proclamer cet intérêt à la face de l'Europe entière.

"Pénétré de ses anciennes sympathies à l'égard de la population Chrétienne de la presqu'île des Balkans et du danger qui menace la tranquillité de l'Europe, le Cabinet Impérial n'a pu, actuellement tout comme auparavant dans des circonstances analogues, rester spectateur indifférent et inactif des événements dont l'Herzégovine est le théâtre, qui menacent d'entraîner la Serbie et le Monténégro dans une lutte inégale et d'allumer une guerre dont il est difficile de prévoir les limites. Il a été le premier à élever la voix pour la défense des malheureuses populations de l'Herzégovine accablées d'impôts excessifs et en faveur de la conservation de la paix, si nécessaire à l'Europe en général et à la Turquie en particulier. Sur son invitation, les Gouvernements des Puissances alliées d'Allemagne et d'Autriche-Hongrie, poussés par le même désir de prévenir tout trouble ultérieur en Turquie, se sont empressés de lui prêter leur concours pour amener la réconciliation de la Porte avec ses sujets révoltés.

"Les Gouvernements de France, d'Angleterre et d'Italie, partageant les vues des Cabinets du Nord sur ce que la situation des affaires de Turquie avait de dangereux pour la paix de l'Europe, ont joint leurs efforts pour atteindre le but désiré. Les conseils pacifiques donnés à la Porte par les Représentants des Puissances à Constantinople ont eu pour premier résultat—l'envoie dans l'Herzégovine d'une Commission Consulaire devant concourir à la réconciliation des insurgés avec le Gouvernement, et pour second la promulgation libre et spontanée par Sa Majesté le Sultan d'un iradé octroyant à ses sujets Chrétiens un allégement important des impôts, leur promettant les mêmes droits qu'à ses sujets Musulmans devant les Tribunaux et une meilleure organisation administrative.

"Personne, cela va de soi, ne doute de la sincérité du désir de Sa Majesté le Sultan de vouloir améliorer la situation désespérée dans laquelle se trouvent actuellement ses sujets Chrétiens. Les Gouvernements de toutes les Grandes Puissances ont accueilli avec sympathie le nouvel iradé, qu'ils considèrent comme une preuve incontestable de ce que le Sultan se préoccupe toujours des intérêts de ses sujets Chrétiens. Mais les exemples d'un passé pas éloigné,—indiquant clairement que de pareilles Proclamations de volonté du Sultan en faveur des Chrétiens sont restées lettre morte, et que les droits, comparativement restreints, dont jouissent les Chrétiens de quelques contrées de la Turquie, leur ont été octroyés par contrainte, à la suite des exigences de la diplomatie Européenne,—amènent l'opinion publique de l'Europe à ne pas accorder au nouvel iradé du Sultan la confiance qu'il mériterait,—comme étant l'expression de l'intérêt que porte Sa Majesté à la situation désastreuse de ses sujets Chrétiens. Quant à la confiance de ceux-ci à l'égard de pareils actes du Gouvernement, elle est tellement ébranlée qu'il sera difficile à la Porte de la rétablir tout d'un coup sans le concours amical des Cabinets Européens. Il est hors de doute que les Cabinets ne refuseront pas ce concours à la Porte, et qu'à son tour celle-ci ne manquera pas de donner aux Cabinets des preuves palpables de sa ferme résolution de remplir les engagements solennels qu'elle a pris à l'égard des Chrétiens, et de mettre un terme par là à la situation anormale qui inspire tant d'appréhensions à l'Europe. On peut être persuadé, en tout cas, que l'état de choses désastreux qui a existé jusqu'à présent en Turquie au détriment des intérêts de la Porte, de ses sujets et de l'Europe, devra prendre fin."

No. 406.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 345.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 5, 1875.

I HAVE to convey to your Excellency my approval of the despatch which you addressed to Mr. Consul Blunt, respecting the impression produced in England by Lord Russell's letter to the newspapers, as reported in your despatch No. 685 of the 20th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 407.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 6, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Therapia, November 6, 1875.*

GENERAL IGNATIEW tells me in great confidence that Count Andrassy had sent to the Emperor of Russia a project of demands to be made upon the Porte, in reference to the reforms for Bosnia.

The proposal was, he said, extravagant, and of such a nature as must, if adopted, lead to massacre and civil war.

The Emperor had answered that, as the Sultan had already begun to promulgate reforms, interference by foreign Powers was not at present called for.

His Majesty would, General Ignatiew says, prefer questions relating to Turkey being treated by all the guaranteeing Powers.

No. 408.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 679. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 17, 1875.*

WHATEVER may be thought of the part played by the writer of the letter, of which I inclose an extract, in habitually betraying confidential conversations, there can be little doubt of the accuracy of his reports of the language held to him by General Ignatiew.

As I observed to your Lordship on a former occasion, some wonder may be felt that the General should place confidence, especially in his manner of speaking of Austria, in a quarter which so little deserves it, but the Greek, whose especial pride it is to prove himself a match for so great a master in the art of deception, has persuaded the Ambassador that he is devoted to him and to Russia.

When General Ignatiew spoke to me last week about recommending to the Porte the employment of Christians in the Herzegovina, I told him that I was already urging it, but he cannot resist the temptation of representing all his colleagues as acting under his direction. I am personally indifferent to this, and it may indeed ensure from him a more hearty co-operation in a right course.

Your Lordship will note what is said by my correspondent of the insinuations of General Ignatiew that Her Majesty's Government entertain designs upon Crete.

It is probable that an endeavour is being made to inspire distrust of us at the Porte in regard to that island, for which purpose one or two circumstances may be taken advantage of, such, for instance, as the ill-advised statement in one of the Constantinople newspapers, which, according to Mr. Consul Sandwith, was widely circulated in Crete, to the effect that the late abandonment of the illegal title had been granted upon my suggestion.

There has also been at Constantinople for some weeks a young man, a Captain Vincent, introduced to me by your Lordship, who had a wild scheme for the restoration of the Turkish finances by the purchase of Crete by Her Majesty's Government for a large sum of ready money. He is a loose talker, and his plan, although professedly kept secret, was known to many, and no doubt reached the Russian Ambassador, who has his means of being informed of what passes in most private houses.

Such facts as these, insignificant as they are, may, when adroitly manipulated, assist an endeavour to induce a feeling of distrust against Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 408.

Extract of a Letter to Sir H. Elliot.

M. l'Ambassadeur;

J'AI été ce matin chez le Général pour avoir des nouvelles d'Herzégovine. Il m'a reçu au jardin et il m'a montré une amitié très sympathique. Il m'a dit qu'après l'arrivée des nouvelles de Server Pacha il a prié ses collègues de se rendre auprès du Grand Vizir, et demander des concessions; car, selon lui, c'est le moment de nommer des Caïmacams Chrétiens, ainsi que la police et les percepteurs des droits. Il m'a dit que votre Excellence à compris enfin qu'elle ne pouvait rien faire sans lui, et que vous marchez à présent bongré, malgré, avec lui. Je n'ai pas manqué de lui montrer mon admiration pour la bonne manière avec laquelle il a su se tirer d'affaire dans des circonstances aussi difficiles, et surtout de gagner le Sultan à ce point. Il m'a répondu que puisque en Europe on craint et on cultive la Russie depuis l'Allemagne, la France, et l'Italie, il n'y a rien d'étonnant que les Turcs suivent la politique Russe. "L'Autriche cherchait," m'a-t-il dit, "le bouleversement pour mettre son pied; mais j'ai manié avec finesse et l'occasion ne s'est pas présentée pour qu'elle en profite." En parlant de Candie il m'a dit que votre Consul a conseillé aux Crétois de demande une autonomie, et de ne plus attendre de la Grèce, qui montre de l'indifférence pour eux. "L'Angleterre," m'a-t-il dit, "cherche à faire de la Candie une Province d'Angleterre; mais j'ai assez de moyens pour avertir ses plans. Boulgaridés a tout compris, et il a agi de concert avec votre Consul (i.e., le Grec), M. Logothéti, avec sagesse."

Il m'a expliqué que le temps n'est pas propice pour un mouvement; que le printemps nous aurions l'occasion de nous montrer digne de notre sort. Je l'ai trouvé très pensif et cherchant à cacher ses préoccupations. Il cherche la paix, et craint la continuation de la lutte en Herzégovine, comme pouvant amener des complications Européennes. Il m'a prié d'aller le voir aussi souvent que possible, et il a évité soigneusement une conversation sur les affaires intérieures de la Grèce.

No. 409.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 680.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 17, 1875.*

I INFORMED your Lordship that some unimportant disturbances had taken place in Bulgaria, in the district of Philipopoli, and it now appears that numerous arrests have been made on both sides of the Balkans; and, from what I can learn on the best authority, it would seem that any active attack upon Turkey by Servia would certainly have been followed by an attempt at a corresponding movement in Bulgaria.

The revolutionary committees have been active, and the influence they have acquired is considerable, although it is stated still to be nearly confined to the young men of the town populations, the peasants and inhabitants of the rural districts being peaceably inclined.

They are represented to me as dreading the erection of Bosnia into an autonomic State, for they know that it would soon be followed by the expulsion of a large Mussulman population, which would necessarily fall back upon Bulgaria, as was formerly the case with those expelled from Servia; and, before this occurs, they are anxious to secure the privileges which may offer them some pledge for an equality of treatment.

It is with the view of obtaining these that they would attempt to rise if there should be an attack upon Turkey by the Servians, whom, nevertheless, they look upon with aversion and fear.

The concession to which they would attach the greatest value would be the appointment of Christians as Kaïmakams and to posts in the local police.

Their expectation in this respect is so reasonable that, if the Porte can be brought to see its true interests, no hesitation should be felt in acceding to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 410.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 690.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 20, 1875.*

THE nomination of Reouf Pasha as Governor-General of Bosnia is, perhaps, the best that could have been made.

When Governor-General of Crete he rendered himself equally popular with Mussulmans and Christians, and his administration of the province of Bagdad was not less successful.

Reouf Pasha's unusual activity and habit of looking into things for himself will be

especially beneficial at the present moment, for, since the recall of Dervish and the appointment of Ahmet Hamdi Pasha, the absence of all directing authority has been injuriously felt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 411.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 693.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 22, 1875.*

THE report made by Mr. Doria in his despatch to your Lordship No. 297 of the account given by Baron Jomini of the proposals advanced by General Ignatiew for the acceptance of his colleagues, in reference to the instructions to be sent to the Consuls at Mostar, differs widely from the reality.

As the incident is now past, it might, perhaps, hardly be necessary to revert to it at any length, were it not for the light which it throws upon the tortuous manner in which the question is being treated, and as showing the extreme caution which I am forced to observe with respect to any suggestion made by the Russian Ambassador.

Your Lordship is in possession of the note which I wrote to General Ignatiew, declining to join in the most material part of the proposed instruction, and I informed him, verbally, that I had especially warned Mr. Holmes not to join in collective action with his colleagues, or in a project of arrangement which I perceived to be intended to prepare the way for a formal Conference at Constantinople.

I am aware that, notwithstanding this refusal on my part, my colleague has represented me to those imperfectly initiated into what is passing as acting so entirely under his direction, that I went to him to beg for a copy of his instructions in order that my own might be identical with them.

This is of small importance, but the matter becomes more serious if, as appears from Mr. Doria's despatch, the General misrepresents to his Government the nature of the suggestion which he made to his colleagues, and which they are stated to have acceded to.

Baron Jomini states the proposal to have been:—

1st. That the Consuls should be invited to report to their Ambassadors the result of their efforts.

2ndly. That the Ambassadors at Constantinople should meet to decide upon measures to be offered to the consideration of the Porte, to satisfy the insurgents, and prevent a recurrence of the insurrection; and,

3rdly. That the Austrian troops should be collected on the frontier for the protection of the fugitive Christians.

The first of these proposals is correctly stated, and none of the Representatives could hesitate in sending instructions which prescribed to the Consuls nothing that they would not have done in the natural performance of their duties.

The proposal that the Ambassadors should meet and propose a project for acceptance of the Porte was never made to me, although, perceiving that this was the object which the Russian Ambassador had in view, I said to some of my colleagues that if we were invited to such a meeting, I should only attend it upon the distinct understanding that we met to compare the reports of our respective Consuls, but that we should not attempt to concert a project of arrangement for the acceptance of the Porte.

To the French Ambassador General Ignatiew seems to have expressed himself more clearly, and M. de Bourgoing said that his Government would be ready to take part in a conference, but I do not understand the Italian Minister to have gone so far.

With reference to the third part of the proposal spoken of by Baron Jomini, relating to the protection of the returning refugees by an Austrian force, which my French and Italian colleagues are represented as having agreed to, I am able to state that neither they nor myself had ever heard such a suggestion even indirectly alluded to.

What the instructions sent by Baron Jomini to the Ambassador may have been, it is, of course, impossible for me to say, but the proposal of General Ignatiew was precisely what I reported to your Lordship at the time, and if an armed Austrian intervention formed a part of the plan, it was studiously kept out of sight.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 412.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 694.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 23, 1875.*

UPON learning from the Servian Agent the reports he had received from his Government of inroads made into the Principality by Turkish troops or Bashi-Bozouks, I sent a strong remonstrance through Mr. Sandison to the Porte against such acts, and inclose a copy of his report.

I likewise myself spoke to the Grand Vizier yesterday on the same subject.

His Highness said that the reports received both from the civil and military authorities led him to disbelieve that anything of the kind had occurred; if it had, it was contrary to the formal orders of the Porte.

He had, however, directed strict inquiry to be made, but had not received an answer, and orders were given to prevent the troops from approaching too near to the frontier.

As the only accounts which had been received of these acts of aggression proceeded from Belgrade, they could not be accepted without reserve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 412.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Therapia, October 21, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to state that I communicated to-day to Safvet Pasha Mr. White's telegram, together with your Excellency's instruction on the subject of the violation of Servian territory by the Turkish irregulars.

His Excellency, who at first maintained that no Bashi-Bozouks have ever been employed either along the Servian frontier or in the Herzegovina, finally admitted the fact of a portion of the Bosnian Mussulman population having been suffered to constitute themselves into armed bodies in self-defence since the breaking out of the insurrection, from which it was natural enough to conclude that an incursion might have been made by them into Servian territory, for which, I said, the Turkish Government would still be held responsible. Before, however, taking any action in the matter, his Excellency wished to hear further particulars about it from M. Magazinovitch, whom he was expecting at that moment.

On my leaving his Excellency's room I met M. Nelidoff, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, who said he had just received a second telegram from Belgrade, which represented the incursion as having been made by the regular troops, consisting of Nizamis and Rediffs, to the number of 1,100 men supported by field pieces, and not by Bashi-Bozouks, as stated in the first telegram of the Russian Consul-General. M. Nelidoff added that he had just been urging on the Grand Vizier the expediency of withdrawing all the Turkish troops from the vicinity of the Servian frontier, and recommended me to make a representation in the same sense to His Highness on your Excellency's behalf.

I strictly confined myself, however, to your Excellency's instructions in telling the Grand Vizier that no time should be lost in withdrawing any Bashi-Bozouks from the frontier and replacing them by regular troops, which His Highness agreed to do by sending orders to that effect, but not without denying, like Safvet Pasha, the reported existence or employment of Bashi-Bozouks, who, I replied, were known, nevertheless, to have been raised in several districts of Roumelia, according to reliable information which had reached your Excellency.

In reverting to the incident itself, viz., the reported violation of Servian territory, His Highness observed that he could not well help questioning the accuracy of the information communicated on the subject to the foreign Agents at Belgrade by the Servian Government, whose sole object would now seem to be to try all possible means that would tend to the removal of the Turkish army from along the Servian frontier, which, as far as could be judged from to-day's conversation, the Grand Vizier would be little disposed to consent to at the present moment.

His Highness said, in conclusion, that the telegram shown to him by M. Nelidoff spoke no longer of Bashi-Bozouks, but of regular troops, who, it was natural to suppose, must consequently be in a state of open mutiny, since it was impossible for him to admit

that they could have attempted an invasion of Servian territory with the knowledge and consent of the military authorities in command.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 413.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 696.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 23, 1875.*

THE manner in which the tithes on agricultural produce are taken, and the exclusive employment in the collection of the taxes of Turkish policemen, whose arrogance towards the Christians is often excessive, have constituted two of the most serious and real grievances complained of in the Provinces.

The Grand Vizier has, moreover, informed me that the conversion of the tithes into a land tax is immediately to be carried out in the vilayet of the Danube, where also Christians are to be taken into the police, and employed in the collection of the taxes.

I take this opportunity of inclosing the copy of a vizirial letter, ordering the more correct observance of the law for the organization of the vilayets, especially as regards the election of the members of the local Councils, and their position when elected.

If all the measures are fairly carried out a very decided improvement in the administration and condition of the Provinces must result from them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 413.

Circular of the Grand Vizier to the Governors-General of the Provinces of the Empire, dated October 5/17, 1875.

(Traduction.)

DANS la Circulaire en date du 2 Ramazan, 1292, que j'ai adressée à votre Excellence d'ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, je vous ai particulièrement recommandé la formation des Conseils d'Administration, en veillant à ce que les membres qui les composeront soient réellement les élus de diverses classes de la population jouissant de leur confiance, et que les avis émis par les membres de ces Conseils soient pris en considération.

J'attire aujourd'hui davantage votre attention sur cet objet. Vous n'ignorez pas que le pouvoir exécutif, c'est-à-dire, les Valis dans les chefs lieux, et les Mutessarifs et les Caimcams dans les districts et les cantons, ont en principe deux sortes d'attributions, dont l'une consiste à administrer directement des affaires de leur ressort, et l'autre à agir conformément aux décisions des conseils administratifs, lesquelles seront le résultat final de leurs délibérations après que les avis des membres auront été recueillis.

Des règlements spéciaux ayant déjà défini les matières qui sont du ressort direct des agents du pouvoir exécutif, et celles qu'ils devront résoudre avec le concours du Medjlis, il sera superflu d'en parler.

Ce qui mérite d'être signalé ici à votre attention c'est que:

1. L'élection des membres du Conseil Administratif devra se faire strictement en conformité de la loi établie. Ce résultat ne peut être acquis qu'en abandonnant complètement l'usage nuisible de composer les Medjlis par des personnes favorisées ou par des partisans. Les membres de ces Conseils seront nommés par le choix libre des personnes qui seront convoquées pour procéder à leur élection. Les candidats jouiront de la confiance et de la considération de leurs communautés respectives.

2. Les avantages qu'on a en vue en créant ces Medjlis ne peuvent être assurés que par l'expression loyale et sincère des avis des membres présents. Aucun membre donc ne devra prétendre à faire prédominer son avis, ni à exercer une pression quelconque.

Il est donc formellement interdit aux fonctionnaires qui se trouvent à la tête du pouvoir exécutif d'intervenir dans les délibérations du Conseil et de le dominer.

Le président ne se distingue des autres membres que par son droit de former la majorité, lorsqu'il y a partage de voix. Il s'en suit donc qu'en général il n'a toujours qu'une seule voix.

3. Tous les membres d'un Conseil, à quelque classe et quelque religion qu'ils appar-

tiennent, font partie d'un même corps, et ont tous le droit dans les limites de la légalité d'exprimer leurs pensées selon leur conviction et leur conscience.

En un mot, ni le rang, ni la position, ni la religion des membres ne pourront établir, d'aucune manière, de distinctions entre eux.

Aucun avis émis par les membres ne devra être dédaigné ni méprisé.

Tels sont les ordres de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

En conséquence, votre Excellence est invitée à veiller continuellement à ce que ces ordres soient rigoureusement observés dans toutes les parties de la province placée sous sa juridiction.

Sublime Porte, le 21 Octobre, 1875.

No. 414.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 697.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 23, 1875.*

DERVISCH PASHA, the late Governor-General of Bosnia, who, after being superseded, was appointed to the Military Council in Constantinople, called upon me this morning, when we had a long conversation respecting the province which had been till recently under his administration.

As far as I could judge, he appears to be a man decidedly above the ordinary average of Turkish Governors in intelligence and energy, and Mr. Holmes is probably correct in considering that his removal, at a critical moment under foreign pressure, has done much to retard the suppression of the insurrection.

He affirms in the most positive manner (and in this he is confirmed by Mr. Holmes' Report), that the inhabitants of the Herzegovina did not rise of themselves, but were goaded to do so by Servian and Montenegrin emissaries.

He does not deny that the populations have grievances to complain of, which ought to be at once redressed, and the appointment of Christian Kaimakams and police in Christian districts he believes might be adopted, although in the Herzegovina, more than in other parts of Bosnia, it would, he says, be difficult to find qualified persons as Sub-Governors.

The Government ought, he considers, to do what is possible to raise the social condition of the people, and to develop the prosperity of the province, but unfortunately they are denied the most efficient means by the jealousy of a neighbouring Power.

There is no doubt that if Bosnia could be thrown into direct commercial communication with foreign countries, and with the rest of the Empire, the prosperity of the province and the civilization of the people would be more advanced than by any measures which could be adopted by the Sultan's Government; and Dervisch Pasha, like all other Turks, feels that, by refusing them access to the port of Klek, which forms part of the Ottoman territory, and is admirably suited as the shipping port of Bosnia, the Austrian Government act with a selfish disregard of both the interests and rights of Turkey.

During the Emperor's visit to Dalmatia, when Dervisch Pasha waited upon His Majesty, he endeavoured to touch upon this subject, but the Emperor showed no inclination to enter upon it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 415.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 698.)
My Lord, *Therapia, October 23, 1875.*

THE Porte has directed the local press to contradict the reports of inroads upon the Servian territory, the order being given before it was possible to ascertain whether the reports were true or not.

I regret to state that the official communications of what occurs in the insurgent districts are little to be relied upon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

P. S.—Since writing the above, the information which has reached me leaves me no doubt that the report ordered to be contradicted was perfectly correct.

No. 416.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 702.)

My Lord, *Therapia, October 26, 1875.*

UPON receiving Mr. Consul Holmes' telegraphic report of the massacre which had occurred among some of the Christian refugees on their return to the Herzegovina, I immediately sent Mr. Sandison to represent to Safvet Pasha and the Grand Vizier the necessity of making a summary example of those who had been guilty of this atrocity.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of Mr. Sandison's Report, stating that the Grand Vizier had promised at once to send orders to Reouf Pasha for the immediate execution of the Aghas, and of such other persons as should be found guilty of the massacre.

When Mr. Sandison spoke to Safvet Pasha, the Porte appeared to have received no intimation of what had occurred.

Your Lordship will at once perceive the unfortunate results which may follow this deplorable incident; for, on the one side, the refugees will be justified in any reluctance they may show in trusting themselves to a Government which has proved so little able to protect the first of them who returned, confiding in the assurances which had been held out to them.

Upon the other hand, those who have maintained that a foreign force would be necessary to secure the returning fugitives from the Mussulman populations will be supplied with an argument the strength of which it is impossible to deny.

I understand that the information received by the Russian Embassy puts the number of victims of this outrage at twelve, and I have telegraphed to Mr. Consul Holmes to let me have any authentic details which he can obtain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 416.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Therapia, October 25, 1875.*

IN accordance with your Excellency's instructions I communicated to-day to Safvet Pasha Mr. Holmes' telegram respecting the massacre of some of the Christians who had returned to their homes from Dalmatia.

His Excellency having expressed much regret and surprise at the occurrence, as likely to lead to unpleasant consequences, inasmuch as the troops which had accompanied the Aghas, the perpetrators of the crime, seem to have done nothing to prevent it, confined himself to merely telegraphing to Server Pasha for information on the subject.

The Grand Vizier, however, whom I saw later in the afternoon, expressed himself in favour of immediate action, and, agreeably with your Excellency's suggestion, told me he would telegraph at once to Reouf Pasha, ordering the summary execution of the Aghas and of such others as may be found guilty of the massacre in question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALFRED SANDISON.

No. 417.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 703.)

My Lord, *Therapia, October 27, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two despatches from Mr. Vice-Consul Dupuis, from Adrianople, conveying intelligence of the disorders and outrages committed upon the Bulgarians by the armed Mussulman populations.

I put a French copy of Mr. Dupuis' despatch of the 13th instant into Safvet Pasha's hands, accompanying it with the remarks that it seemed to call for; but upon receiving the Vice-Consul's later despatch No. 33 I caused a copy to be made of the letter inclosed in it from his dragoman, and I have sent it to Safvet Pasha in a private letter, of which the copy is herewith transmitted.

I adopted this course instead of communicating the report personally, or through Mr. Sandison, as it would render it more certain that my comments upon it would be

fully conveyed to the Grand Vizier and his other colleagues than if they had been made in conversation.

The account given in the other inclosure in Mr. Dupuis' despatch tallies much with what I had written to your Lordship of the general feeling of the Bulgarians, and it was confirmed by a very influential Bulgarian gentleman, who called upon me yesterday in company with the newly appointed Bulgarian Bishop of Adrianople.

They both stated that their countrymen had no wish for a union with either the Servians or Roumanians, and that, with the exception of a few hot-headed young men, none desired the province to be rendered an autonomic State, as they were aware that they were not at present qualified to govern themselves.

Their wishes were reasonable and moderate, and all they ask is to be relieved from the oppression which prevails, the chief grievances being the tithe and the tyranny of an exclusively Mussulman Police.

If these were removed and a fair administration of justice ensured, with Christian evidence received like Mussulman evidence, and security given for their persons and their property, the Bulgarians, as a mass, would, they declared, ask for nothing more.

These gentlemen admitted the accuracy of the Report given by M. Dupuis' correspondent of the conspiracy which had been formed at Eski-Zagra, and said that they could not deny that the Porte was justified in making arrests and in summarily putting it down. It was, however, a childish and impotent movement without ramifications, and did not deserve to have too much importance given to it.

Commissioners have been ordered by the Porte, one Turkish and the other Bulgarian, to enquire into the state of the province, and it is hoped that their mission will be attended by good results.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 417.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Adrianople, October 13, 1875.*

MY dragoman reports from Yeni-Zagra that the Mussulman population of that district is committing the greatest possible disorders, and that the night of the 8th instant they attacked a village called Elhova, in the Caza of Kyzanleh, and murdered some 260 of the Bulgarians, including men, women, and children, and afterwards entirely destroyed the village. I am also informed that the Bashi-Bozouks in other villages are likewise committing great disorders.

My informant does not acquaint me as to the cause of this sad affair, or what provocation the Turks received; he merely tells me that the local authorities, instead of taking measures of precaution, suffer the whole male population to go about armed, while the Bulgarians are not allowed to circulate after dark.

The Governor-General of Adrianople left this morning for the scene of disorder with a detachment of soldiers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DUPUIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 417.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Adrianople, October 23, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Excellency herewith inclosed copy of a report received from my dragoman, who is in Yeni-Zagra, giving an account of the dreadful disorders committed by the Turkish population and Bashi-Bozouks in that neighbourhood.

I beg also to submit to your Excellency some interesting correspondence from the American missionaries at Samapore and Eski-Zagra as to the general feeling of the Bulgarians at the present moment, and their condition and treatment by the Turks.

No authentic intelligence respecting the insurrection in the Herzegovina reaches this place. Vague rumours of all kinds come in from time to time and obtain currency for a day or two, but, as far as I have been able to learn, there is no change in the aspect of

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affairs, excepting that the insurgents are preparing to retire into the mountains to await the return of spring before recommencing hostilities.

On the other hand, I hear that, fearing the outbreak of disturbances in this province, as well as to be at hand should the insurrection spread to Bulgaria, a strong military force is to be stationed in Adrianople to watch events in the Balkans.

I may inform your Excellency that it is stated here that the Russian Embassy at Constantinople is interesting itself in behalf of the Bulgarian prisoners compromised in the recent disclosures in Eski-Zagra and the neighbouring country. The Governor-General of Adrianople is still absent investigating the late disturbances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DUPUIS.

Inclosure 3 in No. 417.

Private Letter to Vice-Consul Dupuis.

Yeni-Zagra, le $\frac{9}{21}$ *Octobre,* 1875.

LES autorités de nos contrées se rendent coupables d'actes si injustes que je ne saurais faire autrement que de les porter à votre connaissance.

Dès le commencement de l'insurrection d'Herzégovine les habitants Turcs de ces contrées ne cessent de se livrer à des meurtres contre les Bulgares, tant persuadés de leur impunité de la part de l'autorité Ottomane, comme il résulte d'une série de crimes commis par eux dernièrement que je viens vous exposer.

Avant-hier au village Yovel, de l'arrondissement de Yamboli, les Turcs ont tué deux paysans Bulgares. Au village Bali-Bounar, du même arrondissement, six Bulgares ont été aussi tués. Aux environs de Yeni-Zagra un charretier Bulgare, habitant du village Kadi-Keug, il y a trois jours, vers deux heures du soir à la Turque, a eu le même sort. Six autres Bulgares, à quelques heures de distance du village Selimno, ont été assaillis avant hier par des Turcs, mais ils sont parvenus à échapper, grace à la résistance désespérée.

Les autorités Turques, dont la conduite peut avoir des conséquences très-fâcheuses, savent très-bien ces scènes tragiques qui se passent ici, et pourtant elles n'ont opéré aucune arrestation, mais au contraire pour encourager les Turcs, qu'elles voient ménacer par une autre insurrection de la Bulgarie, elles leur permettent de se promener armés jusqu'aux dents, tandis que les Chrétiens Bulgares ne peuvent non seulement porter des armes pour défendre leur vie et leur biens, mais encore se plaindre de cette situation insupportable, et tout Bulgare qui ose en parler est poursuivi et puni impitoyablement, considéré comme un conspirateur contre le Gouvernement Turque.

P.S.—Je décachète le présent rapport pour ajouter en toute hâte que ce soir à 8 heures, trois Bachi-Bozouks Turques, armés de yatagans et de pistolets, s'embuscant dans une ruelle du village, ont voulu me débarrasser du poids de mon argent, et que la présence d'un de mes amis, et d'autres circonstances, les ont empêché d'exécuter le but de leur embuscade.

Je me suis rendu tout de suite chez le Caïmacam, qui me dit que les misérables Bachi-Bozouks se livrent souvent au brigandage, et il ordonna leur arrestation; mais, jusqu'au moment où je vous trace ces mots, je ne sais s'ils ont été découverts et arrêtés ou non.

Inclosure 4 in No. 417.

The Rev. L. Bond to Vice-Consul Dupuis.

Sir, *Eski Zagra, October* 14, 1875.

YOUR favour of the 16th instant came to hand last evening, and I hasten to comply with your request, in so far as lies within my power.

A secret league among the Bulgarians in this place was discovered by the authorities a little more than two weeks ago. This organization was composed chiefly of the middle class of young Bulgarians.

Their plan was to fire the Turkish quarter, and then upon the Turks.

The surrounding villages were also in the conspiracy. Their preparations seem to have been carried on with considerable energy. Ammunition was being collected near my house in a yard, and a uniform was being manufactured. At length some of the leading

Bulgarians, having become aware of these preparations, coolly walked to the Konak and informed the Governor. Immediately officers were sent out, and the conspirators arrested.

At the present time there are imprisoned here more than 200, including traders and a few teachers and priests. Their trial, I understand, has begun, though of course each one was separately examined to some extent at the time of his arrest, and a few were more cruelly tormented.

I am not able to give the facts with regard to the reported fighting in the Balkans, though, from all I can gather, I think there has been a little skirmishing.

The organization seems to have been confined to this city and surrounding places, including Karanlek. Nothing has transpired at Ramboul or Sleven.

The insurrection is thoroughly killed already, without outside aid. I don't see how the Bulgarians can hope to succeed in any such operations. An insurmountable difficulty in the way is their lack of union.

They talk a great deal about patriotism, but they don't possess it. The leading men who have offices and influence appear quite well contented to remain under Turkish rule, inasmuch as they are enabled to cheat and oppress almost *ad libitum*. All other classes are heartily opposed to the Turks, and the present insurrection is a natural outgrowth of this feeling, although there are some who acknowledge that Bulgaria would probably be a great deal worse for all excepting the rulers. The great majority are longing for some foreign ruler to take the reins of Government. This disturbance has begotten a spirit of lawlessness throughout this region.

Bulgarians are robbed and beaten every night. Fresh cases are reported every day. This applies to the villages as well as to the city. It is the same at Sleven and Yamboli and Karanlek. Last Monday one of our Protestants in Yamboli was robbed just after dark and almost killed by two Turks. An hour after, another Protestant coming the same road was robbed and beaten, and immediately after, the process was repeated on a couple of Jews. Women as well as men are beaten. Even priests on their way to the early church services have been caught and knocked down.

Please understand that I don't undertake to prove the truth of all the foregoing statements, but I offer them as what I consider about the truth, after sifting a great mass of heterogeneous reports.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. BOND.

Inclosure 5 in No. 417.

The Rev. J. Clarke to Vice-Consul Dupuis.

(Extract.) *Samakov, October 15, 1875.*

I HAVE no doubt that there is a strong under-current against the Government. This is shown by the disclosures in Sofra some months ago, and by occasional expressions which are occasionally heard.

The Bulgarians feel that they are oppressed. The tax on all male children, though but a few days old, each March, for exemption from military service, seems to all unjust and severe.

The collection of taxes develops many wrongs indirectly caused by the Government. The non-reception of evidence from Bulgarians against Turkish evidence, and the overbearing conduct of Turks with Bulgarians, add to the above grievances.

I know of no reason to think that the Bulgarians are now planning any uprising in this vicinity, but I have no doubt they would do so with any probability of success.

I see no prospect of any benefit from such uprising. They are not united, and I do not think would agree if successful. I often wonder at the course of the Turks. Were they just with the Bulgarians, I think the latter would prove good subjects. In my acquaintance of some fifteen years with this country, I have been brought to respect many good qualities in both nationalities. We wish to seek the highest good of all.

The Turks here fear much an uprising of the Bulgarians, as I hear from various quarters, as they are taking active measures for repressing the same.

A person at the Government Office last night told me that they were enlisting soldiers.

Inclosure 6 in No. 417.

Sir H. Elliot to Safvet Pasha.

(Particulière.)

Therapia, le Octobre, 1875.

Chère Excellence,

JE vous prie de lire avec l'attention qu'il mérite l'extrait ci-joint d'une lettre que je viens de recevoir de Yeni-Zagra.

Il n'est pas à supposer que vos autorités vous signaleront des faits de la nature de ceux qui y sont constatés, et qui malheureusement ne sont point des faits isolés, ou qu'elles ont un intérêt trop direct à cacher des procédés pour lesquels la Sublime Porte les tiendrait à juste titre responsables.

Ce n'est que par des témoignages impartiaux que vous pouvez apprendre la vérité, et je connais la valeur que vos illustres prédécesseurs ont de tout temps attachée aux rapports de nos Agents Consulaires; si ceux-ci ne peuvent pas fermer les yeux aux abus qui se pratiquent dans leurs districts, on ne saurait assurément les soupçonner de sentiments d'hostilité.

Chaque poste m'apporte des détails sur les excès qui se commettent par des gens qu'on désigne comme des Bachi-Bozouks.

Je sais que vous insistez toujours qu'il n'y a point de Bashi-Bozouks.

Je ne veux pas disputer par des mots, mais ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que les autorités permettent à des bandes de Musulmans armés de rôder au milieu des Chrétiens non-armés, et que ceux-ci en subissent tous les outrages imaginables.

Est-il possible pour les amis les plus déclarés de la Porte de nier que c'est elle qui est responsable d'un pareil état de choses? Où est donc l'égalité tant vantée de tous les sujets du Sultan quand on voit une classe désarmée et sans défense livrée à la merci d'une classe armée.

Tous les rapports qui me parviennent représentent les Bulgares comme ne demandant pas mieux que de rester sujets fidèles du Sultan, mais insistant que l'insouciance ou l'incapacité des autorités, et la tyrannie sans borne des zaptiehs, et dernièrement les excès des populations armées, que je ne dois pas appeler des Bashi-Bozouks, les poussent à un état d'exaspération que l'Europe en général reconnaîtra comme naturel sinon justifié.

Je vous prie de croire, mon cher Pacha, que si je vous écris avec chaleur, c'est que j'ai à cœur de voir le Gouvernement Impérial adopter l'action vigoureuse qui est indispensable pour le mettre à l'abri des accusations qui ne manqueront pas de fondre sur lui de toutes parts, du moment que ce qui se passe en Bulgarie viendra à être connu en Europe avec les exagérations qui s'en suivront.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 418.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 708.)

Therapia, October 28, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the telegraphic answer received by the Porte to the inquiry which had been made respecting the complaint of the Servian Government, that inroads of Bashi-Bazouks, supported by the regular forces, had been made upon the territory of the Principality.

It is admitted that a band of marauders crossed the border for purposes of pillage, provoked, it is affirmed, by acts of a similar nature committed by the Servians; but it is denied that either the regular or irregular force were implicated.

The accounts of these irregularities, given from both sides, are equally untrustworthy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 418.

Ibrahim Pasha to Safvet Pasha.

EN réponse au télégramme de votre Altesse du 5 Octobre, je puis vous assurer que nous n'avons pas cessé d'insister sur les instructions que nous avons déjà données aux autorités militaires et administratives.

Nous avons pris connaissance des déprédations et des meurtres commis par les bandes Serbes. Pour ce qu'il y a des incursions signalées de Belgrade, les Bashi-Bazouks n'y ont pris part. C'est une bande de 80 individus, formée d'habitants de Novi Bazar, et d'autres villages dépendant de ce district, qui a traversé la ligne de démarcation à l'insu de tout le monde à la faveur des ténèbres, et qui s'en est retournée après avoir commis des actes répréhensibles. Ces individus, d'un caractère leger, appartenant tous à une classe basse, ont été poussés dans un esprit de vengeance pour tout ce que les Serbes leur font endurer. Dès que les autorités apprirent ces faits elles ont arrêté quatre habitants de Novi Bazar, et leur ont fait subir une interrogatoire rigoureuse. Tout ce qui a été dit au sujet des sentinelles établies le long de la frontière, et des troupes qui auraient suivi la dite bande avec les canons, ainsi que le chiffre de 12,000 à 14,000 hommes, qu'on a donné au nombre de cette bande; enfin tout ce qui a rapport au transport des blessés appartenant à l'armée par des voitures est dénué de tout fondement; et je puis le certifier à votre Altesse de la manière la plus formelle et la plus catégorique. Nous avons envoyé le Lieutenant-Colonel Hassan Bey à Novi Bazar, avec l'ordre de former un conseil de guerre, et de faire passer un interrogatoire à tous ceux qui seraient considérés coupables, afin de les punir. Nous avons adressé à tous les villageois le long de la frontière les ordres les plus sévères, et nous avons envoyé quelques Membres du Conseil d'Administration et quelques officiers de gendarmes pour transmettre des injonctions catégoriques aux habitants. Enfin, nous ne cessons pas de prendre un seul instant des dispositions des plus urgentes et nécessaires afin de prévenir le retour de ces méfaits.

(Signé) IBRAHIM, *Caimacam de Bosnie.*

No. 419.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 714.)

Therapia, October 28, 1875.

My Lord,

SIR ANDREW BUCHANAN has pointed out to your Lordship that, in listening to General Ignatiew's statement of the views adopted at Vienna upon the Herzegovina question, it is to be remembered that he is animated by a personal feeling of animosity towards Count Andrassy and M. Novikow.

It may be added that his feeling is not more cordial towards Baron Jomini, and he certainly resents seeing the Eastern policy of his Government, which he has so long practically directed, taken in great measure from his hands, and transferred to those of Count Andrassy, under the understanding which appears to have been come to by the three Northern Cabinets.

What his ultimate views may be it is not easy to say; but there has been little concealment as to his immediate object of obtaining the transfer to a Conference of the Representatives of all the guaranteeing Powers at Constantinople, the consideration of the questions at present treated at Vienna by the three alone.

If, as would appear from Baron Jomini's language to Mr. Doria, the consent of the Vienna Cabinet to a Conference was to be obtained by causing it to be accompanied by a military demonstration by Austria, the Russian Ambassador acted with a singular want of sincerity towards his colleagues here, whom he represented as acquiescing in a measure of which they had never heard.

Theoretically, General Ignatiew is in the right in maintaining that any important resolution respecting a country towards which all the Powers are bound by the same Treaties, ought to be arrived at by them collectively, rather than by three of the number.

Practically the effect of such a Conference would be to render the Russian Ambassador the dictator of the decisions to be come to by it; and, although his policy has of late appeared less rash and precipitate than that of Count Andrassy, the uncertainty which must be felt as to the ultimate designs which he may have in view is calculated to cause extreme distrust.

That encouragement should be given by Russia to an Austrian military demonstration or occupation is so eminently suspicious, especially after the language of Prince Gortchakow, that it is difficult not to believe that it must be a pretext for a counteracting exhibition of her own influence or authority in some other quarter.

It has not hitherto appeared that Russia was desirous of precipitating what is commonly called the Eastern question, by a violent disturbance of the whole Turkish Empire; but there is one part of the arrangement, forced upon her after the Crimean war, upon which she may have remained silent, but to which she is not reconciled.

I allude to the cession of Bessarabian territory, annexed to Moldavia by the Treaty of 1856.

In a conversation with General Ignatiew about five years ago, as far as I can recollect, my colleague, speaking of the friendly disposition of the Emperor Alexander towards Turkey, so far forgot his usual caution as to observe that there were, nevertheless, two points upon which His Majesty felt very deeply; the one was the forced neutralization of the Black Sea, and the other was the ceded territory.

He had been forced to submit to these humiliations at the beginning of his reign; but they were blots upon his crown which he considered it a sacred duty to aspire to wipe out.

The opportunity soon occurred, and the denunciation of the neutralization of the Black Sea was pronounced; but the territorial question was not touched, for at that time Austria, whose interests would have been gravely affected, was likely to invoke the Treaty of Guarantee of the 15th of April, and to call upon Her Majesty's Government to assist in repelling the attack upon the integrity of Turkey.

General Ignatiew, who was absent at the time of the denunciation, returned shortly afterwards, and spoke of it as having removed the only sore point which had existed between Russia and the Porte.

I reminded him of what he had said of the Emperor's feelings with regard to the recovery of the ceded portion of Bessarabia; he answered, hurriedly, that that question might be allowed to rest.

It has been allowed to rest or to sleep; but there is no Government so patient as that of Russia in biding its time, but which so steadily pursues an object once in view.

If an Austrian occupation of Bosnia should, as is only probable, end by the province being detached from Turkey, the Russian Government might find in this the pretext it seeks for demanding an equivalent concession in her own favour, and for recovering her old territory as far as the Danube.

The difficulty might lie in obtaining the consent of the German Government to the annexation of a portion of the States of a Hohenzollern Prince; but the contemptuous terms in which Prince Bismarck has always spoken of Prince Charles would seem to make it doubtful whether he would allow that consideration to stand in the way, if he had any important political combination in view.

Although these are but speculations provoked by the diplomatic action going on at Vienna, and through which I do not profess to see, I have thought it my duty to submit them to your Lordship as they arose in my mind.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 420.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 716.)
My Lord,

Therapia, October 28, 1875.

I AM informed upon authority which I can hardly doubt that Count Zichy has declared to one of my colleagues that if the Porte should be unable to suppress the insurrection in the Herzegovina by the month of December, the Austro-Hungarian Government would reluctantly consider its intervention necessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 421.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 717.)
My Lord,

Therapia, October 28, 1875.

I UNDERSTAND that in one of the recent engagements between the Imperial troops and the insurgents on the Dalmatian frontier, the latter having retreated beyond it, were pursued by the Turks, who continued the fight for some time on the Austrian territory.

The Austrian Ambassador has, I am told, acted with great moderation in reference to this incident.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 421.

Mr. Vivian to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(Extract.)

Bucharest, October 28, 1875.

I HAVE learned from a very authentic source, and under the seal of strict confidence, that Russia is showing a strong disposition to reclaim, and that before long, her old Bessarabian line of frontier, as it existed before the Treaty of Paris, and that she has taken France into her confidence.

I give this information for what it is worth; but the source from which I had it makes me think it of sufficient importance to report.

No. 422.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 364. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Vienna, November 1, 1875.

ON the 30th ultimo the Vienna newspapers published a telegram giving the substance of an article communicated to the official journal of St. Petersburgh, apparently intimating an intention of a more active intervention on the part of the Government in the affairs of the Herzegovina; and, as I met Baron Orczy in the course of the day, I inquired whether he could give me any explanation on the subject, and whether the Austro-Hungarian Government had received any communication from St. Petersburgh in confirmation of the contents of this telegram.

His Excellency said that he had been quite unprepared for the Russian declaration, and that he could only attribute it to a wish of the Government to answer criticisms in Russian journals accusing them of lukewarmness for the interests, and indifference to the suffering, of the Slavs in the insurgent provinces of Turkey, and that he could not believe there was an intention to adopt measures inconsistent with the concert which has hitherto existed between the Cabinets of Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburgh.

I answered that, as a probable consequence of General Ignatiew's visit to Livadia, the declaration appeared to be more than an expression of sympathy with the sufferings of the insurgents, or as merely intended to place the sentiments of the Government in harmony with those of the public in Russia; and this observation led his Excellency to speak of General Ignatiew as sacrificing every prospect of settling the question to his own vanity, and as evidently determined to prevent any solution of it until the other Powers despair of its satisfactory arrangement, when he hopes to come forward as the *Deus ex machinâ*, and to make proposals which the Porte will be forced or induced to accept, and which will show the Christian population of Turkey that there is no Power except Russia willing or able to protect them.

In short, my Lord, *mutatis mutandis*, his Excellency's language to me with respect to General Ignatiew was almost identic with that which Sir Henry Elliot reports that Ambassador to hold to him with respect to Count Andrassy.

I inclose a French translation of an article which appeared on this subject yesterday in the Vienna "Presse," a journal which is alleged to have relations with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

I have also had to-day some conversation with Baron Hofmann, who, like Baron Orczy, is of opinion that the declaration is principally addressed to the Slavs, whose journals not only in Russia, but also at Prague and in other places in Austro-Hungary, represent the Emperor of Russia and his Government as renegades to the past policy of the nation. It was not improbably, he said, connected with General Ignatiew's visit to Livadia, but Mahmoud Pasha is the creature of that Ambassador, and as he may find it necessary to make concessions at the Porte to keep his protégé in power, he may have thought it expedient to cover such concessions by an official manifestation of Russia's continued readiness to extend her protection to the oppressed subjects of the Sultan.

I should have less difficulty in accepting this view of the case had General Ignatiew's recent personal communication with his Sovereign not been followed by the arrival here of a rumour that M. de Novikow would be shortly removed from Vienna. That Ambas-

sador is considered by the Austrian Government and by all my colleagues to have treated the Herzegovina question with great moderation, and with an anxious desire to promote its speedy and peaceful settlement, and his removal at this moment would produce a very unfavourable impression. Some months ago, however, when General Ignatiew passed through Vienna, he expressed to one of my colleagues surprise that his Government should leave such an inefficient person ("un tel imbecile") as M. de Novikow at Vienna during an important crisis; and he appears now to have succeeded in inspiring the Emperor with distrust of his Ambassador. At all events, I am assured that M. de Novikow has reason to believe that he has lost the confidence of his Government, and that his stay at Vienna has become very uncertain.

Baron Hofmann, in speaking on the subject, said that, as M. de Novikow had not called upon him for some days, he feared his position had not improved; and he added that Prince Gortchakow's long residence in Switzerland caused much inconvenience, as M. de Jomini seems unable to direct the policy of the Government, and has to encounter daily difficulties from the absence of the Emperor at Livadia, and from the independent action of those who ought to respect his instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 422.

Extract from the Vienna "Presse."

RELATIVEMENT à la manifestation dont mention de la part du Gouvernement Russe, la feuille citée fait remarquer ce qui suit:—

"Le communiqué lui-même est remarquable à deux points de vue différents. D'une part, il insiste d'une manière assez surprenante, sur les sympathies spéciales de la Russie pour les Chrétiens Slaves de la Turquie, il rappelle les sacrifices déjà faits par la nation Russe pour la population Slave opprimée de la Porte Ottomane, et qui lui donnent le droit de plaider devant l'Europe la cause de cette population. Par là, la Russie veut s'assurer à elle un prestige tout particulier aux yeux des Slaves d'Orient et sauvegarder l'apparence que les mesures qu'il y a lieu d'attendre de l'Europe sont essentiellement dues à son initiative. C'est là une manœuvre qui, aussi facile à expliquer qu'elle soit si on la tire des prémices d'une antique tradition de la politique Orientale de St. Pétersbourg, n'est cependant pas en complète harmonie, semble-t-il, avec l'action commune jusqu'ici des trois Grandes Puissances du nord. S'il est un Etat qui ait le droit de parler des grands sacrifices qu'il a fait précisément pendant la lutte des Chrétiens Slaves dans la presqu'île du Balkan, c'est assurément et en première ligne l'Autriche-Hongrie. Rappelons seulement ces réfugiés, au nombre de plus de 100,000, qui se trouvent en partie sur notre propre sol, en partie dans le Montenegro, et que seuls la protection et les secours du Gouvernement Autrichien mettent à l'abri de la famine et de la plus profonde détresse.

"La seconde partie du communiqué officiel a trait aux réformes qu'il s'agit d'introduire. Ici nous pouvons constater avec satisfaction que la Diplomatie Russe entre en lice et se place du côté de ceux qui exigent une action plus énergique. Mais comment la Russie résoudra-t-elle ce problème épineux? Comment mettra-t-elle, dans tous les cas, un terme à la situation malheureuse de la population Chrétienne? Voilà ce que le communiqué ne dit pas. La complète inanité de toutes les velléités de réformes tentées jusqu'ici étant bien constatée, il faut absolument entrer dans des voies toutes nouvelles. Il y a plus d'un an que, dans une conversation particulière, qu'il n'y aura certes pas indiscrétion à rappeller ici, le Général Ignatiew avait prédit le cataclysme financier qui s'est récemment abattu sur la Turquie, et exprimé l'idée que la banqueroute de l'Etat Ottoman fournirait sans doute aux Puissances Européennes l'occasion de créer une espèce de tutelle. Ce projet de tutelle aurait-il également rencontré l'approbation des cercles Russes, et serait-il actuellement considéré comme praticable? Cette tutelle que jadis revendiquait la Russie vis-à-vis des Chrétiens de Grèce, devrait-elle de nouveau revenir à l'ordre du jour dans un sens plus large et plus étendu que les financiers de Paris et de Londres ne se l'étaient figuré? S'attendrait-on en Russie à avoir une voix prépondérante dans ce conseil de tutelle? Nous ne sommes pas à même de répondre à toutes ces questions; le cours ultérieur que prendront les événements à Constantinople prouvera déjà si elles ont été ou non soulevées avec quelque fondement, ou bien si elles ne sont que de pures velléités, un reflet en quelque sorte de l'ancienne politique Orientale du Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg. Provisoirement, et en présence de semblables questions, telles qu'elles s'agitent aujourd'hui à Vienne de différents côtés, nous devons constater le fait que la Russie, depuis qu'elle est entrée en

relations amicales avec l'Autriche-Hongrie, a constamment agi avec une entière loyauté dans le sens de la politique inaugurée par l'alliance des trois Empereurs et que rien jusqu'à présent n'autorise à admettre qu'elle songe à s'en écarter. L'appel aux sympathies Slaves en Turquie est une billet à longue échéance qui a été déjà bien des fois renouvelé depuis des années et qui ne sera très-probablement acquitté que le jour où la Turquie aura vecu."

No. 423.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 368. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, November 2, 1875.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 358, Confidential, of the 21st ultimo, and to your Lordship's despatch to Sir Henry Elliot, No. 326, Confidential, of the 16th ultimo, relative to assurances which you had received from Count Schouvalow of the disinterested policy of Russia and Austria-Hungary in the Herzegovinian question, I have been informed that Count Andrassy stated to the Italian Minister here, on the day he left Vienna for Hungary, that he might assure his Government that neither the Emperor nor himself have any wish or intention to annex the insurgent Provinces of Turkey to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. He said also, for himself, that he would oppose any combination of the kind, as incompatible with the opinions and convictions which he has always entertained as to the inexpediency of increasing the Slave population of the Empire.

His Excellency may, however, be equally determined to resist the aggrandisement of Servia or Montenegro, or any advance on the part of either of these Principalities towards the reorganization of a Servian Empire to which the Serbs of Austria-Hungary could be attracted; and he might, therefore, prefer the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary in the improbable event of Russia assenting to such a scheme, to the greater evil of a considerable Serb State being established on the frontiers of the Empire. But as both these combinations would, as far as his opinions are known, be considered by his Excellency as fraught with danger to the Monarchy, he may be credited with a desire to maintain the integrity of Turkey, if the Porte can succeed in pacifying her insurgent Provinces, and establishing in them a system of administration which would satisfy the reasonable wishes of the population.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 424.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 369. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Buda Pesth, November 3, 1875.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 368, dated from Vienna yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have seen Count Andrassy to-day, and that, on my speaking to him of the "communiqué" in the Russian official journal respecting the insurrection in the Herzegovina, he said that he had read it with great surprise, and could not understand its object, nor indeed its meaning, as its beginning and its end are at variance with each other.

He believes, therefore, that it might be considered a mere string of general phrases, which did not point to any definite or decided course of proceeding.

I asked if he had received any recent proposals from St. Petersburgh, which might throw some light on this communication to the Russian public, and he said positively none. As I had learnt, also, that M. de Novikow had been here the day before yesterday, which accounts for his not having lately seen Baron Hofmann, I asked whether the Russian Ambassador had said anything respecting the rumour of his recall, and his Excellency answered that he had spoken of the report in circulation on the subject, but hoped and believed it to be unfounded.

Whether it had reached M. de Novikow from any other source I have not ascertained, but it was first received at Vienna from a person at Constantinople, to whom General Ignatiew had boasted, on his return from Livadia, that he had broken the neck ("qu'il avait cassé le cou à") of M. de Novikow.

When I found that M. de Novikow had been here, and as I could not believe that he

had left Vienna without acquainting Baron Hofmann, with whom he is in very frequent, if not daily, communication, I was disposed to doubt the truthfulness of Baron Hofmann's language to me respecting the article in the Russian official paper; but as Count Andrassy's language to-day has been identic with it, it is reasonable to suppose that they have both spoken truly.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 425.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 370. Secret and Confidential.)
My Lord, *Buda Pesth, November 3, 1875.*

A CONFIDENTIAL statement was made to me three days ago, which I decided not to report to your Lordship unless I should find some confirmation of it in Sir Henry Elliot's despatches, which I expected from Constantinople, as to the probability of the affairs of the Herzegovina leading to war. Having now seen those despatches from Nos. 679 to 719 inclusive, and having also read Mr. Vivian's secret and confidential despatch No. 59 of the 28th ultimo, I consider it my duty to state that my informant overheard a conversation between M. de Novikow and another gentleman, when on the latter expressing an opinion that the pacification of the provinces was becoming more hopeful, his Excellency said that, so far from agreeing with him, he believed that war could not be prevented for more than four months—"que dans quatre mois nous aurons la guerre." He may, however, merely have expressed an opinion that Servia and Montenegro will declare war to Turkey next spring, an eventuality which Baron Jomini also appears to anticipate, if the insurrection is continued throughout the winter; but there are so many disturbing agencies at work at present in the East of Europe, and the Turkish Government seem so unable to deal with them efficiently, that the most serious eventualities may arise without causing surprise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 426.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, November 7.)

(No. 132. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Buda Pesth, November 3, 1875.*

SERMED EFFENDI, the Turkish Consul-General here, informs me that he had, three or four days ago, a conversation with Count Andrassy respecting the insurrection in the Herzegovina. He describes Count Andrassy as having said that the accounts received from that Province showed that there was little prospect of an early suppression of the insurrection; and that the consequence would, sooner or later, be the participation of Servia and Montenegro in the revolt, as it would be impossible to restrain them indefinitely.

Sermed Effendi appears to have endeavoured to insinuate, as delicately as he could, that the Austro-Hungarian Government was in some measure responsible for the prolongation of the insurrection. He pointed out in particular that the insurgents seemed to enjoy remarkable facilities for placing the Austrian frontier between themselves and the Turkish troops, and of recrossing it unmolested as soon as the latter disappeared. Count Andrassy replied that the frontier in the mountainous regions was very ill-defined; and that, therefore, it was very possible that such incidents did take place oftener than was desirable, but that they were in no way due to the connivance of the Austro-Hungarian authorities.

Sermed Effendi assured me that he could not help placing reliance on the reiterated declarations made to him by Count Andrassy, that the Austro-Hungarian Government had no wish to give encouragement to the disaffected Slave subjects of the Porte. But he maintains that the action of the Great Powers, even if it be dictated by an honest desire for the suppression of the insurrection, has not been that best calculated for the attainment of that object. According to him, the Turkish forces being strong enough to deal with Servia, it would be better that the warlike proclivities of that Principality should no longer be held in check by foreign influence; but that she should be allowed to have her own way, and thus give the Porte a pretext for occupying the country, and effectually

putting an end to the aid and comfort now afforded to the rebels. As for the effect of such a proceeding on the sympathies of the Slav population of Austria-Hungary, Sermed Effendi said that surely the Imperial-Royal Government was strong enough to prevent any evil result; at any rate, it ought to be able to repress manifestations of any kind.

I learn from my Russian colleague that M. de Novikow paid a short visit to Buda-Pesth three days ago. It seems that this visit was intended by the Ambassador himself to have been kept as quiet as possible; but his Excellency's endeavours to avoid attracting attention were frustrated by Count Andrassy, who forced him to relinquish his quiet dinner at the Russian Consulate in favour of an evening at the National Club, where M. de Novikow had been very anxious not to appear.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 427.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 7, at night.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *St. Petersburgh, November 7, 1875.*

ON my observing to Count Andrassy yesterday that I did not understand how guarantees could be given for the execution of the reforms in Turkey without prejudice to her independence, he said that he was entirely of that opinion; but the insurrection must be suppressed during the winter, or Servia and Montenegro would support it in the spring.

I did not ask whether this was to be done by armed intervention, as, if he had acquainted me with such an intention, he might have said afterwards that it had been communicated to Her Majesty's Government without their having objected to it.

No. 428.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 8.)

(No. 373.)
My Lord, *Buda Pesth, November 4, 1875.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 360, Confidential, of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inclose herewith an article which appeared yesterday evening in the "Correspondance Autrichienne," and a French translation from the semi-official "Abendpost" of the previous evening, containing explanations of the recent "communiqué" in the official journal of St. Petersburgh. Your Lordship will perceive that in the former of these articles it is stated "means will be found to guarantee the execution of the promises of the Porte without prejudice to its independence," but how that problem is to be solved has not yet been made known.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 428.

Extract from the "Correspondance d'Autriche" of November 3, 1875.

LA note récemment publiée par le "Reichsanzeiger" de St. Pétersbourg a donné lieu, dans certaines feuilles d'Autriche et de l'étranger, à des commentaires contre lesquels il est absolument indispensable de protester énergiquement. On a voulu y voir, notamment, l'intention de la Russie de suivre désormais une politique isolée, au lieu de rester fidèle au pacte des trois Empereurs. D'autres, oubliant les preuves de bon vouloir qu'a données le nouveau Grand Vizir, et méconnaissant les généreuses intentions de la Sublime Porte, ont prétendu que le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg avait jugé nécessaire de mettre la Turquie en demeure de tenir ses promesses, et que dans ce but il lui avait adressé une sorte d'ultimatum. Ces deux interprétations sont aussi éloignées l'une que l'autre de la vérité. Elles reposent sur une confusion qui ne devrait, cependant, pas se produire pour peu qu'on voulût faire attention à la façon dont s'est produite la récente manifestation qui cause tout ce bruit. Il ne s'est pas agi là d'un acte officiel, destiné à être communiqué de Gouvernement à Gouvernement par la voie de la diplomatie. Il ne s'est même agi d'une de ces notes que les Ministres ont, par tous pays, l'habitude de faire insérer dans l'organe du

Cabinet, lorsqu'ils veulent faire parvenir l'opinion publique des explications nécessaires sur tel ou tel point de la politique intérieure ou extérieure. C'est un communiqué qu'a publié le "Reichsanzeiger," c'est-à-dire, une note adressée en réponse à certaines allégations que la Chancellerie a jugé convenable de démentir, c'est-à-dire, une discussion de bruits ou de fausses nouvelles qui avaient circulé dans le public, et qu'il semblait nécessaire d'arrêter.

Quiconque est tant soit peu au courant des choses de la politique Russe sait que, dans ces derniers temps, certaines organes, inspirés par un sentiment d'opposition exagéré, ont reproché vivement au Gouvernement du Prince Gortchakow de ne pas être intervenu d'une façon active, autrement dit d'une façon armée, en faveur des insurgés d'Herzégovine. Ils ont prétendu que la Russie devenait infidèle à toutes ses traditions, et qu'elle abandonnait ses frères Slaves. Certes, de telles allégations sont absolument insensés à l'heure même où le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg, d'accord avec ceux de Vienne et de Berlin, poursuit si activement des négociations auxquelles toute l'Europe s'associe, au moins moralement, dans le but d'améliorer le sort des malheureux Chrétiens d'Orient. Mais, on ne le sait que trop, un langage exalté, lorsqu'il s'agit de questions humanitaires, a toujours chances de trouver des auditeurs crédules; et, si le Cabinet Russe avait laissé passer tous les démentis, les reproches injustes qui lui étaient adressées, il aurait fini par se rencontrer un certain nombre de personnes qui les auraient pris au sérieux. C'est pour empêcher qu'il n'en fût ainsi que la Chancellerie s'est décidée à adresser un communiqué au "Reichsanzeiger." Et, si l'on examine de bonne foi le contenu de ce communiqué, en se souvenant de ce qui précède, qu'y trouvera-t-on après tout qui soit de nature à motiver des commentaires inquiétants? Le Gouvernement Russe affirme ce dont personne n'avait jamais douté, c'est qu'en s'unissant à l'Allemagne et à l'Autriche-Hongrie pour maintenir la paix, il n'a pas plus renoncé à ses traditions ni à ses propres sentiments qu'il n'a demandé à ses deux alliés de le faire de leur côté. Les Gouvernements sont convenus d'agir en commun et de ne rien faire sans se consulter les uns les autres. Ils ne sont pas convenus d'avoir les mêmes pensées, le même point de vue, et les mêmes intérêts.

Voilà pour ce qui concerne l'alliance des trois Empereurs. En ce qui touche la Turquie, les commentaires auxquels on s'est livré ne sont pas mieux fondés. Les hommes d'Etat qui dirigent actuellement ses affaires ont été les premiers à reconnaître, dans des documents officiels, que leurs ordres étaient souvent mal exécutés, leurs instructions méconnues, et que par suite les populations Chrétiennes n'avaient plus confiance dans l'efficacité des mesures bienveillantes décrétées en leur faveur. Comment donc ces mêmes hommes s'offenseraient-ils aujourd'hui d'entendre répéter ce qu'ils ont dit eux-mêmes à diverses reprises, et comment serait-on autorisé à voir une menace dans l'énonciation d'un fait que personne ne conteste?

"En tout état de cause," dit le communiqué en finissant, "le sort des Chrétiens doit changer." C'est, à vrai dire, la seule chose qu'il faille en retenir. Cette affirmation, émanant d'une bouche officielle, démontre clairement, en effet, que les négociations engagées par les trois Puissances sont à la veille d'aboutir, que l'on trouvera moyen de garantir l'exécution des promesses de la Porte sans porter atteinte à son indépendance, et que l'intervention amicale de l'Europe aura réussi à faire disparaître une cause de troubles qui subsistait depuis longtemps.

Inclosure 2 in No. 428.

Extract from the "Vienna Gazette" of November 2, 1875.

(Traduction.)

L'EVENEMENT du jour est encore toujours l'article publié par le "Journal Officiel" Russe sur la question de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine. "L'Abendpost de Vienne," organe semi-officiel, reproduit l'article dont s'agit et le fait suivre des observations suivantes:—

"Si l'on considère cet article en son entier, on ne pourra que difficilement justifier les commentaires qu'il a provoqués dans une partie de la presse Européenne. Seule la forme un peu laconique du premier télégramme permet d'expliquer comment il se fait que de parts si diverses on ait interprété sa signification et sa portée d'une manière erronée. En effet, il ne contient non seulement absolument rien qui soit en opposition avec l'action des trois Empereurs, telle qu'elle s'est manifestée jusqu'à présent, et partant rien non plus qui soit contraire à celle de l'Europe, mais il est plutôt une nouvelle confirmation de la direction et des buts de cette action dont il fait ressortir de la manière la plus accentuée et la moins équivoque les tendances de paix et l'importance, tant dans l'intérêt bien compris de la Porte Ottomane que dans celui de la population Chrétienne de la Turquie. Il faut donc, sans doute, voir en cet article une interprétation des négociations diplomatiques actuelles, mais nullement le considérer comme le précurseur d'une nouvelle phase de la situation politique et d'un changement d'attitude de la Russie vis-à-vis de ce nouvel état de choses.

"La 'Gazette Nationale,' de Berlin, nous paraît donc être dans le vrai lorsque, dans son appréciation de l'article en question, elle exprime l'opinion qu'à la vérité cette manifestation n'ajoute rien de bien essentiellement nouveau au tableau que l'on se faisait de la situation, mais qu'elle vient compléter toutefois la série de manifestations par lesquelles, en ces derniers temps, les trois Empereurs désignaient à l'Europe la politique qu'elle doit suivre."

C'est dans un sens à peu près identique que la "Revue du Lundi" nomme le communiqué du "Journal Officiel" Russe, non seulement une démonstration en faveur de l'alliance des trois Empereurs, mais une démonstration pacifique Européenne. La signification politique de l'alliance des trois Empereurs a fait ses preuves, même sur cet inextricable terrain où se croisent tant d'intérêts divers, et, comme le met bien en lumière le "Journal Officiel" Russe, elle a même décidé la France, l'Italie, et l'Angleterre à adopter et à appuyer le point de vue des Cabinets de Berlin, de St. Pétersbourg, et de Vienne, tant à Constantinople que vis-à-vis de la population insurgée. On a réussi à provoquer une entente complète et sans réserve relativement à deux points essentiels. En premier lieu quant à cette proposition, savoir, que le maintien du *statu quo* en Orient et la protection de la domination Turque en Europe sont à considérer comme une des bases fondamentales de la conservation de la paix Européenne; en second lieu, on reconnait que cette politique vraiment conservatrice, ayant autant d'égards pour les principes du droit que pour les intérêts généraux de l'Europe, n'empêche nullement de travailler à recommander et à introduire des réformes opportunes, conformes à l'esprit et aux besoins de l'époque, et destinées à satisfaire pour la durée les vœux de la population Chrétienne de l'Empire Ottoman. C'est autour de ces deux points cardinaux que se meut l'action de la diplomatie Européenne.

No. 429.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 8.)

(No. 374.)

My Lord, *Buda Pesth, November 4, 1875.*

A VIENNA newspaper reports that a company of the regiment of the Este has been conveyed from Fiume to Sebenico in a Lloyd steamer to strengthen the military force stationed near Knin, to prevent violations of the Dalmatian frontier. The same paper also states that two battalions of infantry and a battalion of chasseurs stationed at Capo d'Istria have received orders to be in readiness to proceed to Dalmatia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 430.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 8.)

(No. 458.)

My Lord, *Berlin, November 3, 1875.*

HERR VON BULOW tells me that there is no foundation for the newspaper reports respecting a note which General von Schweinitz is supposed to have drawn up, together with M. de Novikow, on the subject of the Herzegovina insurrection. The German Government have not departed from their declared policy of reserve and cordial support of the wishes expressed, and initiative taken, by the Austrian and Russian Governments in regard to Turkish interests.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 431.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 8.)

(No. 72. Political.)

My Lord, *Belgrade, October 30, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, in consequence of repeated violations of the Servian frontier by Turks, complained of by this Government, I have felt

it my duty to report the circumstances by telegraph to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, especially on account of the increasing excitement which the intelligence of these incursions was producing on the population and on the members of the Skoupstchina here.

Sir Henry Elliot was so kind as to keep me informed of the representations he had made to the Porte on the subject and of the information and assurances he had obtained in reply, and no fresh acts of this kind having been reported within the last few days, it is to be hoped that the irritation existing for so many months now in the adjacent districts of Servia and Bosnia may be gradually allayed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 432.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 8.)

(No. 73. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, November 1, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch addressed by me to Sir Henry Elliot on the 30th ultimo, on the hopes entertained that the Servian force on the frontier will be partly withdrawn.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 432.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, October 30, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that the cold weather having set in much earlier than usual in Servia, the militia have, it is said, a good deal to suffer from atmospheric changes, as well as from dampness; and the sanitary condition of the troops on the frontier is reported as by no means satisfactory.

This is the first occasion on which a portion of the Servian militia has been embodied for actual duty, and though the brigades which were at first called out have been since sent home and replaced by others, it is, I believe, in contemplation, if tranquillity is re-established on the Turkish frontier for any length of time, to reduce the strength of these forces still more, and pave the way for their gradual withdrawal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 433.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, November 7, 1875.*

THE "Russki Mir," of yesterday, publishes following telegrams from its special correspondent at Ragusa, dated November 5:—

"I have just received information from a reliable source, communicated to me confidentially, that Mussulman fanaticism is extreme at Mostar. Mussulman population is incited by secret and religious means to a repetition of St. Bartholomew's night against Christians.

"The same course is pursued in neighbouring districts; the Mussulmans keep their plan secret from Server Pasha. I hasten to telegraph to you, in the hope of averting a terrible catastrophe.—(Signed) PETER PETROFF."

No. 434.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 9, at night.)*

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Vienna, November 9, 1875.*

RASCHID PASHA believes that Count Andrassy considers that the condition of Christians in Turkish provinces should be made equally good with that of the Slavs in neighbouring provinces, and that a statement, with details of privileges granted for that purpose, should be communicated to the foreign Powers as a moral guarantee that they would be maintained.

Baron Orczy said to me yesterday that Server Pasha has been recommended to concentrate his troops near the Dalmatian frontier, so as to establish order there and induce refugees to return, and then to occupy and settle more of the country by degrees, the great difficulty at present to its pacification being the exasperation of the Mussulmans. I am told that Raschid Pasha says that General Ignatiew is not used to press on the Porte on the subject of the reforms, as his system is to "flatter us, in the hope that we may dig our own graves."

No. 435.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 349.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 10, 1875.*

I APPROVE the steps which your Excellency took on hearing of the massacre of the Christian refugees on their return to Herzegovina, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 702 of the 26th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 436.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 352.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 10, 1875.*

I APPROVE your Excellency's proceedings with reference to the outrages committed by the Mussulman population of Bulgaria, as reported in your despatch No. 703 of the 27th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 437.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 13.)

(No. 14.)
My Lord, *Mostar, October 25, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herein a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador regarding the flight of the population of Poporopolie to Dalmatia. This is a most serious event, and will probably greatly increase the difficulties of the situation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 437.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, October 23, 1875.*

MR. STILLMAN (American) correspondent of the "Times," and M. de Motte of the "Temps," arrived here last night, and informed me that they had met great numbers

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

of Christians, inhabitants of Poporopolie, taking refuge in Dalmatia. In a previous despatch I announced to your Excellency that these people were returning to their homes, and I explained the circumstances, and that two battalions had been appointed to protect them. The above-named gentlemen state that they made inquiries as to the cause of this emigration, and learnt that some of the Agas among the Bashi-Bozouks who accompanied the troops had, from motives of vengeance, killed several of the Christians, and that the whole population of Poporopolie had in consequence fled to Dalmatia. Of course, the effect of this will be to prevent those who wish to return to their homes from doing so, and will further increase their distrust and fear of the Turks. I have telegraphed to your Excellency in the following terms:—

"Most of the inhabitants of Poporopolie had returned to their homes, and two battalions, with some Agas, were sent to protect them. The latter, from motives of vengeance, killed some of the Christians who had returned, and the whole population of that district have now fled to Dalmatia. Your Excellency can imagine the effect this will produce. Matters seem to me to be going from bad to worse."

The gentlemen I have named assures me that the insurgents have never been so full of courage as they are now. The troops on the contrary appear quite disheartened, and the officers, who know nothing of the country, dread leaving the high roads. Nearly all the successes they announce are exaggerated, if not purely invented. I expect every day to hear that insurgent bands have raised the country near Libonshki and Livao on the right bank of the Marenta, as I hear that they are increasing in force.

It is said that the number of refugees in Montenegro renders the situation insupportable to the Prince, who can scarcely find means to supply them with food. The same situation obtains in Dalmatia. I much doubt the power of the Turks to overcome the revolt; and, as I have already stated, everything seems leading to an inevitable occupation of the country by Austria. The hatred and distrust existing now between the Christian and Turkish populations seem to defy all the efforts of Server Pasha to secure safety to the former when they do return to their homes. The latter are afraid of them, and think they only return to bring the armed insurgents upon them on the first occasion, and I see no possible *modus vivendi* for the two parties unless under the Government of a strong European Power, which can enforce order and will treat both Turks and Christians alike. The Turkish Government is too weak to do so, and fears also its Turkish population too much to act with a strong hand, however much it might feel that this should be done.

All this is most unfortunate and coincides with nothing one would wish to see, but I think it my duty to give your Excellency my impressions without reserve, and I may add, they are shared by all my colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 438.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 13.)

(No. 15.)
My Lord, *Mostar, November 1, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herein a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador regarding the affair of Poporopolie, and remarking on the doubtful nature of the official information given me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 438.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, October 28, 1875.*

IN answer to your Excellency's telegram of the 26th, I have just telegraphed as follows:—

"Turks deny in a great degree the emigration from Poporopolie, but all other information confirms my report. Seven men said to have been killed. Imperial Commissioner promises to inquire and punish guilty, if any. An encounter occurred at Zupsi on the 22nd. Both parties claim the victory."

When I informed Server Pasha of the affair of Poporopolie last week he telegraphed to Danish Effendi, Ottoman Consul-General at Ragusa, inquiring if the information he had received from me was correct, and he said that Danish Effendi replied that it was. His Excellency then telegraphed to Trebigné and Gabella, but all the Turks seem to be agreed to deny the matter. They said that nothing of the kind had occurred. Server Pasha, however, says it is true that the inhabitants of a few villages near Trebigné had fled to Dalmatia, and that that was what had really happened, and that he had ordered all the Turks of these villages to be arrested, and would have them tried; but I cannot understand Server Pasha, who makes varying statements to my colleagues, and who seems completely confused and deceived in all these matters. There are no villages near Trebigné. All in the plain of Shuma, which adjoins Trebigné, have long since been burnt and deserted. What, then, are the villages he alludes to? and who are the Turks to be arrested? The persons who are said to have committed the murders were the Bashi-Bozouks who accompanied the troops. One of the persons said to have been killed is a certain Nicolas Tchitchitch, of the village of Dreniani. He was the brother of a village Knes, who had had a dispute with an Agha, which had been decided at Trebigné in his favour, but who had fled on being menaced by the Agah. Nicolas Tchitchitch was cut to pieces, it is said, on being recognized as his brother. Another person said to have been killed, is a certain Michael Tzitze, of the village of Dratchevo; also a half-witted man, of the village of Toulié, and four people from the villages of Doubliné and Vlako, who are stated to have been murdered on the road to Stolatz, whither they were going to make some complaints or requests. These murders are said to have caused the flight of the inhabitants. I am really now quite at a loss how to report to your Excellency about passing events, when Server Pasha and the Turks deny as entirely as they do an occurrence which all other testimony confirms.

The affair at Zupsi, which I have alluded to is asserted by Server Pasha and the military commanders to have been a victory; but I may remark, when successes really occur, the truth is at once to be seen in the demeanour and talk of the Mussulmans here, and I regret to say that not a word of exultation has been heard, but on the contrary, from all indirect sources, whether Mussulman or Christian, it is whispered that the Turks were worsted.

My confidence in official information has been completely shaken since I have read the telegrams sent by Server Pasha and the Governor-General, which have been published in the newspapers, many of which I know to be false. For instance, the affair at Trebigné, when the fifty loads were captured by the insurgents, and when my colleagues witnessed the return of the troops disorganized and dejected. Did not also Server Pasha announce weeks ago that the insurgents were returning in great numbers to their homes? He repeats the same thing here, but neither myself nor my colleagues can learn that a single village which has really been in revolt has even expressed a desire to return. The inhabitants of Poporopolie, if they are still there, as Server Pasha affirms, never deserted their homes, which also have not been destroyed, only leaving them for short intervals, as danger compelled them. Server Pasha also declares that the villagers all round Gabella, in the vicinity of Metcovich, have returned, but from the information of people who come daily from that neighbourhood, there have only returned to two villages, Dolini and Dratchevo, a few women and children who have endeavoured to cover with reeds their ruined homesteads, saying that they prefer to die there, if need be, than to perish of starvation in Dalmatia. There may be a few men among them, but not enough to justify Server Pasha's statement.

During the insurrection of 1860-61 my appreciation of the numberless versions of affairs which came to my knowledge was in favour of the Turks, and events proved that I was correct. I regret to say that in the present revolt my conclusions are quite different; in fact, that, owing to many obvious circumstances, matters are now taking a most unsatisfactory course for them.

However, Server Pasha assures me that this is quite a mistake, and that the revolt will soon be entirely extinguished. I hope it may be so, but I do not see at present any probability of this happy result. Six weeks ago Ahmed Hamdi Pasha assured me that in fifteen days the revolt would be ended.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 439.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received November* 13.)

(Telegraphic)
(Secret and Confidential.) *Vienna, November* 12, 1875.

RASCHID PASHA presented his letters of recall yesterday. He is satisfied with language of the Emperor and Count Andrassy. The latter urged necessity of providing for safety and maintenance of refugees, and of providing them with timber to rebuild their houses, and with seeds of corn, promising, in that case, to oblige them to return on these advantages being secured to them. Raschid Pasha asked if he required nothing more; but Count Andrassy declined making suggestions, except in concert with Germany and Russia, expressing, however, great distrust of Russia, and of her disinclination to state to the Porte what she may consider necessary to satisfy the Christians.

I said that the best guarantee for the maintenance of tranquillity would be the disarmament of the Mussulmans and Christians, and the employment of regular troops; and he said that the Emperor had urged the latter point.

Raschid Pasha is going to Constantinople with the best intentions, if he has the courage and the firmness necessary to carry them out. He is to see Count Andrassy again before he leaves to-morrow.

No. 440.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 357.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 13, 1875.

I APPROVE the remonstrance which your Excellency made to the Porte upon the recent inroads into Servian territory by the Turkish troops, as reported in your despatch No. 694 of the 23rd ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 441.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received November* 14, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, November* 14, 1875.

COUNT ANDRASSY, who leaves to-day for Pesth, will be accompanied by a Secretary of the Ministry, to assist in preparing an instruction embodying the views of the three Emperors, for communication to the Porte, respecting which I learn from the Foreign Office, and from another equally good source, it is hoped that an agreement will be come to in the course of the week.

General Ignatiew is represented to be endeavouring to get the sole direction of the question into his hands, and, I believe, he is as little trusted at Berlin as here.

M. de Novikow having sent a secretary to Vevay, to communicate with Prince Gortchakow, has received, I am told, his Highness's entire approval.

No. 442.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.†—(*Received November* 14, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, November* 14, 1875, 5 P.M.

General Ignatiew states that Count Andrassy is citing the French occupation of Syria, after the massacre, as a precedent which should be followed in Bosnia.

He considers that this duty might be delegated to Austria by the other Powers.

The Ambassador says that he endeavours to show that an Austrian occupation would be the signal for the Mussulman population to fall upon the Christians.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.
† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Vienna, and Rome.

No. 443.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 15.)

(No. 21. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, November* 3, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that his Excellency Raouf Pasha, the newly appointed Governor-General of Bosnia, arrived here on the 30th ultimo, and continued his journey early the following morning to Mostar.

The nomination of Raouf Pasha to this Vilayet is regarded with great dissatisfaction by the Mussulman population, as his Excellency is known to be very liberal in his opinions. He arrived here on the last day of Ramazan, and the religious prejudices of the Turks were much shocked at his leaving again early on the first day of Baïram without even attending the customary morning prayer at Mosque. They already foretell his speedy recall, and I have no doubt will strive to bring it about.

I am sorry to have to report to your Lordship that latterly there are symptoms of considerable discontent amongst the Mussulmans of this province. The reckless way in which they were armed and enrolled as Bashi-Bozouks by the Government, at the commencement of the present insurrection, has aroused all their latent fanaticism, and it will require an exceedingly firm administration to now keep them in check, and introduce any reform in favour of the Christians. They ask why these latter who have risen in revolt are to be rewarded at the expense of those who have fought in the service of their country, and declare that it is impossible to grant such concessions as those lately promised by Server Pasha in his "Talimat," trifling and illusory as they appear to impartial judges.

The Mutesarif Ibrahim Bey is now endeavouring, as far as possible, to disband the Bashi-Bozouks under arms in different parts of Bosnia, for he candidly acknowledges that they have done more harm than good. What services they may have rendered here and there in suppressing any rising of the Christians has been more than counterbalanced by their acts of oppression, pillage, and even murder, which have in many instances forced those to join the revolt who would otherwise have remained quiet. A short time since Mustafa Pasha, the Mutesarif of Svornik, imprisoned some twenty of those under arms in his district, for sundry acts of pillage, but this display of energy has given great offence, not only on the spot but even at Serajevo. Unfortunately the regiments of Bosnian "Redif" are not under much better discipline, and there are daily complaints here of their excesses. Their presence is a constant source of irritation to peaceable inhabitants, and it would be most desirable to place in their stead, garrisons of regular troops from all parts of the Empire at Serajevo, and all the large towns where the Mussulman element preponderates.

If once the present revolt be extinguished, it will be necessary, in the interests of future peace and tranquillity, to disarm the whole population, Mussulman as well as Christian; but, in the meantime, unless timely measures be resorted to, I fear that the former will be the cause of much trouble and annoyance to the Government.

His Excellency Raouf Pasha, who on his journey from Salonica traversed the whole length of the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, informed me that, in consequence of the effective dispositions made by Mehmet Ali Pasha, the Servian frontier is now free from insurgents, and the Constantinople road quite safe. Towards Tashlidjeh, however, and the Montenegrin frontier, there are still considerable bands, but they have not latterly ventured on any offensive movement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 444.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 15.)

(No. 16.)
My Lord, *Mostar, November* 5, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Raouf Pasha arrived here on the evening of the 2nd. On the next day I visited his Excellency, and among other matters represented to him that, however necessary it might sometimes be to prevent news of an unfortunate character from spreading among the people, I thought that the Agents of the Governments friendly to the Porte should be correctly informed, and said that I hoped in future we might be able to rely on our official information; as, by trusting to indirect

statements, we might be led to believe and report affairs as worse than they really were, which must necessarily produce evil effects.

Nothing of any importance has occurred lately. I hear that the road to Nicksich is completely closed; but a strong expedition in that direction is about to take place, commanded by Shefket Pasha, who leaves, I believe, to-day. It is said that much sickness prevails among the troops.

A petition has been got up by the principal Mussulmans praying for the return of the Mufti Kara Bey, who was removed some time ago from Mostar to Constantinople by Dervish Pasha. A few years ago this man possessed nothing, but since his appointment as Mufti he has amassed a considerable fortune, and was complained against by the Christians, and was well known by every one to be a most fanatical Turk, and violently hostile and unjust towards them. It may give your Lordship an idea of their inconsistency and cowardice when I state that this petition has been signed by the Catholic Bishop of Mostar, and that the Greek Bishop only evaded doing likewise by availing himself of a question of etiquette and refusing on the ground that he could not sign after the Catholic Bishop, as, according to usage, he had the precedence. I spoke to Server Pasha about this, and he told me that he had already formed his opinion about the Mufti, and he would be kept at Constantinople; but my Russian colleague, who also spoke to his Excellency on the same subject, says that he told him that the Mufti was a most excellent and maligned individual.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 445.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 15.)

(No. 334. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 9, 1875.*

SINCE the commencement of the insurrection in Herzegovina, the various organs of the Russian press, here and at Moscow, have evinced strong sympathies with the Christian populations in Turkey. Several of these organs have even criticised in language—very unusual in the Russian press—the acts and policy of the Imperial Government, and have censured the apparent apathy and indifference of the Imperial policy in regard to the interests of the Christian populations.

The "Russki-Mir," or "World," a Russian paper, supposed to be the organ of the country party, was very vehement in the expression of its sympathies for the insurgents; while the "Golos," the representative of the Liberal party, took the defence of the Government.

In the meantime an incident occurred which caused these two papers to change their language.

The Municipality of Moscow, among other public bodies, voted a sum of 20,000 roubles in favour of the victims of the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

Thereupon, the "Official Gazette" published a "Circular," signed by the Minister of the Interior, to the several Provincial Governors, recalling to them the terms of the Municipal Law, by which the Municipalities were only empowered to vote sums for charity within the limits of their administrative authority, and stating that any previous advances or assistance voted for persons beyond those limits constituted an illegal act.

This Ministerial Circular caused much dissatisfaction. The "Golos," with animation, inquired why the Imperial Government should interfere in a matter in which the sympathies of the nation were engaged, when no objection was raised when a Municipal vote was passed at Nigui for the expenses of the reception of a foreign Prince.

The "Russki-Mir," on the other hand, defended the act of the Minister, and the course he had taken.

The misconstruction, however, which would have arisen on this subject in regard to the sympathies of the Imperial Government, was averted by the reading of a Sovereign Order of the 23rd August, at a meeting of the Selavonic Charitable Institution, authorizing the committee to organize throughout the whole Empire subscriptions in behalf of their co-religionists in Turkey—victims of the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina—on the express condition that this charitable fund should not be dispensed to the insurgents, but merely to those who were sufferers by the insurrection.

In consequence of the disparaging tone of the press towards the Government, the editors of the St. Petersburgh newspapers were lately summoned to the Ministry of the

Interior, and were cautioned to be more circumspect in their language in regard to the Imperial Government.

It was under these circumstances that the official article, of which I inclosed a copy in my despatch No. 329 of the 30th ultimo, appeared, to which I think an exaggerated political importance has been given by the European press. It was found desirable on the one hand to correct false views and impressions which had been circulated by the Russian press in regard to the policy of the Imperial Government, whilst on the other hand, it was judged necessary to calm public opinion, and to reassure the public mind as to the sympathies of the Imperial Government with the Christian population under Mussulman rule.

The paragraph which has produced some alarm in the financial and industrial classes here is the concluding paragraph, which states, according to the Russian text: "That an end must be put to the disastrous state of affairs hitherto existing in Turkey, to the detriment of the interests of the Porte, of her subjects, and of Europe."

Since the appearance of this article, and the commentaries on it by the European press, there has been, and still continues to be, much disquietude in the public mind, and a feeling of insecurity as regards the maintenance of peace has arisen, which has greatly influenced the public funds and foreign exchanges.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 446.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 15.)

(No. 336.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 9, 1875.*

THE telegram published in the "Russki-Mir" of the 6th instant, from its correspondent at Ragusa, of which I sent your Lordship the text by telegraph, caused some sensation, and added to the uneasy feeling in regard to Eastern affairs which still continues to exist here.

Baron Jomini, on my referring to it, did not, however, appear to attach much importance to it, although he observed to me that fanaticism had lately taken hold of the Mussulman mind generally in the East, and that it had even shown itself at Beyrout.

M. Petroff, the correspondent of the "Russki-Mir," was formerly an officer in the Russian army, and to judge from the interesting letters he has written to the journal from the seat of the insurrection, is a man of intelligence and energy. In subsequent letters to the "Russki-Mir," M. Petroff states that the clerk of the Telegraph Office at Mostar had been removed from his post in consequence of his having forwarded a telegram without having previously submitted it to the Turkish military authority, and he further states that he had received a notice that it would be very imprudent for him to return to the disturbed districts.

The sympathies of M. Petroff are no doubt with his co-religionists the insurgents, and it is possible that the sensational intelligence communicated in his telegram was intended to excite popular feeling in favour of the Christian population, and to urge the European Governments to take action in their behalf.

At the same time there can be no doubt that the animosity and the hatred between the two confessions in the Herzegovina and Bosnia is intense, and at any moment may lead to a catastrophe such as is predicted by M. Petroff.

It was under this latter impression that I considered it to be my duty to forward to your Lordship by telegraph the alarming intelligence reported on apparent reliable authority.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 447.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 15.)

No. 338. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 10, 1875.*

I CANNOT learn from Baron Jomini that any definitive agreement has yet been come to at Vienna in regard to the guarantees to be given by the Porte for the solution of

existing differences in the Herzegovina and Bosnia, or that any progress has been made since I had last the honour of addressing your Lordship, in establishing a basis of understanding between the parties concerned.

The question appears to me to be much in the same state of indecision and uncertainty as existed a month ago, and the cause of this stagnation appears to me to be owing to the fact that Count Andrassy has undertaken a task which it is impossible for him to carry out in the manner he proposes.

Baron Jomini confirmed to me a few days ago (before I received your Lordship's telegram of the 8th instant) the information reported therein by Sir Henry Elliot, namely, that the proposals made by Count Andrassy to the Imperial Government had not met with their approval. Baron Jomini stated that Count Andrassy had proposed that the reforms considered requisite for the future good government and tranquillity of the Christian Provinces should be submitted to the Porte by the Powers, and that an engagement should be taken by the Sultan for their faithful execution. Count Andrassy had further proposed that if the Porte should exercise any hesitation in accepting these reforms, or any laxness in their immediate execution, certain threats should be held out, and, amongst them, that of closing the port of Kleck. His Excellency stated that General Ignatiew was strongly opposed to this course, and considered that, in lieu of providing a satisfactory settlement of existing difficulties, it would only aggravate them. It would render the position of Mahmoud Pasha untenable, and would strengthen the hands of the violent party at Constantinople.

General Ignatiew's object, Baron Jomini remarked, was to aid the Sultan and his Grand Vizier in carrying out the projected reforms, which they have sincerely at heart, and not to frustrate their good intentions and endeavours by imposing them with external pressure and ill-judged threats. Thus no progress had been made in regard to a settlement of this complicated question, while the insurrection or disaffection appeared rather to increase than to diminish.

In conversing with Baron Jomini on the difficulties and dangers of this question, his Excellency expressed his personal opinion that nothing could be effectually done to restore peace and order in Herzegovina and Bosnia without the general concurrence of Europe and Turkey. His Excellency cited as a precedent the course taken when the religious disturbances in Syria, and the massacre at Damascus, called for the intervention of Europe. At that period the English and French Governments, with the concurrence of Europe, occupied Syria. An European Commission was formed, which drew up a scheme of Government for the Lebanon, which has been the means of ensuring the maintenance of order and peace ever since. Baron Jomini is of opinion that European action of a similar nature will be the only means of restoring peace and order in the Herzegovina and Bosnia.

M. Labonlaye, the French Chargé d'Affaires, informs me that Baron Jomini has likewise expressed to him the same opinion. But Baron Jomini does not consider that he has sufficient authority to make a proposal of this nature, and he is therefore anxious that the initiative should be taken by Prince Gortchakow on his return, whose advice and opinion will have greater weight with the Cabinets of Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 448.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 15.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, November* 14, 1875.

WITH reference to Sir A. Buchanan's telegram of the 12th, Raschid Pasha will find Porte well disposed to listen to all reasonable suggestions from Austria.

At Constantinople the Russian Ambassador endeavours to inspire distrust of Austria, and at Vienna the Austrian Government speak with distrust of Russia.

The Porte feels no confidence in either, but has latterly believed Austria to be the most (sincere of the) two in wishing for pacification; and the late article in the St. Petersburgh official paper will strengthen this feeling.

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* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 449.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 15.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, November* 14, 1875.

WITH reference to your telegram received on the 10th, the Grand Vizier's language leads me to think he may not be unwilling to consent that the statement of reforms for improving the position of the Christians should be communicated to the foreign Governments.

It would, however, he says, be necessary to guard the dignity of the Porte, and not to give the concessions the appearance of having been imposed upon it.

No. 450.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, November* 14, 1875.

I HAVE sent the following figures to Consul-General White:—

"The Porte has received accounts that the Servian troops or militia have been firing on the Turkish troops.

"Report any particulars known. If the fact is correct, and the repetition of it is not prevented, the consequence may be serious."

No. 451.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received November 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *Buda Pesth, November* 16, 1875.

MR. MONSON has reported to me that he has been informed, on apparently good authority, that proposals under discussion here for submission to the Porte for the future administration of Bosnia and the Herzegovina suggest absolute equality of the Christians with the Mussulmans under the direct rule of a Christian Prince. His informant believed that the ex-Duke of Tuscany would probably be recommended as a fit person for the appointment; but he considered the programme impracticable, and professed to have declined an invitation to assist in preparing it, as he is convinced it will be rejected at Constantinople, and that it could not be carried out from the [want of] administrative capacity of the Christians.

My telegram of the 14th confirms the statement that the question is to be settled here, and Count Andrassy left me this evening at an early hour, having important business to attend to.

No. 452.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.†—(Received November 17.)

(Telegraphic.) *Buda Pesth, November* 16, 1875, 11 P.M.

COUNT ANDRASSY declares report untrue that he wishes the Great Powers to employ Austrian troops for occupation of Bosnia.

No. 453.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 17.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, November* 17, 1875.

ANY proposal of the nature mentioned in Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram of yesterday would be rejected by the Porte.

Honest open annexation of Province to Austria would be preferable to placing it under an Austrian Archduke. No Christian Prince could establish his authority over the

* Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Vienna, and Rome.
† Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

Mussulmans, and more than two-thirds of the whole population would be opposed to him, as the Orthodox Christians would prefer a Mussulman to a Catholic.

No. 454.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 17.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, November* 17, 1875.

BARON JOMINI says there is no difference between the Austrian and the Russian views as to the nature of the reforms in the Herzegovina, but only as to the mode of their communication to, and adoption by, the Porte, who will not accept them if imposed by Europe under threats. General Ignatiew, he says, proposes the initiative of the Porte acting under gentle and gradual pressure of Europe at Constantinople, while Count Andrassy proposes that they should be exacted from the Porte by an official note, with solemn promise of their faithful execution.

No. 455.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 17.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, November* 17, 1875.

AN article appeared this morning in "Official Gazette" to calm public opinion on Eastern affairs. It declares apprehension of certain portions of European press as neither justified by political condition of Europe nor by exceptional state of affairs in Balkan Peninsula. That as the three Northern Powers, with the co operation of other European Governments, are striving for a peaceful settlement of the Herzegovina difficulties, no one can entertain the idea of breaking the peace of Europe, or of acting against the general peaceful disposition.

No. 456.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received November* 17, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Buda-Pesth, November* 17, 1875, 9:30 P.M.

I HAVE had a conversation this evening with Count Andrassy, in which he expressed satisfactory opinions on the Bosnian question. He mentioned proposals which he considered impracticable, but declined to state what he will recommend, as he is not yet prepared to do so; but he hopes that a reasonable scheme may be found between what is "inadequate," and what is sufficient to meet the necessities of the situation. I leave by to-night's train for Vienna, and shall write by messenger.

No. 457.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 18.)

(No. 917.) *Paris, November* 12, 1875.

My Lord,

I SPOKE to the Duc Decazes this morning of the affairs of the Herzegovina, but he only said that the insurrection appeared to be as far as ever from an end, and that the atrocities committed on both sides were revolting.

I have, &c

(Signed) LYONS.

Repeated to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Rome.

No. 458.

Minute by Mr. Lister.

LORD MORLEY has, at my request, written the inclosed memorandum, giving such information as he had been able to pick up during his recent tour in Dalmatia respecting the assistance given by the Austrians to the insurgents in Herzegovina.

Hubmeier is the insurgent Chief who had a great banquet given to him at Vienna about ten days ago. He has served in the Austrian army, and is still in the Reserve.

Lord Morley wishes his memorandum to be considered as confidential, but I think it would be useful to have it entered and kept in the office.

T. V. L.

November 19, 1875

Memorandum by Lord Morley respecting Austrian assistance to Insurgents in Herzegovina.

(Confidential.)

In every Dalmatian town there is a Slav Committee to organize and to give assistance to the insurgents. At Trieste there are two such Committees, one of which appears to be the Central Committee. At its head is one Lombardie. The insurgent Chiefs are constantly on Austrian territory. Luka Petkouri, Lübgabracties, were at Ragusa for some time. Hubmeier and another were on board the steamer in which I was between Tebenie and Castelnuovo. Hubmeier told me that he had ordered all his ammunition at Ragusa before the insurrection actually broke out. The cartridges were to fit the Turkish rifles.

It appears that all the supplies and ammunition are conveyed to the insurgents from Ragusa and Castelnuovo. The latter is in the Bocche di Cattaro, and close to Suttorina. The largest insurgent camp was in October at Zubci, close to Suttorina.

At Ragusa an Austrian naval captain told me that the difficulties of the position were very great. Orders came from Vienna that no aid in arms were to be given to the insurgents, but it was impossible to obey them, the whole population, including the army, being Slavs. The military Governor at Ragusa was also a Slav, and strongly anti-Turk. He allowed arms to be sent to Herzegovina surreptitiously. Shooting licenses were given to every one, and thus they were able to carry rifles out of the town. One man who held such a license was employed for a whole day going in and out of the town, each time carrying a rifle, which he did not bring back.

It is fair to add that the Turks have all, or a great part of their supplies for the Trebigné district, sent from Ragusa and its neighbourhood. They have a small depôt on the frontier. I cannot say if their ammunition is also supplied by Ragusians. I should doubt it.

(Signed) MORLEY.

November 18, 1875.

No. 459.

*Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received November* 19, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, November* 19, 1875.

AFTER receiving your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, I asked Baron Hofmann whether it was true that Austria intended to recommend appointment of a Christian Prince as Governor of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. He answered that such an idea is not and never has been entertained. He said all that Austria wishes is that the insurgent provinces shall cease to look to Servia and Montenegro for the improvement of their condition, and that the Porte shall grant to the Christians such protection and privileges for their religion, and such sureties as to the ancient land laws (as to ?) place her Slavs in as good a position as those of Austria. The details of how this can be effected are still under consideration; but as the Government have nothing to conceal from England, he hoped I would hereafter always ask for explanations before communicating to your Lordship reports which might reach me as to their intentions.

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* Repeated to Paris, Constantinople, St. Petersburgh, Berlin, and Rome.

No. 460.

M. Dozon to the Duc Decazes.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by M. Gavard, November* 20.)

M. le Duc, *Mostar, le 25 Octobre*, 1875.

AVANT hier est arrivé ici, venant de Constantinople et après un voyage de quinze jours, le premier aide-de-camp du Sultan, Général Halil Pacha. Presque aussitôt se présentait chez le Vali et pour prendre congé, un autre aide-de-camp de Sa Majesté, le Lieutenant-Colonel Haydan Bey, qui était à Mostar depuis cinq semaines. La mission de l'un et de l'autre officier consiste, comme il semble, à se renseigner sur le véritable état des choses dans cette province et à rendre compte directement à Son Altesse. "Vous avez vu," a dit Ahmed Hamdi Pacha, dans cette visite d'adieu et en présence de notre dragoman, "et vous pourrez ainsi annoncer que sous peu l'insurrection aura cessé d'exister."

Selon Server Pasha, que j'ai vu avant hier aussi, les choses sont encore plus avancées, il n'y a plus désormais que des brigands.

Ces appréciations sont peut-être un peu optimistes et elles s'accordent mal avec les perpétuels mouvements de troupes et avec le fait que d'autres sont encore attendues par la voie de mer.

Il y quelques jours pourtant, il y avait des symptômes d'amélioration, et j'annonçais à M. de Bourgoing le 22, et sur la foi de Server Pacha, qu'une trentaine de villages du district de Popovo et des environs de Klek avaient été réoccupés par leurs habitants. C'était un commencement, et on pouvait espérer que l'exemple serait suivi. Malheureusement il paraît certain qu'un mouvement en sens contraire n'a pas tardé à se produire, et que les gens de Popovo sont déjà retournés au nombre de plus de deux mille en Dalmatie. Une panique s'est emparée d'eux, à la suite du massacre successif de sept individus, soit dans les villages, soit dans la campagne, par les troupes de Chefket Pacha ou plutôt par les Bashi-Bazouks qui les accompagnaient comme du coutume en guise d'éclaireurs.

Ces informations viennent d'être apportées à Mostar par deux correspondants de journaux, M. Delamotte, du "Temps" de Paris, et M. Stillmann, du "Times," qui paraissent deux personnes honorables et dignes de confiance. On croit d'autant moins pouvoir douter de leur récit, qu'ils ont communiqué personnellement au commissaire (et le Consul d'Angleterre l'avait fait avant eux) le résultat de l'espèce d'enquête à laquelle ils se sont livrés, en se transportant à deux heures et demie de Ragusa dans le village d'Osonić dont le curé, Don Riccolo Gorevitzu, hostile à la cause de l'insurrection, disent-ils, leur a fait voir le registre où étaient inscrits les noms de nouveaux réfugiés. Ces deux messieurs ont fait interroger plusieurs de ceux-ci et sont arrivées ainsi à la connaissance claire des motifs de l'émigration, dont la date toute récente ne pouvait être pour eux l'objet d'un doute, parce qu'ils avaient peu de jours auparavant traversé ce même village. J'ajoute (tout en remarquant que sur les confins, les déplacements de la population sont très fréquents) que M. Stillmann (il était Consul Américain en Crète à l'époque de l'insurrection de cette île) m'affirme que sa conviction, fondée sur un examen approfondi, est absolue, et qu'autrement il n'eût pas adressé deux dépêches à son journal, le "Times," qu'il est de son intérêt au premier chef de ne pas tromper.

D'autre part, Server Pasha, que j'ai interrogé, assure, sans nier positivement le fait du massacre, n'en avoir connaissance que par la source à laquelle nous la devons, mes collègues et moi. Il a, dit-il, prescrit une enquête, sentant tout le premier de quelle importance il est de punir et d'empêcher de pareils excès. Votre Excellence voit, dès lors, la difficulté pour moi de rien affirmer, et mon embarras redouble quand je lis, sous la rubrique de Constantinople, un télégramme de Server Pasha au Grand Vézir, daté de Mostar le 13 ("Journal des Débats" du 17 Octobre) et qui, après avoir annoncé la rentrée des gens de Popovo, ajoute que plus de 2,000 insurgés ont été complètement défaits à Grab par Chefket Pacha "et se sont enfuis en laissant 160 morts dans le Monténégro." Nous savions seulement que Chefket avait ravitaillé, mais à peu près sans coup férir, les deux ou trois *Kondas* de Loubtzi, renfermant chacune une trentaine d'hommes; tout l'exploit s'est borné là et le reste n'a pas plus de vérité que la contre partie, de source Slave, de la dépêche en question ("Débats" du 11 Octobre). Cette dernière est donc de l'invention ou de Server Pascha ou de l'officier commandant l'expédition.

Au reste, l'expérience, M le Ministre, nous a appris que et le Commissaire et le Valy, soit que des subordonnés les trompent, soit qu'ils usent d'une trop grande réserve ou d'une sincérité médiocre, ne sont pas des sources d'information très sures, aussi nous n'y puisons qu'avec circonspection et, pour ainsi dire, à regret. Par malheur, ce qui nous manque de ce côté n'est pas facile à suppléer d'ailleurs et il faut avouer que, à l'exception peut-être du Consul d'Autriche, qui a un agent à Trébigne, nous sommes à demi dans les ténèbres au sujet de ce qui se passe en Herzégovine. La masse des insurgés, comme la direction du mouvement, se trouvent sur les confins de Monténégro et de la Dalmatie, ou dans ces contrées mêmes, à plusieurs journées de distance de nous, les communications naturellement difficiles sont encore entravées par l'état de guerre, tout le monde a intérêt à mentir, et il ne suffirait même pas de prendre la moyenne entre les divers récits, car il en est qui sont de tout point fictifs. A quelques égards, M. le Vice Consul de Raguse est mieux placé pour obtenir des renseignements exacts.

Un incident trop certain celui-là et qui sera déjà connu de votre Excellence est le meurtre du Vénitien Pugnalini. Ce jeune homme de dix-huit ans à peine, ne pouvant plus résister aux fatigues et aux privations de la vie qu'il menait, s'était décidé à quitter les insurgés, comme ont fait la plupart des étrangers, qu'un semblable enthousiasme avait amenés en Herzégovine; il allait franchir la frontière pour regagner Raguse et traitait même de la vente de son fusil, quand il fut arrêté par les Turcs et emmené dans l'intérieur du fortin de Fzarnia, où d'abord on le traita bien et où on lui donna des aliments, cela a été constaté. Le soir cependant son corps gisait hors du fortin, affreusement mutilé. Il a été vu et examiné par les deux correspondants de journaux précités, en compagnie du Consul de Turquie, Demich Effendi, qui leur avait permis de se joindre à lui. De larges blessures à la plante des pieds avaient dû être infligées lorsque Pugnalini était vivant, elles semblaient attester qu'ayant les pieds nus, il n'avait pu songer à s'échapper en cet état, et l'explication des soldats Turcs fondée sur cette dernière circonstance, c'est à dire qu'il aurait été tué en cherchant à fuir, ne saurait dès lors être admise.

Quoiqu'il en soit, M. le Consul d'Italie, Délégué à Mostar, a chargé l'Agent Autrichien à Trébigne de procéder à une enquête mais on a refusé de lui laisser voir le corps du malheureux Pugnalini. On ignore encore quelle sera la fin de cette affaire.

Il arrive en ce moment par une pluie torrentielle deux bataillons de rédifs d'Anatolie, nouvellement débarqués à Klek. Ils sont, pour le présent, moins mal en point que d'autres détachements qu'on a vus revenir de l'intérieur, après campagne faite, et dans le plus triste état. Les troupes qui passeront l'hiver en Herzégovine doivent s'attendre à d'assez grandes souffrances; l'eau, il est certain, ne leur manquera plus, mais les casernements leur faisant complètement défaut, elles seront reduites à camper sous la pluie ou dans la neige, excepté en quelques centres où on pourra les loger chez l'habitant et dans les auberges, ainsi que cela a lieu actuellement à Mostar.

Les Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre et de Russie ont averti confidentiellement et par télégramme leurs subordonnés du remplacement du Valy Ahmed Hamdi par Deiref Pacha. Le Général Ignatiew dit expressément "nous avons réussi à obtenir l'éloignement de ce haut fonctionnaire, et c'est une satisfaction qui vous est donnée pour l'incident de Troussina." Je crois que le plus puni des deux ne sera pas celui qu'on pense, le Gouverneur s'estimant sans doute fort heureux de quitter ce guêpier de l'Herzégovine pour la résidence de Salonique, une espèce de capitale. Ce qui n'empêche pas que la nomination de Réouf Pacha ne puisse avoir de bons résultats, s'il a une capacité au-dessus de celle de son prédécesseur, au changement duquel Server Pacha lui-même, assure-t-on, n'aurait pas été étranger.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) DOZON.

No. 461.

M. Dozon to the Duc Decazes.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by M. Gavard, November* 20.)

M. le Duc, *Mostar, le 3 Novembre*, 1875.

L'EX-VALI de Bosnie, Ahmed Hamdi Pacha, nommé à Salonique, est parti avant hier. Il était resté moins de deux mois en fonctions. Son successeur dans le Gouvernement Civil et Militaire (Réouf Pacha, naguère Ministre de la Marine) est arrivé hier 2, et lui a fait une réception solennelle. De mon côté, je suis allé ce matin lui rendre visite.

Réouf Pasha, qui était pour moi une ancienne connaissance, s'est montré excessivement réservé, et n'a pas, pour ainsi dire, ouvert la bouche. Je l'avais trouvé en compagnie de M. le Consul d'Angleterre, qui lui exprimait l'espérance d'être mieux informé par lui qu'il ne l'avait été jusque-là, et par Ahmed Hamdi Pacha, et par le Commissaire Impérial sur les événements se produisant dans cette province. J'ai naturellement fait chorus avec mon collègue sur l'intérêt qu'il y avait pour le Gouvernement Ottoman lui-

même à ce que les agents étrangers fussent renseignés exactement, et ne fussent pas exposés, malgré toute leur prudence, à transmettre à leurs supérieurs de simples bruits ou des nouvelles controuvées, au lieu de faire connaître avec précision la marche des choses, quand même elle ne serait pas favorable. Ainsi, disions-nous, voilà des semaines déjà que Server Pasha assure que l'insurrection est, pour ainsi dire, un souvenir, qu'il n'y a plus que des brigands, et cependant, à ce que nous croyons voir et savoir, la situation paraît toujours bien critique.

"On vient même," ai-je ajouté, "de la rendre comme à plaisir plus difficile encore. Moins d'un mois s'est écoulé depuis que l'Envoyé de la Sublime Porte a promis solennellement dans son Talimat (Août 10) que les réquisitions forcées de chevaux de transport, ce qu'on appelle la Komora, étaient abolies, et que désormais les bêtes de somme seraient louées à prix débattu. Certes, rien n'obligeait le Gouvernement à abdiquer un droit que les Etats se réservent pour le cas de guerre, il suffirait de veiller à ce que les propriétaires des animaux fussent réellement payés de leurs services. On est allé plus loin, un engagement a été pris à la face de l'Europe, on peut le dire, et vingt jours après il est déchiré! Cela ne semble-t-il pas fait pour ôter à la population le peu de confiance qu'elle pouvait encore conserver à l'égard des promesses de réformes d'améliorations?"

Sur tout cela nous n'avons guère obtenu de Réouf Pacha que des signes d'assentiment, ou plutôt des marques d'embarras.

Quant au fait que je critiquais le voici:—

Dès Samedi 30, trois mille chevaux ont été demandés aux trois districts de Mostar, de Louboucliki, et de Stolatz, dont les deux premiers, à population principalement Catholique, sont les seuls qui soient restés à peu près dans le devoir. Ces chevaux seront tous réunis sur la frontière près du bourg Dalmate de Melkovic, où des approvisionnements destinés à l'intérieur de l'Herzégovine ont été apportés de Klek par la Narenta.

Si vous voulez bien, M. le Ministre, vous reporter au Talimat joint à mon rapport No. 9, et au commentaire dont j'ai accompagné l'article 10, vous y trouverez énoncée l'abolition expresse et immédiate de la "komora" et l'exposé des motifs qui justifiaient l'utilité de cette disposition. En la rapportant de fait à si brève échéance, on a joint aux zaptiés exacteurs quelques habitants de Mostar, afin de vaincre, moitié par l'appareil de la force, moitié par la persuasion, la résistance des villageois. On leur promit (à partir de Melkowitch) trois piastres par heure de voyage, c'est à dire, une piastre de plus que ne portait l'ancien tarif, et s'ils recevaient effectivement cette somme ils n'auraient pas trop à se plaindre, en supposant d'ailleurs qu'ils pussent obtenir que les animaux fussent nourris et chargés d'un poids n'excédant pas leurs forces. Pour le dire une dernière fois, il n'en est pas ainsi, dans la majorité des cas, le prix des courses n'arrive pas jusqu'aux mains des propriétaires des chevaux, qui eux-mêmes sont livrés à la discrétion des soldats, lesquels s'inquiètent fort peu de ce qu'ils deviennent. Il résulte de là que le nombre en a déjà diminué d'une manière telle qu'ici, au chef-lieu, il m'est impossible de trouver en ce moment du bois et du charbon, on a cessé d'en apporter au marché.

Ces détails, peut-être fastidieux, étaient nécessaires. Ils montrent à votre Excellence (en supposant qu'elle se fit la moindre illusion à cet égard) d'une part quel fond on peut faire sur les réformes ajournées à un avenir plus ou moins éloigné alors que la seule mesure d'un effet immédiate a été aussitôt cassée, et de l'autre, que la continuation des préparatifs de guerre contredit les assertions trop complaisantes du Commissaire Impérial.

On demande d'un coup ici trois milles chevaux pour approvisionner les districts soulevés, et selon Réouf Pacha, un nombre égal de ces animaux aurait déjà été importé par la voie de mer. En même temps, chez le mütessarif, où se trouvaient réunis quatre généraux, parmi lesquels le premier aide-de-camp du Sultan (personnage de l'apparence la plus épaisse), j'entendais aujourd'hui parler d'achats de bœufs et de chariots commandés à Uskup, c'est à dire, à dix journées au moins de Mostar. Quant aux troupes encore attendus, elles n'excéderaient pas, d'après le Muchir, quatre bataillons qui viendront par la Bosnie. Réouf Pacha annonce l'intention de se rendre bientôt dans l'intérieur, afin de juger pour lui-même de l'état des choses.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) DOZON.

No. 462.

Memorandum communicated to the Earl of Derby by Count Schouvaloff, November 20, 1875.

LES Rapports Consulaires de Mostar attendus depuis longtemps avec impatience à Constantinople viennent enfin d'arriver.

Le Consul Allemand, M. Lichtenberg, a rendu succinctement compte de ses impressions avec une lucidité remarquable et parfois dans des termes émus. Les Délégués des trois Cours tracent un tableau effrayant de la situation du pays. Ils constatent les horreurs dont il a été le théâtre, la désolation des villages Chrétiens brûlés et saccagés par les Musulmans. Les récoltes en Herzégovine sont détruites; la famine est à l'ordre du jour. Les habitants sans abri n'ont d'autre ressource que d'errer dans les montagnes. Les insurgés, tant qu'ils n'étaient pas parvenus à mettre leurs familles, leurs femmes et leurs enfants en sûreté au Montenégro ou sur le territoire Autrichien en Dalmatie, manifestaient encore une certaine hésitation. Aujourd'hui ils sont résolus à mourir les armes à la main. Les trois Consuls signalent avec douleur cette froide décision de leur part. Ils exonèrent l'insurrection de toute tendance révolutionnaire préconçue, de toute nuance subversive. Le Délégué Austro-Hongrois parle de l'arrivée de quelques aventuriers étrangers, principalement Italiens et Allemands, d'ailleurs assez mal reçus et généralement quittant vite la partie.

M. Wassitch, M. Lichtenberg, comme M. Tastrebow, assurent unanimement que l'origine de la révolte doit être attribuée à l'augmentation à 12½ de la dime, à sa perception inique, aux abus sans fin de l'administration de la justice, aux exactions et aux cruautés des beys Musulmans propriétaires du sol.

Il en résulte que le retour des Herzégoviniens refugiés au Montenégro et suivi de la levée de boucliers dans tout le pays n'a été que la goutte qui a fait déborder le vase. Au lieu de trouver la paix et la tranquillité promises, ceux-ci ont été en butte à toutes les iniquités imaginables. La mission de Costan Effendi au début de l'insurrection est représentée par M. Tastrebow comme un guet-apens. Elle avait servi de point de départ à un débordement de persécutions fanatiques et sanglantes de la part des beys.

M. Tastrebow dit ce qui suit à ce sujet. L'hiver dernier, après le retour des insurgés du Montenégro où ils s'étaient refugiés devant les persécutions Turques, et d'où ils revenaient avec l'espoir de voir se réaliser les promesses de soulagement et de justice qui leur étaient données, ils se decidèrent, l'angoisse dans le cœur, de se soumettre à leur sort, animés de l'espoir que tôt ou tard il serait mis fin à leurs souffrances. Mais leurs espérances ne se réalisèrent point. Bientôt après leur retour, les vexations des Turcs augmentèrent encore, ainsi que la haine avec laquelle ils traitaient les Chrétiens. Le fanatisme s'enflammait de plus en plus. Les Musulmans se vengaient des Chrétiens, et se mirent à les persécuter ostensiblement en disant qu'ils ne voulaient même plus les avoir comme esclaves. "Nous n'avons plus besoin de vous," leur disait-on publiquement; "allez, retournez au Montenegro, à votre place nous hébergerons des Tcherkess."

De semblables propos ne seraient-ils pas l'écho des paroles de Dervish Pacha, qui disait sans hésiter que pour ramener la paix en Herzégovine il était indispensable d'en expulser tous les Chrétiens et de les remplacer par des Tcherkess.

D'une manière ou de l'autre, la position des Chrétiens était devenue depuis lors insoutenable, et ils firent une démonstration hostile aux Turcs en chassant les zaptiés (employés de la police) qui parcouraient les villages et exigaient de la façon la plus brutale des impôts et des redevances illégales. Les Turcs irrités préchaient le massacre des Chrétiens. Ceux-ci répondirent en prenant les armes.

Par rapport à l'entrevue que le Délégué de Russie a eu avec les insurgés de Stolatz au village de Belgrad, il relate de la manière suivante les réponses que lui ont données les insurgés. "En 1861," disaient-ils, "lors de notre première insurrection, une Commission semblable de Consuls nous avait pour le moins solennellement promis des privilèges de tout genre; cependant elle nous a désavoué . . . ;" en autant que je me rappelle, ajoute M. Tastrebow, les insurgés ont tenu les mêmes propos à mon collègue de France. "Vous nous conseillez actuellement d'adresser nos plaintes à Server Pacha dans le ferme espoir qu'elles seront examinées et qu'il sera rendu justice. Permettez nous de ne pas ajouter foi à vos paroles. Il y a de cela deux mois, Costan Effendi fut délégué dans le même but près de nous en qualité de Commissaire, afin d'écouter nos plaintes et de connaître nos souffrances. Quel en fut le résultat? Nous acceptâmes avec joie son invitation de nous présenter chez lui, après qu'il nous avait assigné un rendezvous en dehors de la ville de Nevesigné; mais le jour fixé pour l'entrevue, nous ne trouvâmes ni lui ni la tente qui devait servir de lieu à nos conférences. Il nous avait préparé un guet-apens. La veille du jour convenu, il était parti pour Mostar, tandis que Selim Pacha à la tête de ses troupes avançait sur nous, incendiant nos villages et brûlant nos maisons. En même temps sur un signal donné, les Turcs postés aux environs commencèrent à détruire tout ce que leur tombait sous la main, et maintenant on nous accuse d'avoir mis le feu à nos habitations. Comment pouvez-vous admettre qu'après des faits pareils nous puissions avoir de la confiance dans les Turcs et dans leurs promesses? En ce moment même, tout en délibérant avec vous, nous craignons que les Turcs ne tombent sur nous clandestinement, comme l'est

arrivé aux Chrétiens à Gabel, lorsque chargé par Dervish Pacha un évêque Catholique s'efforçait à les exhorter à déposer les armes."

Voici quelques faits qui se rattachent aux menées hostiles de Selim Pacha. Il commença par se jeter à la tête de ses bataillons sur les villages de Belgrad et Froussine. Heureusement les habitants de ces endroits ont eu le temps de se refugier dans les montagnes et les forêts. Il enleva de force 250 brebis et 2 bouufs au Kniaz de Froussine. En revenant Selim Pacha incendia les villages de Zalom, Rekou et plusieurs autres. L'authenticité de ces faits a été affirmée au Délégué de Russie aussi qu'à ses collégues par l'employé de la police qui les accompagnait. Il a été témoin des hauts faits de Selim Pacha, le véritable auteur de l'insurrection dans l'Herzégovine. Encouragé par lui, les beys habitants de cette contrée ne tardèrent pas à donner une preuve de leur bravoure. Dely Bey de Konnizca à la tête d'une bande de 300 hommes mit en feu les villages de Koufino, Bratach et Krekowo. Dans le premier de ces villages Hussan Begly et Arslam Zankano dépouillèrent et détruisirent deux églises. Simultanément Beker Bey, Lioubowitch et Korsnitch de Dubra tombèrent sur le village Froussine du côté de Stolatz et le livrèrent aux flammes. Les Turcs de Bargane réservèrent le même sort aux villages de Doublewitch et Sliole.

Ostan Lioubowitch d'Onaka attaqua avec sa bande le village de Belgrad, le brûla, et y pilla l'église, dans laquelle les Chrétiens avaient déposé tout ce qu'ils possédaient de précieux, espérant que les Turcs respecteraient au moins le temple de Dieu. Loin de là, ils mirent en pièces toutes les images saintes, renversèrent l'autel et souillèrent l'intérieur de l'église. Le même jour Lioubowitch brûla les villages de Zawadol, Boudislow et Rass; les Turcs de Rabinano et Joulane détruisirent le village de Oudrjue.

Un fait surprenant c'est que les villages de Chrétiens du district de Stolatz furent attaqués le même jour et à la même heure, comme si le tout avait été fait d'après un plan préconçu. Dans le district de Gazko les violences des Turcs commencèrent aussitot après le retour de Selim Pacha à Nevessinje.

A ces personnages suffisamment connus dans l'Herzégovine se joignirent encore d'autres indigènes Musulmans auxquels Dervish Pacha avait fait distribuer des fusils, soi-disant pour ne pas les laisser sans moyens de défense contre les attaques des Chrétiens. Les Bachi-Bozouk surent profiter de cet avantage et donnèrent un libre cours à leur fanatisme déchaîné. Ce qui avait resisté aux beys fut détruit par eux. La position des Chrétiens était effrayante. Du haut des montagnes où ils s'étaient réfugiés, ils assistaient au spectacle navrant de la destruction de leurs habitations par les flammes, des malheurs de leurs camarades qui cherchaient le salut dans la fuite, enfin du ravage de leurs champs par les Turcs.

Le Consul d'Autriche-Hongrie ne signale que des cas isolés de déprédations commises par des Chrétiens pour obliger quelques uns de leurs coreligionnaires à s'associer au mouvement, ou pour se venger des beys persécuteurs par l'incendie de leurs demeures.

Les Consuls de France et d'Italie partagent les impressions des Agents des trois Cours Impériales. Mr. Holmes avait d'abord manifesté des dispositions tout à fait contraires, mais après avoir parcouru la contrée pour s'aboucher avec les chefs de l'insurrection, il a été obligé de se rallier aux appréciations de ses collégues.

Les Délégués des trois Cours Impériales se plaignent du mauvais vouloir des autorités à leur égard. M. Lichtenberg s'énonce avec le plus de vivacité sur ce chapitre. Server Pacha ne montrerait que mauvaise volonté et indolence. Il se trouve sous l'influence du Commandant en chef, Ahmed Hamdy Pacha, qui prêche ouvertement la repression par la force. Le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte s'évertue à représenter l'insurrection comme un mouvement agraire dirigé contre les propriétaires Musulmans. De même que Ahmed Hamdy Pacha, il ne cache pas son opinion que la solution plus simple serait d'établir des Circassiens à la place des Chrétiens en Herzégovine. Au lieu de prendre des mesures actives pour la pacification du pays, Server Pacha s'occupe d'un travail sur les moyens de l'administrer à l'avenir et d'éviter des explosions périodiques. Un Tribunal spécial a été formé à Mostar, ainsi qu'il avait été convenu au départ des Commissaires, pour examiner les réclamations dirigées contre les actes d'injustice commis avant l'insurrection par les autorités locales. La présidence de cette cour a été dévolue à Costan Effendi, employé très éclairé et membre du parti libéral de la communauté Arméno-Grégorienne de Constantinople. Le Métropolitain Orthodoxe et l'Evêque Catholique en font partie avec quelques membres Chrétiens et Musulmans bien vus des Herzégoviniens eux-mêmes. Malgré cela personne ne songe à prendre ce tribunal au sérieux. Après leur retour à Mostar les Consuls ont reconnu l'inutilité de renouveler leur tournée.

M. Tastrebow raconte d'une façon graphique l'incident qui s'est produit le lendemain de sa dernière conférence avec les chefs insurgés. En descendant des montagnes avec ses collégues de France et d'Angleterre, il rencontra les troupes massées sous les ordres d'Ali Pacha se dirigeant vers l'endroit que les Consuls venaient de quitter. Ni les soldats, ni

leurs chefs ne cachaient leurs intentions agressives. A Stolatz le Général en chef, Ahmed Hamdy Pacha, n'en fit pas plus de mystère. Que ce serait-il passé si les troupes avaient attaqué pendant que les Délégués se trouvaient encore en conférence? Le Délégué de Russie ne révoque point en doute que les balles qui auraient pu atteindre ses collégues ou lui auraient été volontiers mis par les Turcs sur le compte des Herzégoviniens.

De même que les Ambassadeurs de Russie, d'Allemagne, et d'Autriche-Hongrie, les Représentants des Puissances à Mostar ont considéré leurs instructions comme épuisées au moment de leur rentrée dans cette ville. Elles l'étaient d'autant plus que les Délegués avaient même dépassé les directions combinés primitivement par les trois Cabinets à Vienne, en déclarant aux insurgés qu'aucun secours ne leur viendrait ni de la Serbie ni de la Montagne Noire. Le télégramme par lequel les Représentants accrédités auprès de la Porte les engageait à procéder à un échange d'idées sur le meilleur mode de pacifier les populations insurgées, servit de prétexte pour prolonger la mission Consulaire et lui donner un aliment nouveau.

M. Wassitch revient sur les vœux des insurgés quant à une armistice, à une intervention diplomatique, et à une commission siégant à Raguse pour traiter de leur soumission. Il y ajoute la nécessité d'une pression des Puissances, l'action Consulaire ne pouvant viser que les détails sur la base des résolutions arrêtées entre la Porte et les Ambassadeurs, et des instructions données à Server Pacha. L'armistice, selon lui, ne pouvait être que tacite, parce qu'il serait impossible de l'établir régulièrement, vu la dispersion des bandes et l'absence d'une direction unique chez les insurgés. Le Délégué Austro-Hongrois semble avoir été principalement préoccupé de la question de rapatriement, impraticable en ce moment sans conséquences barbares, des familles Bosno-Herzégoviniennes, refugiées en Dalmatie, et de celle de la situation économique et agraire du pays.

M. Lichtenberg se montre plus pratique. Il signale les réformes indispensables en Herzégovine, mais conclut d'autre part à une réorganisation complète, incompatible avec l'esprit de l'administration Musulmane, et même au gouvernement de l'Herzégovine, pendant un certain nombre d'années, par une espèce de Commission Internationale propre à déraciner les abus.

Le Délégué de Russie parle ensuite des plaintes des insurgés qu'il a été à même de recueillir de leurs bouches.

Ces plaintes concernent les vexations des fermiers, les injustices des autorités et des Tribunaux Ottomans, les actes de rapine de la police, et de beaucoup d'autres griefs locaux. M. Tastrebow affirme que la haine des populations en Herzégovine n'est point dirigée contre la domination politique du Sultan, et que la véritable cause de l'attitude désespérée des révoltés gît dans une méfiance invincible et malheureusement justifiée que leur inspire l'administration corrompue de la Porte. Il admet cependant avec son collégue Austro-Hongrois que cette méfiance ne saurait être vaincue que par une intervention directe des Puissances, et qu'une Conférence *ad hoc* sur un terrain neutre, par exemple à Raguse, serait indispensable à cet effet. En dernière analyse notre Délégué prévoit que si la Porte ne modifie pas entièrement l'état actuel des choses, et n'établit pas une parité complète entre les Chrétiens et les Musulmans, une occupation Autrichienne s'imposerait *in extremis* comme moyen de sortir de la situation présente.

M. Tastrebow expose dans l'ordre suivant les plaintes des insurgés:—

1. Leurs griefs contre les Beys et les propriétaires qui, jouissant d'un pouvoir illimité dans le pays, traitaient les insurgés et en disposaient comme de leur bien; déshonoraient continuellement leurs épouses et leurs filles. En faisant la distribution des produits de la terre, ils prenaient pour eux la part du lion de manière que ce qu'ils abandonnaient aux fermiers Chrétiens ne suffisaient guère à l'entretien de leurs familles.

2. Leurs plaintes contre les fermiers. Ces usuriers dans leurs contrats avec les propriétaires ne se contentent plus à leur extorquer, comme par le passé, le 10 et le 12 pour cent, mais presque le double, c'est-à-dire le 25 pour cent. Toutes les tentatives des Chrétiens pour se garantir contre la rapacité de ces gens restèrent toujours sans résultat.

3. Ils protestent également contre une prélévation illégale de sommes par les Métropolitains Grecs. L'on voudrait entièrement se débarrasser d'eux; on les accuse de méfaits dont ils se seraient rendus coupables vis-à-vis des Chrétiens en agissant de concert avec les Turcs, souvent par les motifs de cupidité, mais surtout par une antipathie pour la nation Serbe.

4. Les autorités locales les accablent outre mesure par des travaux de voies de communication. Ainsi chaque habitant est contraint de participer à la construction de ces voies un certain nombre de jours dans l'année. Les Turcs rassemblent à cet effet les ouvriers Chrétiens des endroits éloignés de manière qu'ils perdent dans ces courses un temps cinq fois plus long que celui fixé pour les travaux. De cette façon leurs champs se trouvent être abandonnés pendant le temps des récoltes, tandis qu'eux-mêmes, souvent dépourvus de nourriture, restent exposés aux brutalités des chefs des travaux.

5. Les Turcs s'abstiennent de payer pour les chevaux employés au service de l'administration ce qui est prescrit par la loi, ou s'ils le font quelquefois, c'est pour détourner d'eux les soupçons. S'il arrive que des chevaux meurent exténués de fatigue, les propriétaires ne sont pas indemnisés, tandis que les sommes affectées par le Gouvernement à cet effet s'en vont au profit des employés Turcs. Ce genre de redevance qui devrait être également reporté entre les propriétaires Chrétiens et Turcs ne retombe cependant que sur les premiers.

6. Les insurgés ont beaucoup à souffrir des procédés arbitraires des employés de la police (zaptié). La plupart de ces individus ont embrassé cet emploi après avoir tout perdu dans une vie dissolue, et c'est en maltraitant les Chrétiens, de toutes les façons, insultant tout ce qu'ils ont de plus saint, qu'ils tâchent de refaire leur fortune dissipée.

7. L'injustice des tribunaux est extrême. Un Chrétien n'est jamais admis en qualité de témoin lorsqu'il pourrait déposer en faveur d'un de ses coreligionnaires. Les iniquités de ce genre sont devenues proverbiales, et l'on dit ici que 100 Chrétiens, un métropolitain, et le Pape avec sa tiare en tête, ne pourraient lutter contre les dépositions de deux Musulmans, quand même ce seraient des gens infâmes et qu'ils prêteraient de faux serments. Ce qui rend ces tribunaux encore plus odieux aux Chrétiens c'est que les affaires s'y font en langue Turque, incompréhensible presqu'à tout le monde. Un Chrétien élu en qualité de membre du Medjliss (Tribunal) n'a aucune influence; au point que, comme cela est arrivé, s'il s'opposait à apposer sa signature à une fausse accusation contre un de ses coreligionnaires il s'exposerait à de sérieux désagréments et même à des attaques contre sa personne. Même le Caïmacam de Nevesinge (arrivé, comme la plupart de ses collégues, à cette position après avoir été pdefrémier ou kofégyé d'un Pacha quelconque) disait au Délegué Russe qu'il ne pouvait pas lutter contre l'influence pernicieuse des Turcs. Lorsqu'il s'efforcait à défendre un Chrétien il s'attirait lui-même l'épithète offensante de "giaour" ou de "vlach," épithète dont on qualifie ici seulement les Chrétiens et qui signifie esclave.

Les redevances personnelles sont prélevées de la manière la plus injuste. D'un enfant du sexe mâle encore au berceau on exige la même somme que d'un homme dans la force de l'âge. D'après les idées Turques tout Chrétien est sujet à la contribution militaire depuis le jour de sa naissance jusqu'à celui de sa mort.

En résumé les motifs des plaintes et des griefs des Chrétiens de l'Herzégovine sont à peu près les mêmes que dans l'ancienne Serbie—l'inégalité des positions en toute chose, les vexations de la part des autorités Musulmanes: seulement dans l'Herzégovine le fanatisme est beaucoup plus développé qu'ailleurs.

"Je constate le fait," dit M. Tastrebow, "que lorsque les insurgés me faisaient ces récits accompagnés de bien de détails encore plus navrants, j'ai vu des hommes pleurer comme des enfants!"

Une curieuse brochure en langue Italienne et attribuée à l'Evêque Catholique de Mostar Cralévitch, a été transmise par chacun des trois Consuls à son Ambassade respective. Cette brochure se ressent de l'influence du clergé Romain, qui a toujours été l'instrument de l'Autriche-Hongrie en Herzégovine. Elle conclut: (1) à l'intervention diplomatique des Puissances; (2) à l'abandon du pays par tout élément Chrétien dans le cas contraire pour se refugier en Autriche; (3) à l'organisation autonomique de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine sous un Prince Chrétien avec le payement d'un tribut au Sultan; et (4) comme minimum à l'occupation militaire Austro-Hongroise jusqu'à la pacification complète et l'établissement de l'égalité la plus entière entre les Chrétiens et les Musulmans.

Il résulte de l'ensemble des renseignements fournis par les Consuls actuellement en mission à Mostar une justification complète des appréciations émises depuis le commencement de la crise par le Comte Zichy, le Baron de Werther, et le Général Ignatiew. Comme nous, nos délégués crurent dès leur retour à Mostar leur mission primitive épuisée, et virent dans le travail que nous leur demandâmes séparément sur la pacification du pays le seul complément des instructions combinées à Vienne.

Le tableau qu'ils retracent de la situation en Herzégovine répond au contenu des rapports précédents à ce sujet. Un enseignement également conforme aux vues du Général Ignatiew ressort des conclusions de ces agents. Ces conclusions représentent l'état de choses sur les lieux comme une impasse presque sans issue. Elles constatent les vices irrémédiables de l'administration Ottomane, l'écroulement pour ainsi dire du régime intérieur en Turquie, et le danger de voir surgir tôt ou tard de l'ensemble de ces faits une solution violente. L'emploi de la force étant exclu du programme des Puissances, leur pression prévoyante et amicale sur la Porte en faveur des réformes nécessaires reste à côté du principe de non-intervention posé par Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie, et solidairement maintenu par les Cabinets, tant que les devoirs de l'humanité ne les obligent pas d'en sortir, le seul remède propre à pallier les dangers de la situation ainsi qu'à sauvegarder nos intérêts.

M. le Baron de Werther est convenu avec l'Ambassadeur de Russie que même les propositions relativement modérées de M. Lichtenberg sont irréalisables sans un bouleversement complet de l'ordre des choses existant en Turquie. Le Comte Zichy pense que le Comte Andrassy sera fort embarrassé de tirer du rapport de M. Wassitch une base pratique quelconque pour un programme de réformes à imposer du dehors.

Le Général Ignatiew a fait part à ses collégues qu'en somme la même situation existait à peu près partout en Turquie, et que si elle n'amènerait pas partout les mêmes résultats qu'en Herzégovine c'est que les populations Chrétiennes n'étaient pas également belliqueuses dans toutes les parties de l'Empire ni la configuration géographique aussi favorable à l'insurrection.

No. 463.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 20.)

(No. 931.)

My Lord, *Paris, November 18, 1875.*

THE Duc Decazes observed to me yesterday that recent communications respecting the insurrection in the Herzegovina showed that at least one good thing had been obtained. It had come to be universally admitted that the affairs of Turkey must be discussed and settled, not by three of the guaranteeing Powers only, but by all six in concert.

In answer to a question which I put to him, his Excellency said that probably Count Andrassy, before finally settling the plan he was preparing for the pacification and the future Government of the Herzegovina, would consult M. de Novikow, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, upon it; but that as soon as it had been put into its definitive shape, it would be submitted simultaneously to all the guaranteeing Powers.

The Duke did not say anything more on the Herzegovina question.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 464.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 271.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 20, 1875.*

AS the gravity of the political situation has undoubtedly been much aggravated by rumours, to which the impression that the Austrian Government are concerting some scheme in regard to the Herzegovina without consultation with the Powers parties to the Treaty of 1856, has given rise, Her Majesty's Government have received with much satisfaction the assurance, reported in your telegraphic despatch of yesterday, to have been made to you by Baron Hofmann, that the Austrian Government have nothing to conceal from England, and his invitation to your Excellency to ask for explanations of any reports that may be in circulation as to the intentions of his Government.

Your Excellency will take an opportunity of speaking in this sense to Baron Hofmann.

I am, &c.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 465.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 729.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 4, 1875.*

THERE having been the usual holiday at the Porte during the festival of the Bairam, I am unable to give your Lordship any information which may have arrived from the Turkish authorities in the Herzegovina.

I inclose a report which has been communicated to the local newspapers, conveying the usual record of successes said to have been obtained by the Imperial troops over the insurgents, but the accounts which your Lordship will receive from Mr. Holmes and Mr. Freeman are much more likely to be correct than any that I can send.

It seems tolerably certain that the troops have met with some reverses, which,

while they are concealed, are probably so much exaggerated in the reports coming from the side of the insurgents, that it is impossible to form any opinion on their importance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 465.

Extract from "La Turquie" of November 4, 1875.

AHMED HAMDY PACHA, Gouverneur-Général de Bosnie, a transmis au Séraskiérat la dépêche suivante, en date du $\frac{14}{26}$ Octobre :—

"Les insurgés, qui s'étaient réunis aux environs de Zubci et de Grab (district de Trébigné), dans le but d'attaquer les forts de ces localités et de s'en emparer, ont été, précédemment, à deux reprises différentes, battus et dispersés.

"Le Général de brigade, Osman Pacha, commandant la place de Trébigné, ayant été informé que des insurgés, au nombre de 2,000 environ, Dalmates et Monténégrins, s'étaient de nouveau réunis sur la montagne de Zubci, dans l'intention d'attaquer les forts, a marché contre eux avec trois pièces de canon Krupp et trois bataillons, après avoir laissé à Trébigné deux bataillons de troupes.

"Osman Pacha avait divisé ses forces en deux colonnes. Le choc avec le corps des révoltés a été des plus violents. Le combat a duré deux heures environ, et les rebelles ont été complètement battus. Ils ont eu 120 morts et plus de 200 blessés. Dans leur fuite précipitée ils ont abandonné une certaine quantité de munitions et un vieux canon.

"Les troupes Impériales ont poursuivi les fuyards jusqu'à la frontière.

"Nous n'avons eu dans ce combat que dix morts et dix-sept blessés, dont deux officiers."

No. 466.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 724.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 4, 1875.*

I TOOK the earliest opportunity of communicating to the Porte the inclosed telegram from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Bourgas, reporting atrocious outrages committed upon the Bulgarians of that district, and representing the necessity for immediate measures to put an end to proceedings which are a disgrace to the Turkish Government.

It seems that the telegram, being *en clair*, had been made known to the Grand Vizier, who thereupon, and without waiting for my communication of it, sent very peremptory orders to the Governor-General of Adrianople at once to investigate the case, and deal energetically with those who may have been guilty of the acts described.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 466.

Vice-Consul Brophy to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Bourgas, October 28, 1875.*

DIMANCHE dernier 24 courant, trois zaptiés envoyés par l'autorité de Bourgas ont conduit plus de 200 Circassiens dans le village Bulgare de Karebounar, Caza de Bourgas. Sous prétexte faux que des brigands étaient passés par-là, ils ont saccagé le village entier, volant, pillant, bâtonnant et blessant. Ils ont arraché les ornements des femmes, et n'ont laissé dans le village ni meubles, ni argent, ni vêtements. Ils ont violé une femme. Les villageois en consternation implorent protection, les Circassiens ayant menacé des les égorger après Bairam. Mêmes abus existent dans d'autres Cazas. J'écrivai dépêche cette semaine.

No. 467.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November 22.*)

(No. 725.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 4, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a report from Mr. Sandison of conversations with Hussein Avni Pasha, the late, and with Riza Pasha, the present Minister of War, upon the position of this country.

The opinions expressed by each of them merit attention, for the former is intriguing actively for the Grand Vizierate, while the latter may be supposed to convey the views of Mahmoud Pasha, whose confidence he enjoys.

Before his dismissal Hussein Avni was suspected of entertaining a project of making a serious attack upon Servia as soon as he had collected a sufficient force, and the information which has since reached me confirms the belief that such was his intention.

He considers that, as the insurrection is fed and sustained by Servia, it is necessary to attack it at its source, by marching upon Belgrade, which he considers he could accomplish without difficulty.

Of the political complications which would follow from such a course he appears to make little account.

Your Lordship will observe that the language of Riza Pasha, the Minister of War, was of a diametrically contrary nature.

He stated himself to be favourable to the withdrawal of the troops from the Servian frontier, though he doubted whether the Sultan would consent to it unless the Representatives of the Great Powers were authorized to give His Majesty an assurance that Turkey had nothing to fear from the side of Servia.

He had, he said, spoken in this sense to some of my colleagues, and he wished me to urge the matter upon them and upon Her Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship will remark in Riza Pasha's proposal something that may be reconciled with the language held to me by General Ignatiew, reported in another despatch.

General Ignatiew considered that if the Court were to promulgate the needful reforms, and put into operation such of them as were susceptible of immediate application, the Powers might find the means of making the insurgents understand that their resistance must cease.

It was not apparent to me how this was to be done, but Riza Pasha's suggestion means, I imagine, that the Powers, by guaranteeing the observance by the Principalities of a real neutrality, and the cessation of the assistance which is continually given to the insurgents, should make the latter feel that they could not continue the struggle.

The proposal appears open to serious objection.

If, in consequence of the promulgation of reforms by the Porte, the Powers should exercise a direct pressure upon the insurgents, or give any formal assurances with regard to the Principalites, it would partake so much of the character of a moral guarantee for the execution of the reforms, that the non-execution or unsatisfactory working of them might be alleged as a justification for future interference.

There can be no objection to the Representatives stating, as we most of us have done, that, in our individual opinions, there is no such prospect of an attack upon the part of Servia as to render it desirable to keep on the frontier an army which has a menacing appearance in the eyes of the Servians, and keeps up an irritation in the Principality; but I certainly would not advise Her Majesty's Government to authorize me to convey to the Porte a formal assurance such as that which has been suggested.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 467.

Mr. Sandison to Sir Elliot.

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Therapia, November 4, 1875.*

YOUR Excellency might feel interested in a conversation I have had with Hussein Avni Pasha, during which his Highness expressed much anxiety with regard to the present position of Turkey.

His Highness found fault, in the first instance, with the present Administration for having resorted to an extreme financial measure which, he thought, could not fail to turn the tide of public opinion in France and England against Turkey, whose safety so much depended upon the sympathies and support of those Powers.

Forgetting, however, that no reforms of any kind had been attempted by previous Administrations, particularly under his own, His Highness went on to say that the late measure was excessively premature, and that it should on no account have been adopted until after the Government had carried out such reforms as would have inspired the European public with confidence in the future prospects and solvency of the Empire.

The Imperial Ottoman Bank, he added, was not more likely to help the Government in its present and future difficulties, and this was but a just return for Mahmoud Pasha's exertions to do away with that establishment altogether the moment he came into power.

So far, at least, his Highness thought, the Russian Ambassador has had the satisfaction of seeing his principal political objects fully attained, which was to see Turkey reduced to its present state of insolvency, and gradually abandoned by her old allies, as would seem to be the case now, thanks to the discontent produced by the late financial measure.

In these circumstances there was Turkey, he said, vainly endeavouring to suppress a serious insurrection, of which no one could foresee the end as long as it continued to receive the open support and the secret encouragement of the provinces surrounding the Herzegovina. Whilst Austria was profuse in its protestations of friendship and good neighbourhood, little was done in reality by its authorities in Dalmatia to disarm the insurgents, who were constantly crossing and recrossing the frontier into the Herzegovina. If Turkey occupies the recognized position of an independent Power, let her be told so plainly; and let, at the same time, Austria be made to understand that she must take proper steps, on her territory, to ensure the peace of her neighbour; but if, on the contrary, the Turks were to be looked upon as a horde of barbarians, let them act for themselves, as best they can, in self-defence.

Such, his Highness said, was his opinion, and that, if matters were allowed to go on as at present, he could scarcely help thinking that the continuation of the insurrection could fail to lead to serious political complications, as well as to disturbances on a much larger scale in various other parts of the Empire, by which certain Powers were likely to profit, whilst others would probably merely look on.

Riza Pasha, whom I had occasion to see on the same day, spoke also of the danger justly to be apprehended from the continuation of the insurrection through the coming winter, and from the presence of a large force along the Servian frontier (127,000 men, including the troops in the Herzegovina, Novi-Bazar, Nisch, Widdin, &c.), which, he believed, was fully calculated to keep up a spirit of hostility among the soldiery of the two rival camps.

In his own private opinion, it was but wise and prudent for the Government to withdraw the troops from the frontier, leaving at certain points sufficient forces for the security of the unprotected districts, but his Excellency thought there was no likelihood of the Sultan consenting to the step unless His Majesty could be told that the Representatives of the Great Powers were authorized by their respective Governments to give the Porte, in their behalf, the assurance that Turkey had nothing to fear from Servia. Riza Pasha said he had already spoken in this sense to some of the Ambassadors, and that it was highly desirable that your Excellency should urge the matter upon their attention, as well as that of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 468.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 22.)

(No. 726. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 4, 1875.

GENERAL IGNATIEW having returned from Livadia just before the Mohammedan Bairam, his audience of the Sultan did not take place till after the conclusion of those days of festival.

He tells me that he spoke to His Majesty of the state of the Northern Provinces, and of the call there was for administrative reforms to remove the grounds of complaint, which his Government hoped to see energetically carried out by the Porte under His Majesty's orders.

The Sultan spoke, he says, with the intelligence and good sense with which everyone is struck upon such occasions, but which unfortunately give little security for the course which may be followed by His Majesty's Government.

From other sources also, I learn that the Ambassador said nothing which could be regarded as indicating a desire on the part of his Government to interfere in the internal affairs of this country, and confined himself to recommending that the Porte itself should adopt such measures as to prove that the Sultan was determined that equal justice should be done to all classes of his subjects.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 469.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 22.

(No. 728. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 6, 1875.

I SAW General Ignatiew yesterday for the first time since his return from Livadia, when I asked him what he had found to be the state of the negotiations at Vienna on the subject of the Herzegovina.

He said that the Emperor had desired him to lose no time in coming to the Crimea, as he wished to have his opinion upon a Memorandum which had been sent to His Majesty by Count Andrassy, containing a project of demands which he wished to impose upon the Porte.

He would tell me in very strict confidence that this proposal was of such a nature that if adopted it could not fail to lead, if not to civil war, at least to constant massacres.

The authority which has hitherto resided with the Mussulmans would be wholly transferred to the Christians in a manner which the former could not be expected tamely to submit to, and a power was to be put into the hands of the Bishops, who were to be entirely independent of the Porte.

The Catholic Bishops, he observed, are for the most part Austrian subjects, and this will, no doubt, always be regarded by General Ignatiew and his Government as a strong and legitimate argument against their being put into a position to exercise an extended jurisdiction.

My colleague said that the Emperor adopted his view of Count Andrassy's proposal; but I understood from him that, instead of pointing out what appeared objectionable in it, it was thought best merely to answer that the announcement of the reforms already resolved upon by the Porte made it, in His Majesty's opinion, unnecessary to submit any project for the acceptance of the Sultan.

The Emperor, General Ignatiew added, did not at all like the manner in which Turkish affairs were being treated, exlusively by the three Powers, and wished that all the guaranteeing Governments should be consulted in regard to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 470.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received November* 22.)

(No. 729. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 6, 1875.

IN a conversation which I had yesterday with General Ignatiew, he spoke with praise of the measures of reform adopted for the Herzegovina, observing that if something in addition was done by the appointment of Christian sub-Governors and police the populations ought to be satisfied.

I observed that, from the recent accounts, it appeared very doubtful whether the most ample and efficient concessions made by the Porte, but which should not be guaranteed by the foreign Powers, would induce the insurgents to lay down their arms.

His answer was that we ought then to find means to persuade the insurgents that they must do so.

The subject was not pursued, but the remark seems to merit being reported to your Lordship, as it may imply either that the Ambassador is aware of some mode of influencing

the insurgents, or that he would suggest some demonstration by the Powers in favour of the Porte when the reforms recognized by them as sufficient have been granted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 471.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 733.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* , 1875.

SAFVET PASHA has been replaced as Minister for Foreign Affairs by Rashid Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador at Vienna, who, it is understood, will be succeeded by Aarifi Pasha, who has already filled that post.

Safvet Pasha was an honest but not very efficient Minister, who, knowing that he was no favourite of the present Grand Vizier, has, since the accession of Mahmoud Pasha to power, shown himself so indisposed to assume the slightest responsibility, that the most ordinary current business has been nearly at a standstill.

Rashid Pasha was Minister for Foreign Affairs during Mahmoud Pasha's first Vizierat. He is a better man of business than his predecessor, but far less reliance can be placed on his sincerity and straitforwardness.

Aarifi Pasha, the new Ambassador to Vienna, is a man not wanting in intelligence, but deficient in character and energy, and in no way fitted to obtain any personal influence.

As Minister for Foreign Affairs he proved a lamentable failure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 472.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 738.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 10, 1875.

THE article in the "Messager Officiel" of St. Petersburgh of the 29th ultimo has produced a deep impression at the Porte; but the mortification of my Russian colleague must be still greater at seeing the two objects for which he has been long assiduously working hopelessly defeated, for the moment, by the act of his own Government.

The first of these objects was to persuade the Turks that his Government was their most sincere friend, and the least disposed to interfere in the internal affairs of this Empire.

During the last two years there can be no doubt that, aided by the policy of the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet, he had made considerable progress in producing a general impression that the most immediate danger to be apprehended did not come from the side of Russia.

The second object was to recover a portion of that influence over the Greek populations of the East, formerly enjoyed by the Russian Embassy, but which has been entirely lost since the collapse of the Cretan insurrection, so openly favoured by Russia, and since the separation of the Bulgarian Church.

The almost ostentatious manner in which, in this official article, the Russian Government has announced its sympathy, not on the Christian subjects of the Sultan, but in the Slavonic populations, will increase tenfold the distrust already felt by the whole Greek race; and this is already seen by the comments upon it in the newspapers under Greek direction.

I understand that General Ignatiew represents that the expressions in the article especially alluding to the Slavs had not been correctly translated; but the version received at the Porte was the same as that which I see given in the "Times."

But whatever may be the case as regards that point, the more important fact remains that an article has been published, if not by the Russian Government, at least under its sanction, conveying a threat of intervention in such studiously offensive terms that it must not only discourage the present insurgents from any thoughts of submission, but encourage the disaffected in all parts of the Empire to rise against their rulers.

The Embassy endeavours to persuade the Porte that too much importance must not be attached to this publication, which the Imperial Cabinet had only sanctioned for the

purpose of meeting the attacks levelled against it by the Russian national press for its supposed apathy towards the insurgents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 473.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 739. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 11, 1875.

THE article in the "Messager Officiel" of St. Petersburgh has raised at the Porte a storm of indignation against General Ignatiew; and Mahmoud Pasha, the Grand Vizier, who was always regarded as being essentially under the Ambassador's influence, now speaks in unmeasured terms of what he regards as his duplicity.

His Highness has been, and still is, very unwell, so that I have not seen him for some time, but two days ago he saw Mr. Sandison, to whom he spoke of the efforts which the General had been making to throw upon the Austro-Hungarian Government the whole blame of Herzegovina difficulty, and to convince him that the Russian Government was maintaining the rights and independence of the Porte.

He had continued to do this at the very moment his Government was publishing an article directed against the Porte, far surpassing anything that had proceeded from Vienna, and the Grand Vizier then proceeded to inveigh against what he called the duplicity of the Ambassador, in language which I cannot venture to reproduce.

His Highness then alluded to the isolated position in which the Porte now found itself; for among the foreign Representations there was not one, excepting Her Majesty's Ambassador, to whom he could turn for advice.

The Russian Ambassador could not be trusted; the Austro-Hungarian represented the peculiar views of his Government; the German was a man with whom questions of importance could hardly be discussed; and the French Ambassador kept himself aloof, and seemed afraid to say anything that might displease the others.

He was, Mahmoud Pasha told Mr. Sandison, preparing a very full project of reform, upon which he was desirous of consulting me, as soon as his health made it possible for him to do so.

Artin Effendi, at present Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is Mahmoud Pasha's most intimate confidant, spoke to me yesterday in much the same strain, beseeching me to support His Highness against the intrigues by which he is beset.

I told him to assure His Highness that any support that I could give him depended upon himself.

When I saw the measures that are called for applied to the insurgent districts, and efficient securities given to protect the Bulgarians from the outrages of which they are now the victims, and all classes of the Sultan's subjects throughout the Empire treated with the equality and justice to which they are entitled, I should give the warmest and most cordial support to the Grand Vizier and Ministers, who endeavoured to inaugurate such reform.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 474.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 740.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 11, 1875.

THE following account of the present position of things within the district of Novi-Bazar has been obtained from an authentic source, and may, I believe, be relied upon.

Order has been re-established in the districts of Tashlidja and Senitza, and affairs are in the same condition as they were before the insurrection.

This statement requires some explanation.

Between the Montenegrin frontier and the River Tara, which is the natural frontier of the Tashlidja district, there are the small districts known as Charan and Tezere.

At the end of the last campaign against Montenegro it would have been easy to have constructed guardhouses on that portion of the frontier which corresponds to these two districts, and have them occupied by one battalion of troops.

Montenegro was then at the mercy of Turkey, and could not, perforce, have opposed such a step; but the Ottoman Government, with its usual carelessness and negligence, let the opportunity slip. A few years later several battalions would have been required to obtain the same result; for, though the districts undoubtedly belonged to Turkey, the Montenegrins would as undoubtedly have opposed their occupation, and the Turkish Government shrunk from the expenses and consequences of such an act.

A few years later the late Osman Pasha, who was then Governor-General of Bosnia, went in person to Taschlidja, and made the following arrangement with the inhabitants of Charan and Tezere.

These people were themselves to elect a Chief, who should bear the title of Voivode, and should be paid by Government, and should have at his disposal a certain number of pandours, or guards, and one captain.

The whole of this establishment cost the Government rather more than 130,000 piastres a year, from which are deducted 27,000 piastres, as the equivalent of the property-tax, the tithes, and all other dues.

For the last ten years no Mussulman, neither police officer nor soldier, has set foot in these districts for fear of being assassinated.

In the meantime a number of armed Chiefs came over from Montenegro, savage, blood-thirsty men, who terrorize the pacific portion of the inhabitants, levy taxes in the name of the Prince, and administer State property and the farms of some Mussulman proprietors who dare not go there.

Out of the money which Government pays to the Voivode to pay and keep the pandours, he retains his own salary, those of the captain and of two or three men, and sends the rest to Cettigné, where it is spent in the purchase of arms and ammunition.

Such was the condition of these districts when the celebrated Pope Zarko raised the standard of revolt at the monastery of Banja, near the Servian frontier. The want of energy shown by the civil and military authorities having caused this movement to assume serious dimensions, and Montenegrin bands having entered Tezere, it was thought in the above-mentioned districts, that Servia was about to enter the lists, and the inhabitants rose and burnt the guardhouses along the Tara beyond their frontier. Five or six villages of the Taschlidja district, among which were Bobova and Ogratchanitza, followed their example, and burnt some Mussulman villages.

After the arrival of the Ottoman troops at Senitza, Pope Zarko's band was surprised at Radobina, and left 30 dead and 100 wounded on the field. The fugitives were pursued to the Servian frontier, across which they fled. This took place near a guardhouse occupied by Servian troops.

The least Servia should have done would have been to disarm and punish the 200 of her subjects who were among the fugitives.

It should be noted that Marian Sloganovitch, of Oujitza, who was taken prisoner, stated, on being interrogated, that the Sub-Governor of Oujitza has himself collected some 200 Servian volunteers, and had sent them to Pope Zarko, with some hundreds of guns.

After the destruction of these bands a military cordon was drawn from Yeni-Varosch to Wischgrad, in order to stop all communication between Servia and the insurgent districts.

The result of this measure was the suppression of the insurrection in those districts.

When the mountaineers of Charan and Tezere and the inhabitants of the revolted villages along the Tara saw how things were going on in the neighbourhood of Servia, they lost hope and understood the fault they had committed.

These villages lie amongst steep, lofty, and well-wooded mountains, and the troops experienced great difficulty in reaching them. For five days they had to contend against a tempest of rain and snow. When they reached the banks of the Tara they found that the insurgents had fled to the other side and had entered Tezere. It was found necessary to burn their villages in order to prevent their returning to them and making incursions into the plain of Taschlidja.

At present all these insurgents are on the further bank of the Tara; this river is not fordable in winter, and the only bridge is held by the Turks.

The insurgents could certainly, in small bodies, cross on rafts, and commit predatory acts, but the precautions which have been taken would probably make them hesitate to run the risk.

One can, therefore, fairly say that the district of Taschlidja is in the same state of tranquillity as it was before the insurrection, for the districts of Charan and Tezere were no more in Turkish hands then than they are now.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 475.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 741. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 11, 1875.*

IN continuation of my preceding despatch, I beg to add, in a confidential shape, the following statement of the plan proposed to be followed in the spring by the Commander-in-chief at Novi-Bazar, who entertains no doubt that it must be followed by complete success in that quarter if the insurrection should be still continuing.

If his calculation is correct, and he is a most able and energetic officer, any intended action by Montenegro to the south and east can be paralyzed without much difficulty.

It may be assumed that the districts of Charan and Tezere will give in their submission. From the side of Taschlidja it is impossible to enter these districts, for the banks of the Tara are steep, and the ground is so unfavourable that the risk would be too great. On the other hand, on the Kolachin side, one is on the crest of the mountain; all the country bordering on Montenegro and the districts of Charan and Tezere resembles a plateau at a considerable elevation above the level of the sea.

In the spring a carriageable road will be made from Senitza to Askova, and thence to Kolachin, where two battalions will be concentrated. A small fort will then be constructed just on the frontier line, and the districts of Charan and Tezere would be separated from Montenegro by a line of guard-houses. Wherever troops were taken carriageable roads would be made. Charan and Tezere would then be within the grasp of the Turks.

The Prince of Montenegro would thus be placed in an awkward position. If he did not interfere with the action of the Turks, he would lose his prestige. If, on the contrary, he opposed them, or if Montenegrin bands, acting independently of his orders, were to attack them, the Turks, from the strength of their position, would have nothing to fear; they would have at their backs a warlike Mussulman population, and the nature of the country would be favourable to them.

Moreover, the first gunshot fired by the Montenegrins would be regarded by the Porte as a *casus belli*, and an expedition would be sent against them from Scutari, which would also settle the affairs of the Herzegovina.

From the position occupied by the Turkish Government on the Montenegrin frontier, the Prince could not pretend, as he does now, that the Turks are fighting insurgent Rayahs. It would be quite evident that the Montenegrins were the aggressors.

The Commander-in-chief has advised the Porte to have a division ready at Scutari to march upon Cettigné, the moment he was attacked on the frontier at Kolachin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 476.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 742.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 12, 1875.*

THE inclosed is the copy of the instructions of the Porte to Server Pasha, as they have been communicated to me.

They certainly confer upon him the authority to introduce very material reforms in the administration of the revolted provinces; but they require to be applied with an energy, of which his Excellency has hitherto given little evidence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 476.

Instructions addressed to all the high Functionaries residing in Bosnia.

DANS les chefs-lieux du vilayet, dans ses districts, et les villages les Conseils seront supprimés à partir du mois de Mars, 1292, et remplacés par d'autres, dont les membres seront élus conformément au règlement admis pour les élections.

Etant jugé plus avantageux dans l'intérêt de la population agricole de percevoir les dimes sur le produit des terres cultivées, il vient d'être décidé que l'usage d'affermer soit aboli, et si jusqu'à l'époque de la récolte de l'année prochaine cette nouvelle mesure ne peut pas être mise en exécution, alors les charges de perception de dimes seront acquittés entièrement avant l'entrée de l'époque de la moisson, dans tout le parcours du vilayet.

Si cette tâche n'est pas remplie à l'époque sus-indiquée, les personnes qui en seront causes seront relevées de leurs fonctions et comparaîtront par devant le Tribunal compétent, si elles sont des employés du Gouvernement Impérial; si, au contraire, elles sont des particuliers, alors celles-là seront punis conformément à l'Article de la Loi qui prévoit le cas de responsabilité des dommages portés aux intérêts publics.

Si le fermier (multezim) ne commence pas à percevoir la dime qu'il aura affermée dans les cinq premiers jours, s'il s'agit d'un village, et dans les dix premiers jours s'il s'agit d'un cazas, à dater du jour de son engagement, alors la quantité de la reproduction de chaque particulier sera inscrite dans un registre par le Conseil des Vieillards ("Ikhtiar Médglessi") de l'endroit; après cette formalité ordre sera donné pour moissonner, et s'il se présente après cette date un nouveau fermier pour percevoir la dîme, dans ce cas celui-ci se rapportera entièrement au registre dressé par le susdit Conseil des Vieillards, et n'aura pas le droit de pousser ses réclamations au delà du montant des chiffres arrêtés.

Les moutons seront tondus avant d'entrer dans les lieux de pâturage.

La liberté des cultes étant garantie à tous les sujets du Sultan sans distinction de rite, par les lois fondamentales de l'Empire, il est bien entendu que personne ne pourra créer d'obstacle au libre cours de ce droit légitime de chaque individu sans commettre une faute grave à l'égard de la sollicitude Impériale; si donc parmi les employés de l'autorité, ou parmi les Sous-Gouverneurs ou les personnes jouissant des fonctions plus élevées, quelqu'un se hasarde de contrevenir à la volonté expresse de Sa Majesté notre gracieux Souverain, en portant atteinte à la liberté des cultes, celui-là sera sévèrement puni, conformément au Code Pénal.

Les rentes affectées aux Conseils Municipaux de chaque endroit ont pour but l'embellissement de la ville, l'entretien de sa propriété, et enfin son agrandissement; il est défendu, par conséquent, ainsi qu'il est prévu dans le règlement, d'en faire emploi pour tout ce qui soit du cercle des dépenses de ce département. Néanmoins, dans le cas où les rentes affectées pour l'administration des écoles primaires ne seraient pas suffisantes, alors on pourra suppléer à cette insuffisance par les sommes excédantes des susdites rentes des Conseils Municipaux.

Les lois et règlements devant être connus indistinctement par tout le monde, tant par les fonctionnaires que par le public, afin de régler leur conduite en conséquence, le Gouvernement Impérial vient de décider d'offrir des facilités pour que la connaissance de ces lois et règlements fût accessible à l'intelligence publique, en créant dans le chef-lieu du vilayet un bureau de traduction chargé de reproduire en langue du pays toutes les lois et règlements qui composent le Destour. Cette traduction sera imprimée et affichée.

Afin de faciliter l'exécution des sentences rendues par les Tribunaux Civils, l'esprit de toute sentence rendue sera désormais traduit en une langue qui soit intelligible au public. Cette traduction sera également signée par le Président et les Juges.

Il est expressément défendu d'employer des chevaux et d'autres bêtes de charge appartenant aux particuliers pour le transport de l'extérieur à l'intérieur, ou d'un point à l'autre dans l'intérieur de la ville, de tous effets ou provisions appartenant à l'armée Impériale ou à l'autorité locale, à moins que les propriétaires les sollicitassent de leur propre gré. Mais dans ce cas il faut que le prix convenu pour la location de ces bêtes fût payé par anticipation à leurs propriétaires, et si jusqu'à présent des réclamations semblables sont restées pendantes jusqu'à ce jour, on devra sans retard constater leur légitimité et les régler sans objection aucune.

On ne devra jamais employer des ouvriers étrangers pour l'exploitation des routes d'un cazas, mais bien ceux qui habitent le même cazas, et le nombre de jours que les ouvriers travailleront gratis n'excédera jamais le chiffre vingt pour chaque cinq ans.

En dehors de l'exploitation des routes, il est défendu d'employer gratis des ouvriers pour le service de l'Etat ou d'un particulier; les contrevenants à cette décision seront rigoureusement punis. Il est de même défendu aux fermiers (multezim) et autres d'exiger de la population, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, de la nourriture pour eux et pour les chevaux. Tous ceux qui seraient cités comme ayant commis une injustice semblable subiront également les peines édictées par la loi.

Les personnes inscrites pour appartenir au corps des sergents (zaptiés) seront des

gens qui jouissent d'une bonne réputation, et ayant déjà servi comme soldat ou comme volontaire ou rédif. Dans un cazas les officiers du corps des sergents qui ont des grades supérieures à celui de "tchavouche" seront choisis sans contredit parmi les natifs ou habitants d'un autre cazas. Ces officiers, ainsi que leurs subalternes, seront tenus en même temps de donner caution pour leur personne.

Les officiers supérieurs et inférieurs, les zaptiés et autres militaires qui sont au service de l'Etat, ne pouvant suffire pour remplir à la fois leurs fonctions propres et celles des affaires civiles, il vient d'être arrêté que désormais les receveurs (tahsildar) composés de Musulmans et de Chrétiens fussent choisis pour percevoir les impôts dûs à l'Etat.

Les receveurs précités seront nommés et exerceront leurs fonctions à partir du mois de Mars de l'année prochaine, soit 1292. Un règlement spécial désignant les charges et la conduite de ces derniers sera bientôt porté à la connaissance publique.

Dans les villes principales de la Bosnie, toutes les fermes qui se louaient et se sous-louaient suivant l'usage du compte à demi, à tiers, au quart, et au cinquième, ne pourront être louées ni sous-louées qu'après rédaction, par devant l'autorité locale, du contrat préalable, et cela conformément à l'Article 11 du Règlement décrété en l'an 1276.

Quant aux fermes qui ont été jadis louées ou sous-louées sans le contrat en question, mais seulement par engagement verbal, les propriétaires et locations de ces fermes s'adresseront aussi à l'autorité locale pour passer le contrat exigé par l'Article ci-dessus, et légaliser ainsi leurs engagements verbaux. Dans ce cas cette forme de régularisation leur sera accordée gratis par la dite autorité.

Pour l'application de l'Article précité, le Gouvernement Impérial fixe un délai de six mois, à partir de la présente date.

S'il arrive qu'après l'expiration du susdit délai, par la rélaxation des parties, les anciens engagements verbaux ne sont pas confirmés par des contrats exigés ou que de nouveaux engagements dans ce genre se restèrent contrairement au nouveau règlement, alors l'impôt à percevoir sur la ferme louée ou sous-louée sera exigée par compte moitié du propriétaire et du locataire; mais s'il est constaté et prouvé par devant un tribunal compétent que l'une des parties contractantes s'est refusée, à elle seule, de se conformer à ce mode, alors l'impôt supplémentaire sera perçu entièrement par cette partie contrevenante, pour passer au profit de la caisse de la municipalité de la ville. Cette mesure sera prise jusqu'à la date de la réduction du contrat.

Chaque année, à la même époque, il sera constitué dans le chef-lieu du vilayet une Assemblée Générale composée du Conseil d'Administration et les délégués membres des Conseils des arrondissements et cazas, qui auront spécialement la charge de présenter un rapport au Gouverneur-Général pour lui faire savoir si les lois et règlements ont été strictement observés pendant toute la durée de l'année écoulée, ou que par contre des injustices ont été commises.

Dans le rapport d'un délégué, s'il s'agit d'une injustice quelconque commise au préjudice des intérêts d'un particulier, dans ce cas, si le fait en question relève de la compétence du jugement de la dite Assemblée Générale, le Gouverneur déférera l'affaire à la délibération de cette Assemblée; une circonstance pareille laisse au choix du valide nommer à la susdite Assemblée ou non, la personne qui lui aura rapporté par son rapport la nature et le degré de l'injustice ou vexation commise, et si le fait en question n'est pas de la compétence du jugement du Conseil, alors communication immédiate en sera donnée à la Sublime Porte par le Gouverneur-Général.

Désormais aucun employé du Gouvernement Impérial ne sera destitué. Mais si un employé se rend coupable en manquant à ses devoirs il lui faudra alors comparaître par devant le Tribunal compétent, qui le jugera et lui appliquera la peine méritée, suivant la gravité de sa culpabilité.

Son Excellence Ibrahim Bey, notable de l'Empire, vient d'être nommé Mouavin (aide) du Gouverneur-Général. Les fonctions confiées à son Excellence ont pour objet la surveillance de la stricte exécution des lois et règlements; l'observation de la conduite des Tribunaux, et celle de tous les fonctionnaires; les efforts nécessaires pour écarter autant que possible les motifs d'une injustice quelconque.

Un Comité de Surveillance chargé de toute vérification tendant à observer minutieusement la marche de l'administration sera constitué dans le chef-lieu du vilayet, et sera attaché spécialement au service du Gouverneur-Général et de son Mouavin (aide).

Les membres du susdit Comité appartiendront à la religion Musulmane et Chrétienne, et seront élus par le Gouverneur-Général et de son aide, lesquels leur imposeront serment à chacun d'après le rite de sa religion, avant de leur confier leurs fonctions, afin que ceux-ci garantissent de cette manière la franchise et l'impartialité qu'il leur faut user dans leurs rapports sur la situation de toutes les affaires.

Le Comité de Surveillance aura les charges suivantes :—

1. Porter à la connaissance du Gouverneur-Général et à son Mouavin si l'encaissement des dîmes a été ou non confiée en temps utile.

2. Si les fermiers (multezim), les chefs d'euphorie de la ville, les chefs spirituels (Kodjabachi), se conduisent comme ils le doivent.

3. Si l'élection des membres des Conseils a été régulièrement formée.

4. Si les rapports entre les paysans et leurs contractants sont ou non en bonne harmonie.

5. Si on commet des injustices à l'égard des personnes qui travaillent pour l'exploitation des routes.

6. Si les zaptiés et autres militaires observent les instructions qui leur sont données.

7. Si, enfin, dans les bourgs, villages, et mudessariflika, les fonctionnaires remplissent fidèlement ou non les devoirs qui leur sont imposés.

Après délibération mûre, les membres du susdit Comité dresseront un rapport en copie double sur la situation des affaires. L'une de ces copies sera présentée au Gouverneur-Général et à son aide, et l'autre sera conservée par les membres du Comité.

Quand un rapport présenté par le susdit Comité mentionnera une injustice commise, ou une irrégularité dans l'administration, et si, vérification faite, l'on parvient à constater la chose, dans ce cas l'auteur de cette injustice et de cette irrégularité sera puni et corrigé de la part du Gouverneur-Général et de son aide (Mouavin).

Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, dans sa constante sollicitude, veut que tous ses sujets sans distinction jouissent des bienfaits de la justice et ne soient jamais opprimés par des vexations. Elle désire par conséquent que toutes les lois et règlements, ainsi que les instructions ci-dessus, fussent entièrement et strictement observées. Si donc quelqu'un ose se permettre de contrevenir tant à ces lois et instructions présentes qu'à celles à venir, ou qui entrave la marche de la justice, ou qui prépare des intrigues dans ce but, celui-là sera sans merci puni rigoureusement pour servir d'exemple au public.

En vous prévenant d'avance nous vous conseillons d'agir en conséquence.

No. 477.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 743.)

Therapia, November 12, 1875.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 724, I have the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch from Mr. Vice-Consul Brophy, giving further details of the outrages committed on the Bulgarians by Circassians under the guidance of some Turkish zaptiés.

I have caused a copy of this despatch to be communicated to the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 477.

Vice-Consul Brophy to Sir H. Elliot.

Bourgas, October 20, 1875.

Sir,

I HAD yesterday the honour to send to your Excellency a telegram as follows:—

"Dimanche dernier 24 courant trois zaptiés envoyés par l'autorité de Bourgas ont conduit plus de 200 Circassiens dans le village Bulgare de Karabounar, Caza de Bourgas. Sous prétexte faux que des brigands étaient passés par là ils ont saccagé le village entier, volant, pillant, bâtonnant et blessant. Ils ont arraché des ornements des femmes, et n'ont laissé dans le village ni meubles, ni argent, ni vêtements. Ils ont violé une femme. Les villageois en consternation implorent protection, les Circassiens ayant menacé de les égorger après Bairam.

"Mêmes abus existent dans d'autres cazas. J'écrirai dépêche cette semaine."

It appears that on the 24th instant, three mounted zaptiés, of Bourgas, went to the village of Karabounar, taking with them from two to three hundred Circassians, of Agoodjik, a neighbouring village; the zaptiés went to the inn (khan), sent for the Mukhtar and Ikhtiar-Medjlissi, and inquired from them what number of brigands had passed there, who gave them food, where they lodged, &c. No brigands having been seen there, the villagers naturally denied all knowledge of them. In the meantime, the Circassians had entered the village, which consists of 100 houses, and commenced to plunder; they took from the women their gold necklaces and earrings, and beat the men with whips, sticks, and swords; they stole from the houses money, grain, linen, cloth, butter, and cooking utensils, bed clothes, everything they could carry away; in short, the village was as completely stripped as if a hostile army had passed through it, and the robbers merely stopped short of arson and murder.

In one respect my telegram was not quite correct, for I am sorry to say that three girls, and a very large number of married women, were most cruelly outraged. These same Circassians had previously been in the village of Corondéré, which they had maltreated in the same manner, though not to the same extent; thence they went to Beg-Mahallé, in the Caza of Kizilagatch, where there were, fortunately, some Zaptiés, who armed the villagers and refused entrance to the Circassians on the ground that they came from another caza. The villagers of Karabournar have presented themselves to the authorities here; but, it being towards the end of Ramazan, no business is transacted at the Konak, and their complaints have not yet been investigated: yesterday evening they telegraphed to the Grand Vizir.

I regret to say that, owing to the conduct of the subordinate authorities, the state of the province of Slimnia is far from satisfactory. In the towns of Aïdos, Kamabat, and Yamboli, the Turks maltreat the Bulgarians without the slightest reason, and no complaint on the part of the latter is listened to. The Turks themselves say that they are now allowed to do as they like with the Rayahs, and that a new régime is inaugurated. At Kamabat, on the 14th instant, the Kaïmakam summoned at midnight every Turk capable of bearing arms to march to a village one hour distant from the town, as it was threatened by an army of Bulgarian insurgents. Arrived there, they found that a herd of buffaloes in a marsh had been taken for a troop of insurgents. On their return to the town, the Mussulmans thrashed every Rayah they met, even those who were going with their cattle to the plough. A few days afterwards, the Kaïmakam of Kamabat telegraphed to Bourgas, asking for assistance, as a large body of insurgents had made their appearance near the town. In this case the rebels proved to be a score of farm-labourers in the employ of a Turkish gentleman at Donandji, and who were quietly returning from the field to the farm. The Mussulmans of the three cazas I have mentioned are now all armed by order of the local authorities, and beat and rob the Rayahs as they choose, without any interference on the part of the Kaïmakams. On the 20th instant, the Bulgarians of Kamabat sent to the Grand Vizir a telegram, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy.

Last week I wrote to the Wali of Adrianople on the subject of these excesses, and I hear that he has sent orders by telegraph to the different cazas, instructing the Kaïmakams to protect the Christians; but I fear these orders are too general to be of much effect.

I would submit to your Excellency that it is hardly good policy on the part of the provincial authorities to treat the Bulgarians of those districts, or to allow them to be treated, as if they were disaffected. Without pledging myself for districts with which I am unacquainted, I can assure your Excellency that in the three cazas I have spoken of, and generally in the whole country south of Slimnia, not a vestige of insurrectionary ideas exists; and yet the feeling of the Mussulmans, fostered, or not checked, by the Kaïmakams, is now such that any resistance to maltreatment offered by the Rayahs would, I believe, lead to most deplorable results, and indeed I am afraid that after Bairam still greater excesses are to be apprehended, the Mussulmans in the villages speaking openly of their intention to settle once for all with the Bulgarians, the "enemies of the Government."

With regard to the affairs of Karabounar, I would humbly submit to your Excellency that a strict investigation, and a very severe punishment of the culprits, is necessary; but I am perfectly certain that no serious inquiry will be made by the authorities of Bourgas unless the Porte thinks fit to send a special commission for the purpose. The unfortunate villagers tremble for their lives, and for the honour of such of their wives and daughters as have escaped hitherto, for the Circassians threaten them with a second visit, and the fact that the robbers were led to the village by zaptiés from Bourgas gives the raid the appearance of having been authorized and ordered by the authorities.

The Vice-Consul of Greece, and the Consular Agents of Austria and Italy here, inform me that they are writing on this subject in the same sense as myself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES A. BROPHY.

P.S.—I have just learned from a Turk of Bourgás, Hádji Ahmet Aga, who was at Karabournar when the Circassians came, and who says that he wept to see the barbarities committed by them, that they beat children of five or six years old most mercilessly, and that one of the robbers took up an infant and threw it over the hedge.

If ever a searching inquiry is made into this affair, I fear that it will turn out to be even blacker than I have represented it.

C. A. B.

Inclosure 2 in No. 477.

Telegram from Bulgarians of Karnabad to the Grand Vizier.

Altesse,

PAR causes inconnues, au 14 instant le Caïmacam de notre ville (Karnabad) appella aux armes tous les citoyens Musulmans. Dès lors ils se trouvent armés et tourmentent sans pitié la population Bulgare. Les paysans de notre Caza étant des hommes agriculteurs et bergers ne peuvent s'occuper librement de leur affaire. Nos compatriotes, les Musulmans, nous oppressent trop. La population Bulgare se trouve dans une position lamentable. Nous avons donné, il y a quelques jours, signature que parmi la population de notre Caza il n'existe des hommes mal-intentionés à l'Empire; à présent nous confirmons le même devant votre Altesse. Prosterné devant votre Altesse nous sollicitons la grâce de notre auguste Sultan.

Les très humbles sujets de votre Altesse,
Pour la population de Karnabad,
(Signé) ICONEM T. NICOLOFF.
DAMIAN VARBANOFF.
ZAHANI NEITCHOFF.
TEHANI KALIFF.

No. 478.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 744.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 12, 1875.*

THE nomination of Constant Effendi as Governor of a division of the Herzegovina is an important step in the right direction.

In a province where the Catholic and Greek communities are animated by no friendly feelings towards each other, the selection of a Gregorian Armenian was perhaps the most prudent that could be made.

Constant Effendi has some acquaintance with the country, and, in former missions to Montenegro, acquired a character for conciliation which was recognized by the Prince of Montenegro, with whom I understand him to be on good terms.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 479.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 746.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 12, 1875.*

BEFORE I received your Lordship's despatch No. 326 of the 26th ultimo, General Ignatiew had spoken to me of your conversation with Count Schouvaloff and of the satisfaction with which his Government had seen that your Lordship's views upon the affairs of this country agreed so closely with theirs.

The policy of his Government was, he said, to encourage the Porte of its own initiative to improve the condition of the people, but to apply no pressure and recommend no specific project, and to show a confidence in the determination of the Sultan's Government honestly to carry out the reforms. He felt confident therefore that he and I might continue to hold identic language to the Porte, as he had in fact already been doing.

I answered that the course he described was precisely that which Her Majesty's Government had throughout directed me to follow, and that it was satisfactory to find we should pursue it together.

I have failed in my attempts to see the Ambassador, since the article published in the official paper of St. Petersburgh was known here; but the first dragoman of the Russian Embassy, whom I met at the Porte, told me that the Ambassador had been most anxious to explain that it was not to be understood in the manner in which it seemed to be taken here. It was, in fact, to be looked upon as only addressed to the Russian public.

I said it was needless to inquire to whom it was addressed, the question being as to the effects and consequences to be expected from it.

I asked M. Onou to tell his Ambassador that after the conversation which I had had with him only a few days ago, it was a disappointment to find his Government holding a language so unlike that which might have been expected, and if his tone to the Porte was to be that adopted at St. Petersburgh, mine must necessarily be very unlike his.

Her Majesty's Government were desirous that the insurrection should be brought to an end by the independent action of the Porte, while the Russian Government, on the contrary, held language of which the effect, whatever the intention might be, would necessarily be to raise the hopes of the insurgents, and diminish the chances of their being satisfied with the concessions which the Porte is showing itself willing to make to them.

M. Onou said that the Ambassador greatly regretted the publication, and wished to do all in his power to prevent ill consequences resulting from it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 480.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 189. Secret and Confidential.)

My Lord, *Athens, November 12, 1875.*

ALTHOUGH your Lordship may have received similar information from Her Majesty's Agent at Belgrade, I think it worth while to forward to you the accompanying translation of an interesting report from the Greek Consul-General at that place to his Government, relative to the proceedings of General Soumarikoff on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Servia, and to the conduct and language of M. Karskoff, the resident Russian Agent.

As this report has been shown to me in strict confidence, I must ask your Lordship to be so good as to receive it upon the same terms.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure in No. 480.

M. Doscas to the Hellenic Minister for Foreign Affairs.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre, *Belgrade, October 12, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that on the eve of the wedding of the Prince an anonymous letter was sent to the Aide-de-camp of the Prince, General Zichon, informing him that an attempt to assassinate the Prince would be made on the day of the celebration of the marriage. The Prince, informed of the contents of this letter, was so discouraged that he thought of putting off his wedding. A Privy Council, however, met at the Palace, at which were present the Russian Envoy, General Soumarokoff and the Ministers. The Prince was encouraged, and the marriage was performed the next day, several measures having been previously taken by the police. After this event the Envoy of the Russian Emperor, General Soumarokoff, instead of leaving on the next day, as had been decided, put off his departure for six days, during which he held continuous telegraphic communications with St. Petersburgh and Constantinople, the result of which, I have been assured by the British Consul-General in person, are as follows:—

The Prince, in a moment of utmost despair, spontaneously solicited the paternal protection of the Emperor Alexander. General Soumarokoff on this required from him a guarantee for his faithful and determined adherence to Russian policy, in which case he would promise the Prince not only the Emperor's paternal protection and support, but

also assured him that his Throne would be maintained to the advantage of Servia, and that he would be placed in a much higher position than that of the Prince of Montenegro, and, in case of a momentary success of the enemy of Servia, which might oblige him to abandon Servia, he would be received into Russia, where he would receive pecuniary assistance until the Russian Government were enabled to secure his return. The consequence of all this was that the Prince handed to General Soumarokoff an autograph letter addressed to the Emperor.

After this proceeding the said Envoy added that communications had been exchanged between St. Petersburgh and the Court of Vienna, in which it was shown that, as the Prince had endangered his Throne through his decision to observe the wishes imposed upon him by the Powers not to support the insurrection in the Herzegovina; should Servia, however, oppose herself using violence and encouraging an insurrectional spirit, it would be well under such a necessity for Austria to restore order in Servia, and, to support him on his Throne, to make use of armed forces. To this opinion gave rise the personal attention paid by the Prince to General Soumarokoff and to the Russian Diplomatic Agent, M. Kartzoff, who daily calls at the Palace and has private interviews with the Prince. As far as all other foreign Political Agents here know, the Prince at present is the faithful executor of the instructions of this Russian Diplomatic Agent; and now that the entire Servian policy is under this exclusive direction, General Soumarokoff only left yesterday. During his stay here he visited the fort, the soldiers, the arsenal, and minutely observed the different arms, and also assisted at the sittings of the Chambers.

This manifest influence of Russia in the Servian capital, and the servile submission of the Prince, have been assumed by his enemies as fresh arms to augment the hatred of the Servian youths, the friends of war, against the Prince.

The steps of the Russian Government have been apparently exposed to the Austrian and German Courts, for lately they have given instructions to their Agents here to be on good terms with, and follow the same course of policy as that adopted by the Russian Agent.

Already Russia has in her hands the entire Eastern policy; Ignatiew disposing at will things at Constantinople, Kartzoff in Servia, and, as far as Montenegro is concerned, it has from the very beginning, as it now is, been under the direct influence of Russia.

The same British Agent, in our confidential interview, told me that he had communicated all this to the Ambassador of his Government at Constantinople, and that he had received from him a reply by telegraph to the effect that, though late events bore a somewhat serious character, still as they did not tend to the disturbance of peace, he considered it necessary to recommend to him to be attentive as to what passes until events should prove it advisable to furnish him with additional instructions.

From a trustworthy source, I am informed that the Russian Agent here, though, on the one hand, he would appear to advise the Servians to maintain the peace, and to refrain from supporting the insurrection in the Herzegovina; on the other hand, secretly, he engages the Servian Government not to delay the acquisition of guns and arms of the last invention, such as those with which the army on the frontier is provided, and to hasten their military preparations. Meanwhile, the Austrian Agent appears earnestly engaged in advocating the tranquillity of Servia. Not only does he advise this, but even goes so far as to threat, should Servia wish to disturb the peace; but the Russian Agent, on the contrary, is openly working to prepare for next spring tumultuous scenes.

Notwithstanding the personal endeavours of the Prince, the disposition of the Deputies has in no wise changed, as is manifest from the now resumed sittings of the Chamber.

Four days ago, the Minister for Foreign Affairs called upon the Agent of the five Protecting Powers to communicate to them that the military authorities on the frontier had announced to the Government, by telegraph, that a body of 1,200 irregular Ottoman soldiers had entered, from Busins, the Servian territory, and had besieged two villages which they plundered; that the vanguard had repulsed them, and that the Servian Government, on the reception of this news, hastened to order to the frontier military forces to repulse by arms a repetition of the violation of the frontiers, but to be careful not to pass the frontier line. The Minister added that the repetition of such an act on the part of the Ottomans would greatly irritate the Servian nation, and, in such a case, the Servian Government would be unable to guarantee their ability to maintain order in the country, and requested the foreign agents to communicate this to their respective Governments, and to their Ambassadors at Constantinople.

The Austrian Agent left yesterday for Vienna; he told me he would return in

eight days; so has the English Agent left, but only goes as far as Basias, and will be absent only two days.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. DOSKOS.

No. 481.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 380. Secret and Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, November 12, 1875.*

RASCHID PASHA, having presented to-day his letters of recall to the Emperor, called afterwards at the Embassy to take leave of me, before proceeding to Constantinople.

As he had also seen Count Andrassy in the course of the morning, I asked whether his Excellency had communicated to him the opinions of the Austro-Hungarian Government as to the measures which the Porte should adopt with a view to the pacification of the Turkish insurgent provinces.

Raschid Pasha said that he had every reason to be satisfied with the moderate and friendly language Count Andrassy had held to him on the subject; but his Excellency had confined himself to speaking of the arrangements which should be made to prepare for the return of the refugees, observing that immediate precautions should be taken to ensure their safety, and to provide for their maintenance until next harvest, while timber should be given to them for repairing and rebuilding their houses, and seed corn supplied to them in spring, and his Excellency promised that, as soon as the Austrian-Hungarian Government were satisfied that the measures he had mentioned would be carried out, they would oblige the refugees to return.

Raschid Pasha said that, after assuring his Excellency that the Porte would afford every possible facility for the re-establishment of the refugees in their homes, he inquired whether the Austrian Government had any further suggestions to offer, or proposals to make, with a view to the maintenance of tranquillity in the provinces. Count Andrassy, however, declined to speak of the reforms in their administration, which he might consider necessary to relieve the Christian population from the grievances of which they complained, as he was obliged to treat that question in concert with Russia and Germany; and, observing that Russia appeared disinclined to state her views upon it, he expressed some distrust of that reticence, as not showing a sincere wish for a satisfactory arrangement of the present difficulties of the Turkish Government.

I said that, whatever the Northern Governments might eventually recommend, it appeared to me that the Porte would do much to ensure the maintenance of tranquillity, by disarming the Mussulman as well as the Christian population of the provinces, and by employing regular troops alone for the preservation of order and the protection of the authorities. His Excellency said that the Emperor had expressed a similar opinion to him, and had deprecated the employment of Bashi-Bozouks or irregular troops, on whose discipline no dependence could be placed.

From his Excellency's language on the points which I have mentioned, and on the question generally, I believe that he is going to Constantinople with the best intentions, and it is to be hoped that he may have the courage and firmness necessary for carrying them out.

He will have another interview with Count Andrassy before his departure, at which he expects his Excellency to explain more fully his views on the question now occupying the attention of the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 482.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 383. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Buda-Pesth, November 16, 1875.*

AFTER receiving your Lordship's telegrams yesterday, I mentioned to Count Andrassy that you had heard from Constantinople that he seemed desirous of the French occupation of Syria being adopted as a precedent in the Bosnian question, and that Austria should

occupy the country on the part of the guaranteeing Powers. His Excellency expressed some surprise at such a wish being attributed to him, and, as I objected to giving him my authority for the report, he said, "If it came from General Ignatiew, I can only say that it is untrue;" adding, with some excitement, "It is terrible to have to deal with such a man."

I then said that your Lordship had also learnt from Sir Henry Elliot that he hoped the Porte would not object to communicate to foreign Powers, if its dignity were duly cared for, the concessions which it might be induced to grant to the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

His Excellency replied that he was glad to hear this, but that, though he had every wish to protect the dignity of the Porte, the circumstances would not admit of her being too susceptible on that point; as, if the insurrection was not entirely suppressed and the country settled and reorganized before the spring, it might be impossible then to prevent very serious complications.

His Excellency was probably thus expressing a sincere conviction; but his observations in my private conversations with him are sometimes of a more optimist character, as, for instance, in speaking of Mr. Disraeli's recent speech at the Mansion House, he said the Prime Minister took too gloomy a view of the Bosnian question, as he himself could not see any probability of its causing complications dangerous to the peace of Europe; and, as I hinted that, in certain eventualities, it might possibly afford Russia a pretext for extending again her Bessarabian frontier to the Danube, he answered that he could not see any connection between the questions.

His Excellency has become more reserved since I first knew him in his remarks upon public affairs, and it is only by occasional observations in frequent private conversations with him that I can form any opinion upon his views with respect to the Bosnian question. I may state, however, that two days ago, in alluding to the country being misgoverned, he said it would be equally so if it were made independent, and, on my saying to him yesterday that at Vienna he was believed to be occupied here in drawing up a constitution for the Turkish insurgent provinces, he answered that the idea was entirely new to him, and that he would certainly not undertake such a task. I rejoined that I presumed, however, my informants were not wrong in believing him to be occupied in preparing a draft of the "règlement"—a word used by Reschid Pasha in speaking to me on the subject—according to which the administration of the provinces is to be reorganized; but he adroitly avoided giving me a direct answer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 483.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 386. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Buda-Pesth, November 17, 1875.*

WITH reference to my confidential despatches, Nos. 364 of the 1st instant, and 369 of the 3rd instant, in which I referred to a report of M. de Nowikow, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, having incurred the disapproval of the Emperor Alexander, in consequence of the representations of General Ignatiew, I understand that M. de Nowikow, having subsequently sent one of his secretaries to Vevay to communicate with Prince Gortchakow, has expressed, since this gentleman's return, entire confidence in his own position; and has spoken with satisfaction of Prince Gortchakow being about to return to St. Petersburgh, and to make his influence felt in the policy of Russia in the East.

These incidents, though apparently of a mere personal character, may perhaps throw some light on what has been, and is going on here. General Ignatiew has informed Sir Henry Elliot that Count Andrassy had made proposals to the Emperor Alexander, which it was impossible for His Majesty to adopt. They were probably, however, either supported by, or communicated to the Emperor, by M. de Nowikow, as his Excellency's Secretary of Embassy arrived at Livadia simultaneously with General Ignatiew; and while General Ignatiew is said to have boasted that he had destroyed M. de Nowikow's influence with the Emperor, I know that M. de Nowikow expressed here a conviction that he was a ruined man.

It may be, therefore, that the Emperor Alexander's objections to Count Andrassy's proposals, whatever they may have been, have been removed by Prince Gortchakow, and that His Highness himself may have some hope of bringing forward again a scheme, of which he was the author some years ago, for granting administrative independence to the

Christian subjects of Turkey. I have asked Count Andrassy whether he is acquainted with the Memorandum in which this scheme was developed, and in answering that he had it with him, he did not appear to think favourably of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 484.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 387. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, November 18, 1875.*

ALTHOUGH Raschid Pasha has proceeded to his new post at Constantinople apparently aware of the influence which the present state of affairs in Bosnia and the Herzegovina may have on the interests of the Turkish Empire, his appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs is far from being considered here a judicious one, as he is suffering from physical debility, which must impair to some degree his mental powers and moral energy.

His Excellency, according to his own statement, is only in his 45th or 46th year, but he has the appearance of an infirm old man, and as he cannot carry on a conversation for a few minutes without frequent yawns, the fears entertained here may not be unfounded, that he will not be equal to the duties of a Turkish Minister in the present critical position of his country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 485.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 390. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, November 18, 1875.*

IN a conversation which I had yesterday evening with Count Andrassy, I said that as Russia might eventually propose that the Herzegovina question should be treated in common by the six Great Powers, and as a Conference upon it at Constantinople would be practically placing a preponderating influence in the hands of General Ignatiew, it appeared to me that his Excellency would act wisely if he acquainted me with his own opinions upon the present state of things in the insurgent provinces, and as to the prospect of a satisfactory arrangement for their future administration being effected during the winter.

Count Andrassy said that the delay in coming to an understanding with Russia had hitherto been occasioned by the Emperor Alexander residing at Livadia and Prince Gortchakow in Switzerland; by Baron Jomini directing the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at St. Petersburgh, and by General Ignatiew acting mischievously at Constantinople. This observation had already been made to me some days previously by M. de Hofmann, with the addition, however, omitted by his Excellency, "while Count Andrassy is at Pesth, and I am here."

Count Andrassy further said that the opinions of Russia appeared also to have undergone a change, as Baron Jomini announced in the newspapers a warm approval of the Trade on its first appearance; but subsequently having found that he had thus given dissatisfaction to the Russian friends of the Shavs, he inserted in the "Official Gazette" the article which has created so much discussion throughout Europe, and which cannot fail to have encouraged the insurgent Chiefs to endeavour to keep the insurrection alive throughout the winter. Articles in the English press and imprudent action on the part of members of the Consular Commission have tended also, he said, to induce them to persevere; and he regretted that M. de Bassich, the Austrian Delegate, had been unnecessarily active in devising impracticable schemes for the reorganization of the country, having not only suggested the expediency of a foreign intervention—an eventuality which he had, his Excellency believed, induced even Her Majesty's Consul to

represent as possibly necessary—but had proposed that a Bosnian army should be formed composed of Turks and Christians, in proportion to the numbers of the respective populations, and that a Diet should be convoked for settling the affairs of the Provinces between which and the Turkish authorities Count Andrassy presumed that M. Vassich intended himself and his colleagues to act as mediators. On his asking, however, for authority to bring forward these proposals in an official form, he had received positive instructions to confine himself to reporting facts, and to abstain from giving any advice to the Turkish authorities as to the measures which may be necessary for the pacification of the Provinces.

With respect to the future Count Andrassy said that he had entire confidence in the good dispositions of the Russian Government, but that General Ignatiew evidently wished to keep the question open during the winter in order that it might assume more serious proportions in the spring; and to effect this he sent incorrect information to his own Government, and misrepresented his colleagues and their Governments to the Porte.

I observed that in what he had stated to me, he had only spoken of what he seemed to disapprove, but had abstained from adverting to his own views as to how an arrangement might be come to. He answered that some persons looked to the ideal, and others suggested what would be insufficient to meet the difficulties of the situation, while he was of opinion that a practical solution might be found between the two extremes, but as he had not yet been able to satisfy his own mind as to how this could be done, he must reserve any expression of his opinion upon it until he had fully decided what to recommend. He said, however, that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been to consider the Porte the best judge of its own interests in its relations with its Christian subjects, but that he cannot concur in this view, and that, on the contrary, what is now occurring proves, in his opinion, that it is absolutely necessary for the Turkish Government to act hereafter on principles which will meet with the general approval of Europe; and it is also, he said, of imperative importance to the interests of Austria, that the question should be settled during the winter, as otherwise the refugees she is now maintaining will return to the provinces in spring as insurgents, and it is impossible to foresee the extent of the complications which may ensue.

I may take this opportunity of mentioning that articles have appeared lately from time to time in provincial newspapers, which I have been unable to reconcile with the language of the Foreign Office, apparently preparing the public mind for an Austrian military occupation of Turkish provinces. Perhaps, however, they may be accounted for by what Count Andrassy has said of the suggestion of M. de Bassich, which were probably known to some of his friends and correspondents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 486.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, November 22.)

Sir, *Buda-Pesth, November 13, 1875.*

A HUNGARIAN friend of mine, who formerly passed many years at Constantinople, and is well acquainted with most of the Turkish statesmen of the present day, informs me that he was recently visited by an official of the Vienna Foreign Office, who asked him to join a Committee, now sitting at Buda, and consisting of five persons, to whom Count Andrassy has entrusted the task of drawing up a scheme for the future administration of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. My friend states that he questioned his visitor as to the general character of the scheme, and that, having learned its nature, he declined to associate himself with the project, on the ground that he could answer beforehand for its inacceptability by the Porte, and that he had no wish to participate in the responsibility of the ulterior measures which the rejection of the scheme would unavoidably entail.

I asked my friend if he would object to state to me what he knew of the scheme. After requesting me not to make use of his name, he said that, generally, it was a very elaborate, voluminous, but unpractical attempt to organize the administration of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, on the principle of admitting the Christians to an absolute equality with the Mussulmans. To ensure the equitable execution of this principle, it would be proposed to place the Provinces under the direct rule of a Christian Prince, probably the ex-Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose position would be made very independent of the Porte, and who, as an Austrian Archduke, would be amenable to the influence of Vienna.

My friend went on to explain that, in his opinion, the absolute want of capable men among the Christian population would make it impossible to organize a working administration. Out of a population in which the Christians are in a proportion of nearly three to one, the Mussulman minority alone contains the elements of administrative capacity; and, as the Catholic Christians detest the Greeks as cordially as the latter do the Mohammedans, there is, in his opinion, no possibility of a satisfactory adjustment, nor any hope of reconciling such deep-rooted animosities. The Porte would, he felt sure, reject the scheme, and material intervention would follow. But such an intervention would equally be the consequence of placing an Austrian Archduke at the head of affairs. In fact, said he, the eventual annexation of Bosnia by Austro-Hungary is inevitable.

I objected that the idea of such an annexation was abhorrent to the Hungarian Government and to public opinion throughout the country. But my friend replied that, although that is certainly true at the present moment, the constitution of the Hungarian mind is such that a skilful appeal to the traditions of the past, when Magyar kings were the Suzerains of Bosnia, would readily captivate the popular imagination, and flatter the popular vanity into acquiesence in the enlargement of the Empire. Moreover, said he, you exaggerate the influence both of the Hungarian Government and of the Hungarian Diet. In the direction of foreign policy Count Andrassy is supreme; and if the Emperor consents to an acquisition of territory, it will not be the Governments at Vienna and at Buda-Pesth who will hinder the execution of the undertaking.

I have thought it worth while to report this conversation to your Excellency, because the person whose opinions it records is by no means the idle, random talker of the ordinary Hungarian type, but an accomplished political student and writer. But, beyond expressing my belief in the general accuracy of his information, I do not desire to be understood as adopting in entirety his opinions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 487.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, November 22.)

Sir, *Buda-Pesth, November 16, 1875.*

THE day before yesterday Rashid Pasha and Ali Pasha arrived at Buda-Pesth; and they resumed their journey to Constantinople this morning early, by way of the Danube, intending to stop at Widdin sufficient time to inquire into the state of affairs in Bulgaria.

Rashid Pasha had an interview with Count Andrassy on the afternoon of his arrival. I understand from my colleague, Sermed Effendi, who is on the most intimate terms with the Pasha, that the impression made upon the latter by Count Andrassy's language was, that his Excellency had become somewhat apprehensive of the intentions of Russia, and especially distrustful of General Ignatiew's attitude. Count Andrassy, it seems, spoke strongly upon the danger of a general agitation among the Slav populations along the Danube and the Save; and Rashid Pasha appears to have gathered from him that his Excellency dreads the effect of the recent article in the Russian "Official Gazette" upon the susceptible temperament of the Croats and Slavonians, and the impetus and encouragement it will give to the Panslavist propaganda. Count Andrassy told Rashid Pasha that all that he wanted was that the Sultan should grant equality of rights to all his subjects, placing Christians on the same footing as Mussulmans; in fact, he said, Turkey should treat her Slav subjects as Austria-Hungary does hers of the same nationality, and should satisfy their just aspirations to the same extent.

I asked Sermed Effendi whether the Turkish Minister had endeavoured to extract from Count Andrassy the nature of the proposals and guarantees which the Three Powers intended to submit to the Porte; but it appears that Rashid Pasha, observing that Count Andrassy gave no further hint of what was in preparation, thought it more discreet to abstain from any attempt of the kind.

My Turkish colleague also informs me that Rashid Pasha received yesterday evening from Belgrade a telegram to the effect that M. Christics is going to Cettigné to effect a "reconciliation" between Prince Milan and Prince Nikita, and to concert a plan for the common action of Servia and Montenegro.

I learn from him further, that Rashid Pasha's private advices from Constantinople give him to understand that his nomination was quite the independent act of the Sultan,

and in no way recommended by the Grand Vizier; and that it has been hinted to him that it is by no means improbable that he will—especially if Mahmoud Pasha's illness continues—be shortly called upon to assume the direction of the Government in combination with that of the Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 488.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 546.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 17, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship an official article from the Russian "Official Gazette" on the state of affairs in the Herzegovina.

I have reason to believe that this article has been written with a view to calm the public mind, and to remove any false and disagreeable impressions which the previous Russian official article may have produced at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure in No. 488.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November $\frac{5}{17}$, 1875.

LE "Messager Officiel" public aujourd'hui la note suivante:—

"Les appréhensions qui se sont manifestées dans une certaine partie de la presse Européenne, au sujet des troubles dont l'Herzégovine est le théâtre, ne sont justifiées, ni par la situation politique générale de l'Europe, ni par l'état spécial des affaires dans la presqu'île du Balkan.

"Jamais encore l'Europe ne s'est trouvée dans une situation plus favorable que maintenant pour aplanir pacifiquement et avec succès les difficultés qui peuvent avoir de l'influence sur sa tranquillité.

"Les trois grandes Puissances du Nord s'appliquent, par leurs efforts communs et avec l'aide des autres Gouvernements de l'Europe, à rechercher une solution pacifique des difficultés qui se sont produites dans l'Herzégovine, et personne ne peut penser à troubler la paix ni à se mettre en travers des aspirations pacifiques générales.

"On peut ainsi répéter positivement que, quelque affligeants que soient les troubles actuels de la presqu'île du Balkan, qui ont produit de l'inquiétude en Europe, les efforts réunis des trois Puissances, appuyés par ceux des autres Cabinets Européens, donneront à ces troubles une issue conforme aux aspirations pacifiques de l'époque et qu'en tout cas la paix de l'Europe repose si solidement sur la confiance mutuelle, et sur l'entente des Grandes Puissances, qu'il n'y a à prevoir aucun danger que puisse la troubler."

No. 489.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 22. Political.)
My Lord, *Bosna-Serai, November 12, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the night of the 7th instant the insurgents in the Sandjak of Bilaich burnt a railway bridge and otherwise destroyed a portion of the line between Novi and Priedor, rendering further railway communication impossible.

Information has also been received here of another engagement between the Imperial troops commanded by Fuad Pasha and about 800 insurgents, in the neighbourhood of Tashlidjeh. If official accounts are to be relied on, the latter were completely routed and pursued as far as the River Tara, but, according to information from other sources, the Turkish troops were repulsed with heavy loss.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 490.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 381.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 25, 1875.*

I APPROVE your Excellency communicating to the Porte the telegram from Mr. Brophy, a copy of which is inclosed in your No. 724 of the 4th instant, respecting the outrage committed on the Bulgarians.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 491.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 382.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 25, 1875.*

I APPROVE the language which your Excellency held to Artin Effendi respecting the conditions upon which the Porte might hope for the support of Her Majesty's Embassy, as reported in your despatch No. 739, Confidential, of the 11th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 492.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 383.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 25, 1875.*

WITH reference to your despatch No. 743, I approve your Excellency having communicated a copy of Mr. Brophy's despatch to the Porte, respecting the outrages committed on the Bulgarians by Circassians under the guidance of Turkish zaptiehs, and it would be well that you should urge that such atrocities deserve the severest punishment of all concerned.

No. 493.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.[a]—(Received November 25.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, November 25, 1875.*

AUSTRIAN proposals respecting Herzegovina have arrived and are sent to the Emperor to-day. Baron Jomini informs me that they do not materially differ from those previously submitted, but he thinks that they should be accepted, in order to avoid delay and further discussion between the two Imperial Governments.

No answer can be given until the return here of the Emperor and Prince Gortchakow.

No. 494.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 26.)

(No. 17.)
My Lord, *Mostar, November 15, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot regarding current affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

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[a] Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, and Rome.

Inclosure in No. 494.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, November* 11, 1875.

I HAVE to-day telegraphed to your Excellency as follows:—

"Governor-General left this morning for Trebigné with eight battalions. Shefket Pasha has also gone to Gatzko with six battalions. An effort will be made to drive the insurgents from the districts bordering on Montenegro; also,

"Constant Effendi has been appointed Christian Governor of the half of the Herzegovina which is in revolt. He left with the Governor-General."

This appointment, I hear, has been received with dissatisfaction by some of the native Turks, but not by all. However, it is a step in the right direction, and will show that the Porte is in earnest in endeavouring to do all that is possible to conciliate the Christian population and improve their condition.

I cannot say I have much hope that Raouf Pasha will succeed in putting an end to the revolt, as merely driving the insurgents into Montenegro and Dalmatia will not do it. I have repeatedly explained that the whole difficulty consists in the attitude of Austria and Montenegro. The Porte has accorded all that the insurgents demand or can reasonably expect, and if they do not submit, it is clear that they are the instruments of secret political intrigues.

From doctors, apothecaries, contractors, and all who come from the places where the troops are stationed, there is but one statement, and that is that the soldiers are in the most miserable plight. They have no proper food, no sufficient covering. They are in rags; half of them are sick, and all quite demoralized. This does not look as if they had been gaining victories. Even here the number of sickly-looking soldiers is remarkable.

I saw Server Pasha the day before yesterday. He seems to see everything in a favourable light. He makes also the most astonishing statements, quite at variance with what I hear on every hand, and which I cannot help thinking to be the truth. Alluding to the affair of Popovopolie, he again declared that it was an entire fabrication invented by designing intrigues, and said that Danish Effendi had just reported it as such, and that the idiot said to have been murdered was alive at this moment.

The same evening I received a letter from Mr. Hillman, the "Times" correspondent now at Ragusa, who says, "The Government at Constantinople having ordered Danish Effendi to make an inquiry into the affair of Popovo, he has found that all my facts were amply substantiated, though he reports only six murders instead of seven. Danish proposed to return with them to their villages, rebuild their houses, if destroyed, and give them food for three or four months, with a guard of regulars, &c." One of the women replied that they would accept if the seven Powers all guaranteed the execution of his promises.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 491*.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 28.)

(No. 310.)
My Lord, *Rome, November* 23, 1875.

M. VISCONTI VENOSTA, whom I saw this morning, professes to be without any news respecting the affairs of Herzegovina.

The only fresh incident, he said, which had come to his knowledge was the communication made by the Porte to the Representatives at Constantinople of its intention to organise a local militia for the suppression of the insurrection. His Excellency had not, he said, made any reply to this communication, but so far from thinking well of it as a means for pacifying the Province, he seems to consider it not unlikely to turn out a not unimportant additional element for the continuance of the civil war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 495.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 350. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November* 22, 1875.

IN a conversation I had with Baron Jomini on the 19th instant, I asked his Excellency whether I was correct in inferring from his previous communication, that there existed an identity of views between the Russian and Austrian Cabinets, in regard to the general nature of the reforms to restore peace in the Herzegovina and to insure the future good government of that province; but that the two Governments differed in opinion as to the mode of their submission to the Porte and to the nature of the guarantees required for their strict execution.

Baron Jomini fully confirmed the correctness of this view, as I had the honour to report to your Lordship in my telegram of the 16th instant.

His Excellency stated that the proposals of Count Andrassy had not yet reached him; on their arrival here they would be forwarded to Livadia, and ten days or more would elapse before he could receive His Majesty's orders respecting them.

It was probable therefore that no decision would be taken on them till the return of Prince Gortchakow, who was expected here on the 30th instant.

In referring to the previous proposals of Count Andrassy, his Excellency observed that there were two points on which objections would be raised by the Porte, and which it would be still more difficult for the Porte to assent to, if seemingly imposed by external pressure.

These points were:—1st, the placing of the two Confessions—the Turks and Christians—on a footing of perfect equality; and, 2nd, the purchase by the State of the feudal rights (corvées) now existing in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

With regard to the former, Baron Jomini said, it would be very different for the Sultan, however willing he might be, to set aside, and thus perhaps alienate the ruling Turkish element in those provinces, and to dispossess of power that class which had ever been the loyal and devoted supporters of his authority and Throne. Moreover, fears were entertained that, if this concession were granted under the pressure of foreign intervention, it would act as a premium for rebellion in other provinces of the Empire.

His Excellency further remarked that the Sultan was not only a temporal but a spiritual Sovereign, and it was difficult to say, in the present fanatic state of Turkey, how far he could with safety risk to infringe the laws of the Koran in the Government of his Empire.

These were the difficulties and dangers foreseen by General Ignatiew, and which, he must admit, were not without foundation, and these difficulties, great in themselves, would be insurmountable if foreign coercion should be exercised.

As regards the second point, Baron Jomini observed that in the present state of the Turkish finances it was doubtful whether it would be possible for the State to pay for the redemption of those feudal statutes which now weighed on the Christian population. This was a financial question of some weight and importance at the present moment to Turkey, although not one of insurmountable difficulty.

Baron Jomini said that the whole system of administration would require to be remodelled, and while the Sultan and his Government were deeply impressed with the necessity and urgency of serious reforms, they could not safely be imposed on Turkey in its present state, or without serious risk to the internal tranquillity of the whole Empire.

They could alone be introduced by the initiative of the Sultan and his Government, gradually, and with caution, under the constant and conciliatory pressure of united Europe.

Baron Jomini cursorily referred to certain measures which Count Andrassy had in view, in case the Porte should decline the proposals submitted by the European Powers. These were—

(1). To close the Porte of Klek; (2) to restrain no longer Montenegro and Servia from taking part with the insurgents, and (3) to prevent the return of the refugee population to their homes.

Baron Jomini observed that General Ignatiew was opposed to this line of policy towards Turkey, as he was convinced that it would not be attended with any successful result.

The Sultan, his Excellency said, repudiated (avait en horreur) all foreign interference in the internal affairs of his Empire, and would certainly reject proposals submitted to

him under external pressure and menace. Such a course, in the opinion of General Ignatiew, would defeat the common aim in view, and would undoubtedly increase rather than mitigate the difficulties and dangers of the situation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 496.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 351.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 23, 1875.*

A TELEGRAM from London giving a précis of an article from the "Observer," appeared in the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of this morning, accompanied by a leading article, of which I have the honour to annex copies.

Your Lordship will see that this article views the sensational intelligence of the "Observer" as of a "speculative" tendency, and it proceeds to prove that the fears entertained of "hostilities between the Northern Powers and Turkey" are groundless, inasmuch as those Powers unceasingly affirm that the influence to be brought to bear on Turkey must be the action of all the Cabinets, and that this action has no other aim but to offer the greatest possible guarantee for the maintenance of peace.

The "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" being the organ of the Imperial Foreign Office, it may be presumed that this article—although not strictly official—receives its inspiration from official sources.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 496.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November $\frac{11}{23}$, 1875.

Londres, Dimanche, 21 Novembre, au soir.

"L'OBSERVER" dit que dans le cas où des hostilités se produiraient entre la Turquie et les Puissances du Nord, les intérêts de l'Angleterre l'empêcheraient de demeurer spectatrice passive de la lutte. Si l'envoi d'un ultimatum Autrichien ou Russo-Autrichien à la Turquie était accompagné d'une occupation étrangère de l'Herzégovine, l'Angleterre devrait immédiatement envoyer une flotte à Constantinople, en faisant aux deux Puissances la déclaration que la Grande Bretagne, tout en gardant la neutralité dans la lutte, se réserve le droit d'intervenir afin de sauvegarder ses intérêts vitaux comme Puissance Maritime.

Inclosure 2 in No. 496.

Extract from the "Journal de St. Pétersbourg" of November $\frac{11}{23}$, 1875.

Il est de l'essence de la presse quotidienne de ne pas s'occuper seulement des faits accomplis, mais de se livrer encore à des spéculations plus ou moins raisonnées sur les chances de l'avenir. La valeur de ces tentatives en vue de percer les nuages qui couvrent les choses futures est naturellement toute relative; elle dépend d'une foule de circonstances et est en général d'autant moins grande que l'auteur bâtit sur des hypothèses plus vagues au lieu de s'appuyer sur des faits. La plupart du temps ces spéculations passeraient d'ailleurs inaperçues si le télégraphe ne se mettait pas à en rehausser la portée en les colportant au loin, dans son langage concis et souvent impropre à rendre les nuances.

C'est probablement ce qui vient d'arriver à un article de l'*Observer* qu'une dépêche résume aujourd'hui. La rédaction de la feuille Anglaise a employé sa journée de dimanche à méditer sur la question de savoir ce que pourrait bien faire l'Angleterre dans le cas où des hostilités se produiraient entre la Turquie et les Puissances du Nord, et dans cette autre éventualité où l'envoi d'un ultimatum Autrichien ou Russo-Autrichien à la Turquie serait accompagné d'une occupation étrangère de l'Herzégovine,—et notre confrère est arrivé à ce résultat de ses méditations: que dans le premier cas "les intérêts de l'Angleterre l'empêcheraient de demeurer spectatrice passive de la lutte"—et que dans la seconde éventualité "l'Angleterre devrait immédiatement envoyer une flotte à Constantinople, en faisant aux deux Puissances la déclaration que la Grande Bretagne, tout en gardant la neutralité dans la lutte, se réserve le droit d'intervenir afin de sauvegarder ses intérêts vitaux comme Puissance Maritime."

Que tout cela soit bien dit et jusqu'à un certain point intéressant à savoir, nous ne le contestons pas, mais il eût été mille fois plus intéressant d'apprendre si, dans l'opinion de "l'Observer," l'une ou l'autre de ces éventualités a ou non quelque chance de se réaliser. C'est là ce que le télégraphe ne nous dit pas; et nous en sommes réduits à nous évertuer contre une fantaisie dominicale d'un écrivain Anglais,—sans pouvoir cependant nous dissimuler que pour bien des lecteurs ce télégramme aura l'air de contenir quelque chose de sérieux; d'aucuns diront une menace.

"De loin c'est quelque chose et de près ce n'est rien."

Ce n'est rien, car, à examiner la situation telle qu'elle est en réalité il n'y a rien de plus étrange que de parler "d'hostilités entre les Puissances du Nord et la Turquie," quand ces Puissances ne cessent de constater que l'action à exercer en Turquie doit être le fait de tous les Cabinets; que cette action a pour but d'offrir à la paix la plus grande garantie possible et quand on répète sur tous les tons que la paix n'a jamais été assise sur des bases aussi solides qu'en ce moment.

De ce que nous venons de dire de la première hypothèse, on peut juger de la valeur de la seconde, qui suppose les Gouvernements de Russie et d'Autriche-Hongrie adressant un ultimatum à la Turquie et occupant en même temps ou faisant occuper l'Herzégovine. Nous nous étonnons bien un peu que pour ce dernier cas "l'Observer" se soit contenté de nous montrer en perspective la flotte Britannique dans les Dardanelles; car enfin une action isolée Austro-Russe ferait supposer une divergence de vue avec les autres Cours et il en coûtait si peu à "l'Observer" de faire escorter alors les navires Britanniques par les escadres réunies de la France, de l'Allemagne, et de l'Italie.

Encore un coup, il manque aux énonciations de la feuille Anglaise la première et la plus élémentaire condition qui puisse la faire prendre tant soit peu au sérieux: la vraisemblance. Aussi nous abstiendrons-nous de démontrer plus longuement ce que nous avons dit en commençant: que ces énonciations sont le produit d'une spéculation purement académique et nous n'irons même pas rechercher si leur transmission par le télégraphe n'avait pas eu en vue un autre genre de "spéculation," celle-là moins inoffensive et du caractère de celles que nous avons signalées ces jours derniers à plusieurs reprises.

No. 497.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 352. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 23, 1875.*

WITH reference to Sir A. Buchanan's telegram, recorded in your Lordship's despatch to me No. 341 of November 15, in which his Excellency states that M. de Novikoff had sent a Secretary to Vevey to communicate with Prince Gortchakow, I learn from Baron Jomini that the Secretary referred to was sent from here to Vienna with instructions to M. de Novikoff, embodying the objections of the Emperor of Russia to the proposals which Count Andrassy had submitted for the pacification of the Herzegovina, and was the bearer of copies of the Russian despatches forwarded to Prince Gortchakow by Baron Jomini.

His Excellency further informed me that the approval of Prince Gortchakow referred to the courteous language in which the Russian objections had been expressed in the despatch to M. de Novikoff, and in no way to his Highness's approval of the proposals of Count Andrassy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 498.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 356. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 24, 1875.*

ON calling yesterday evening on Baron Jomini I met Baron Languenau, the Austrian Ambassador, who had returned here on the previous day.

Baron Jomini informed me that he had just received from his Excellency the fresh proposals on the Herzegovina affairs which Count Andrassy had charged him to submit to the Imperial Government.

These proposals Baron Jomini said, although slightly modified, did not materially differ from those previously forwarded to the Emperor of Russia at Livadia.

They rested on the same basis; namely, the establishment of a perfect social and religious equality of the Christian and Turkish population, and the introduction of serious reforms in the whole administration of the Province.

Baron Jomini did not enter into further details of Count Andrassy's proposals, nor did his Excellency state in what form their acceptance by the Porte would be required as a guarantee for their strict fulfilment, but I imagine that the Porte will be expected to notify their acceptance formally to the several European Powers, and in such a manner as would enable the European Powers to watch over and require their faithful execution.

Baron Jomini said that he should forward these proposals to the Emperor at Livadia on Thursday the 25th instant, but that no answer could be given till His Majesty's arrival here on the 5th proximo, when Prince Gortchakow will also have returned to St. Petersburgh.

Baron Jomini expressed his opinion that in all probability these proposals would be accepted by the Emperor, in order to preserve the community of action between the two Governments, and to close a discussion which was not likely to lead to any practical result.

As soon as the two Imperial Governments are agreed in concert with the Cabinet of Berlin, the proposals will be formally submitted to the Cabinets of London, Paris, and Rome for their approval and co-operation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 499.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 358. Most Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 24, 1875.*

I TOOK an opportunity lately, in conversation with Baron Jomini, to inquire casually whether he had any reason to suppose that Count Andrassy entertained any idea of detaching the Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and placing them under the direct rule of a Christian Prince, or of an eventual military occupation by Austria of those Provinces.

Baron Jomini at once expressed his firm conviction that no such idea was entertained by Count Andrassy. He expressed in the strongest manner the entire confidence placed by the Emperor of Russia and Prince Gortchakow in the honesty of Count Andrassy, who was a perfect gentleman in every sense of the word.

Baron Jomini added that Austria could never favour any scheme for establishing an independent Slav State on her frontier, which might serve as an attraction for her Slav populations. Neither could an Austrian military occupation be conformable with the interests of Austria, for it might lead, if not to European difficulties, at least to internal commotion among her Slav frontier subjects.

Baron Jomini said that all Count Andrassy wished and required was the establishment of peace and order in the Turkish provinces bordering her States, and the maintenance of the territorial *status quo*.

I may take this opportunity, in reference to the reported mutual distrust of Austria and Russia, to state to your Lordship that I do not observe a symptom of it, either as regards the sentiments of the two Emperors or their Governments. On the contrary, the most perfect confidence and cordiality exists between the Emperor Alexander and the Emperor Franz Josef; and, so long as Count Andrassy remains at the head of affairs in Austria-Hungary, it is not probable that any change will take place in the existing intimacy between the two Imperial Governments.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 500.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 359. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, November 24, 1875.*

BARON JOMINI, in referring to General Ignatiew's audience of the Sultan, stated to me that it was an incident of remarkable importance. On that occasion, General Ignatiew had laid before the Sultan the various grievances which had given occasion to the insurrection in the Herzegovina, and the corrupt and vexatious system of the administration of that Province. His Majesty expressed his deep concern for the evils which the Ambassador had described, and then exposed to his Excellency the difficulties of his position. He expressed his sincere desire for the introduction of such reforms as were compatible with the maintenance of his sovereign authority, and stated that he had equally at heart the happiness and welfare of his Christian and Turkish subjects. His Majesty referred to any foreign interference in the internal affairs of his Empire, as being the first step towards the destruction of the independence, and as leading to the dissolution of the Empire. He could not accept any proposals bearing such a character, for, "ce serait me suicider," said His Majesty, "et je préfère mourir sur mon Trône."

Baron Jomini stated that the impression made on the Sultan by General Ignatiew had produced two good results, namely, the immediate withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the Servian frontier, and the appointment of a Christian Vice-Governor in the Herzegovina.

General Ignatiew had also reported that Mahmoud Pâsha, the Grand Vizier, had received direct orders from the Sultan to prepare a code of such reforms as would fully satisfy the just requirements of his Christian subjects, and was seriously occupied in carrying out His Majesty's orders.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 501.

Raschid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, November 29.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 27 Novembre, 1875.*

POUR faire suite au télégramme de mon Département en date du 16 Novembre, je viens vous signaler de nouveaux faits télégraphiés par son Excellence Réouf Pacha et relatifs à la participation ouverte des Monténégrins à l'insurrection. Une bande considérable, composée de huit à dix mille Monténégrins, ayant pour Chefs Bjoloi, Hoviteh, Popemile, Tehour Cholanitch, Tehour Serpavitch, Omak Pétrovitch, Lazare et autres, s'est avancée jusqu'à Piva, et s'étant jointe à d'autres bandes d'insurgés, a cerné les quelques bataillons Impériaux cantonnés sur ce point dans un fortin. Des troupes ont dû être expédiées pour les dégager. Les provisions, les munitions et les bêtes de somme des bandes se trouvant à Piva sont réunies à Graha. Les expéditions s'effectuent avec facilité et régularité. En outre, on provoque et on force même l'émigration des familles Herzégoviniennes sur le territoire du Monténégro; et, en présence de ces encouragements et agressions continuels, les efforts de nos autorités tendants à ramener l'ordre, deviennent en partie infructueux. Enfin, les Monténégrins viennent de recevoir de nouveau de Trieste des fusils et autres armes de précision.

En vous transmettant ces détails, qui semblent caractériser l'attitude de Monténégro vis-à-vis de l'insurrection de l'Herzégovine, je vous prie de les soumettre, sans en faire l'objet de démarches officielles, à l'appréciation équitable de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

No. 502.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 30.)

(No. 16. Political.)

My Lord, *Canea, Crete, November* 12, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I have written to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot on the causes productive of discontent in Crete.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

Inclosure in No. 502.

Consul Sandwith to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Canea, Crete, November* 11, 1875.

IT is again my duty to address your Excellency on the state of affairs in Crete. The discontent of the inhabitants is becoming more general, and it is a grave symptom that people are beginning to whisper that spring may witness the outbreak of disturbances in the island.

Without attaching too much importance to these rumours, causes are not wanting which contribute to produce the discontent I speak of, and to fill people with apprehensions with regard to a near future.

In the first place, there is the unaccountable delay on the part of the authorities in carrying out the provisions of the late Iradé ordering the restitution of the 2½ per cent. of extra tithes. In this district and in those of Rethymo and Candia, comprising two-thirds of the island, no steps are being taken in the matter; and as I had the honour to report in my despatch of the 30th ultimo, a number of Christian peasants were imprisoned at the former town because they were unable to pay all the arrears of the previous year, the authorities declining to deduct from that account the 2½ per cent. which they still detain from this year's tithes, alleging that the money is required to be paid into the Agricultural Bank. Now, nobody believes that the Bank will ever receive this money, which amounts to about 30,000*l.* sterling, and the order is looked upon as a mere expedient for evading its payment to its rightful owners, the original contributers. This feeling, coupled with the impolitic delay in restoring the grain, the produce of this year's extra tithes, explains why the people resisted the incessant appeals made for their signatures to the addresses of thanks got up by the Governor.

In the second place, the unwillingness of the Government to allow the Christians to complete the tenement which they had begun to build within the sacred precints of the Church of the Virgin at Calyvia, in spite of the special sanction for that undertaking accorded them in the late Iradé, has been productive of angry feelings which have more than once threatened to bring them into collision with the rural police. The British Vice-Consul in Candia informs me that if the local authorities do not within a few days ratify the promise made in the Iradé on this subject, the Christians intend to take the law into their own hands, and roof the structure in the night-time.

Thirdly, a similar and even grosser instance of fanaticism has been reported to me by the English Agent in Rethymo, and confirmed from other sources. At the village of Pyrgé, near that town, is a church dedicated to St. George, which, like many other sacred edifices in Crete, still retains the traces of the violence which characterized the last Insurrection, being destitute of doors and windows. For some time, the inhabitants have solicited the Government for permission to restore their Church, but their wishes have been successfully opposed by a neighbouring Mussulman proprietor who pretends to own the land up to the door of the church; and, to show his contempt for the feelings of his Christian neighbours, has latterly made use of the Church for a sheep fold. When the feast of the patron saint came round, the Christians, according to their annual custom, prepared to hold service there, and sent a man to clean out the edifice, who carried the manure to a field of his own not far off. The Mussulman proprietor above referred to, whether with the connivance of the local authorities or not, I cannot say, procured the services of a zaptié, and forced the peasant to carry back the dung and throw it into the Church. No satisfaction has been obtained for

this insult, though the inhabitants sent a deputation to my Russian colleague to solicit his good offices on their behalf; but hitherto his representations have not met with success. The town of Rethymo itself is a hot-bed of fanaticism, and has earned a disgraceful pre-eminence for the venality of its Courts of Justice, which amounts to legal anarchy. Constant complaints are there forthcoming of the beating and ill-treatment to which the Christian inhabitants are subjected; and only the other day they witnessed with suppressed indignation the sight of a Mahometan riding into the town, and dragging after him a Christian tied like a sheep by a cord. The acrimony of the social relations of the two creeds in that town is partly explained by the fact that the Mahometan majority, unlike their brethren in Canea and Candia, are the poorer section of the population, and deeply in debt to the Christians; who, from the vicious constitution of the local Courts, are powerless in pressing their claims. The Vali of Crete lately inquired of the Matessarif Pasha of Rethymo why so many complaints reached his ears of suits in the Courts of that town being left undecided, and that functionary alleged as a reason that the Christian Plaintiffs were remiss in pushing their claims, which were in consequence neglected. The true explanation is that the Christians, wearied by the delays and chicanery of the Tribunals, abandon their claims in despair.

Fourthly, the corruption of the Courts of Law, which I have been dwelling on, is, perhaps, the most deeply felt, as it is certainly the most widely spread, of the causes which have brought the Government into discredit with the entire population. If the judicial department is thus in a hopeless state of anarchy, no measures are taken by the Executive to remedy the evils complained of. Samih Pasha, the Vali of Crete, allows things to take their course; never stirs from his palace; and to every complaint has but one answer, that he will inquire into it.

In this unsatisfactory condition of affairs, an incident has occurred at Rethymo, which causes much apprehension among the population of that district. A certain Mussulman, enjoying great influence in the neighbouring district of Mylopotamos, has removed with all his family to Rethymo, bringing his sheep and oxen with him. The migration of the Mohammedan population into the fortified towns has always preceded every insurrection in Crete, and the danger is, lest the other Mohammedans be seized with a panic in seeing this grave step taken by so influential a landowner. The impression seems to prevail in Rethymo that the needy Mussulmans in that town rather desire to excite disturbances, hoping, in the confusion of troublous times, to evade the payment of their debts. I am far from believing that any concerted action is being taken by the Christians to excite an insurrection, or even that any tangible idea of that kind is working in their minds. It is true, and not unnatural, that they follow with the deepest interest the phases of the movement in Herzegovina, and rejoice at the financial and political embarrassments in which the Porte is at present involved. It is now more than ever important that the acts of the Government be dictated by a spirit of impartiality and firmness; but neither the character of the Vali, who is both weak and false, nor the well-known proclivities of the Government ring, whose influence pervades every department of the Administration, offer any guarantees of a wise policy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 503.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 1.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, November* 30, 1875.

SULTAN'S sanction has been given for some very important reforms, the details of which have still to be settled.

Christian sub-governors will be at once appointed, the members of the provincial councils will be elected by the people. The attributes of the courts which administer religious law will be restricted. Christians will be put on an equality with Mussulmans in regard to tenure of property, and everything like serfdom abolished; the police is to be reorganised, and Christians employed; the military exemption tax will no longer be required from children, which pressed on Christians. The Council of State will be abolished. The last mentioned measure is of great importance, and was much called for.

Grand Vizier anticipates much opposition from some of his colleagues, but says

that he is determined to carry out these measures. He has not yet communicated this information to any of my colleagues, which, therefore, for the present (is?) very confidential.

No. 504.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received November 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, November 30, 1875.*

MIDHAT PASHA, who considers that the Grand Vizier goes too far in the reforms reported in my preceding telegram, sent in his resignation, which the Sultan has refused to accept. If he should withdraw persistently he will continue to offer opposition to the measures, and the Grand Vizier in any case loses his most powerful supporter.

No. 505.

Consul Reade to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2.)

(No. 2. Political.)

My Lord, *Rustchuck, November 25, 1875.*

HAVING recently observed in several of the Constantinople papers letters reporting alleged events from this Province, I deemed it my duty to state, by the last post, and in case the Ambassador should see them, that they are almost entirely without foundation.

A few youths, generally about 17 or 18 years of age, and chiefly about Schumla, were, some short time ago, arrested for having been found with seditionary papers in their possession (sent to them, I believe, from the other side of the Danube), and were brought here, but were almost immediately released by the authorities.

Similar arrests have taken place in one or two other quarters, but the authorities here have only deemed it necessary to detain in arrest a few who were found to be encouraging sedition amongst the youths before-mentioned.

I believe that attempts have been made by the Bulgarians in Wallachia to stir up their brothers here against the Government, but the authorities have been so much on the alert, that they have only succeeded in compromising a few, chiefly youths.

At the same time, the Bulgarians are far from content, and are sometimes subjected to treatment that, in many other Provinces, have an effect far different to what it has amongst the pusillanimous Bulgarians, although they are under as corrupt and vicious system of Government as any in the whole Empire.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. READE.

No. 506.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2, 9 A.M.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, December 1, 1875, 11 P.M.*

THE Council of Ministers has approved most of the reforms of which I telegraphed the basis, and is to-day occupied with the rest. They will be promulgated in a few days.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 507.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, December 1, 1875.*

THE Porte has received intelligence that the battalion of troops blockaded by the insurgents in Piva, and which was in a very critical position, has been relieved.

No. 508.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 749. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 14, 1875.*

EVERY time that I see General Ignatiew he continues to dilate upon the anxiety of the Austro-Hungarian Government to make excessive demands upon the Porte, which he is obliged to combat.

He told me yesterday that Count Andrassy now cites the occupation of Syria by French troops after the massacres as a precedent which might be followed in Bosnia, where a similar duty might be delegated to Austro-Hungary by the other Powers.

The Ambassador says that he has done his best to show that in a country with a large Mussulman population such as that in Bosnia, the first rumour of such an occupation would be a signal for them to rise and massacre the Christians.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 509.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 751.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 14, 1875.*

SOME sensation has been caused at the Porte by accounts of the Turkish troops having been fired upon by the Servian troops or militia.

I telegraphed to Mr. Consul-General White to report any particulars known of the occurrence, and pointing out that if the fact was correct, a repetition of it would be likely to lead to serious consequences.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 510.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 753.)

My Lord, *Therapia, November 14, 1875.*

I RECEIVED, on the 10th instant, your Lordship's telegram transmitting one from Sir Andrew Buchanan, from which it appeared that the Austrian-Hungarian Government might be satisfied if a statement of the Reforms to be elaborated by the Porte for improving the position of the Christians in Bosnia should be communicated to the foreign Governments, and thus acquire a certain moral guarantee for their execution.

I took the earliest opportunity of ascertaining whether the Grand Vizier would be likely to agree to take such a course, and his language leads me to think that he would not refuse to consent to it, if it can be done with a due regard for the dignity of the Porte, and without the appearance of the concession having been imposed upon it.

I represented that the best mode of preventing this was by issuing the proposed project before any suggestions had been submitted for the acceptance of the Sultan's Government.

His Highness replied that as soon as ever his health permitted it, would complete the project which he has in hand.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 511.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 755.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 14, 1875.*

I HAVE had the honour to receive from your Lordship a copy of Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram of the 12th instant, reporting the satisfactory interviews which Raschid Pasha had had with the Emperor of Austria and Count Andrassy, and stating that the new Minister for Foreign Affairs left Vienna animated by the best intentions.

Raschid Pasha will, I believe, find the Porte well disposed to listen to all reasonable suggestions for the settlement of the disturbed provinces which may be made by Austria if they can be reconciled with the dignity and independence of the Porte, and with the future interests of the Empire.

The Porte is, as I have before observed, perplexed by the proceedings of the three Northern Cabinets, which are professedly acting in unity; for while at Constantinople the object of Russia is to inspire distrust of Austria, a similar distrust of Russia is exhibited at Vienna.

Each Government appears to insinuate, with the caution rendered necessary by the professed understanding that the Porte would do well to rely upon it to protect itself from some design of the other, and the Porte cannot possibly feel confidence in the professions of either.

Austria is at a disadvantage at Constantinople, by being practically without a representative of her own policy, her Ambassador being so greatly under the guidance and direction of the Ambassador of Russia.

There have, however, latterly been indications that the Porte, perceiving that the views of the two Powers are not as identical as had been supposed, has begun to believe that Austria may be the more sincere of the two in the professions of a wish for the pacification of the revolted Province, and this feeling will be much strengthened by the late article in the official paper of St. Petersburgh.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 512.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 756.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 14, 1875.*

I SAW the Grand Vizier yesterday for the first time since his illness, from which he is still far from recovered.

He said he had just had some conversation with the First Dragoman of the Russian Embassy about the article in the official paper of St. Petersburgh, which has caused so much sensation.

M. Onou, speaking, it is to be presumed, under the instruction of his Ambassador, had endeavoured to persuade him that it had not any importance, while, on the other hand, he called his Highness' attention to the speech of Mr. Disraeli, whose words, as falling from the English Prime Minister, were of far more serious import.

I observed that, in the first place, we had only a short telegraphic abstract of that speech, of the accuracy of which we had no means of judging, and secondly, that, admitting its correctness, I found nothing in it which could give cause for either offence or alarm to the Porte, but rather the reverse.

As the maintenance of the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire had always been regarded as a matter of British interest, it seemed strange that the

declaration of the Prime Minister that Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to defend our interests should be received otherwise than with satisfaction.

I inclose the extract of Mr. Disraeli's speech as telegraphed in the newspapers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 512.

Newspaper Extract.

M. DISRAELI ET LA SITUATION DE LA TURQUIE.—UNE dépêche de l'Agence Reuter, en date de Londres, 10 Novembre, résume en ces termes le discours que M. Disraeli a prononcé la veille au banquet du Lord-Maire:—"M. Disraeli dit que la situation à l'égard de la Turquie est moins satisfaisante, mais qu'il espère que l'indulgence des Grandes Puissances continuera et qu'on trouvera moyen d'amener un résultat satisfaisant compatible avec le maintien de la paix. Le Premier Ministre de la Reine ne prévoit pas d'autre résultat; cependant il doit dire que sans doute les intérêts des Puissances Impériales dans cette question sont plus directs que ceux de l'Angleterre, mais pas plus importants, et que l'Angleterre est résolue de défendre et de maintenir ses intérêts."

No. 513.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 757. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 14, 1875.*

THE Grand Vizier, in speaking to me yesterday of the manner in which the public revenues had been squandered, alluded to the guns to be supplied by Messrs. Krupp to the Turkish Government.

His Highness declares that, under the contract made by Hussein Avni Pasha with that establishment, not less than 900,000*l.* Turkish had been actually paid to it some time ago; but up to the present moment the Porte had only succeeded in getting 70 guns out of 500 contracted for, the others not even being promised within any given time.

The mere interest upon so large a sum was not a matter of indifference to the Porte in its present financial position.

As the Grand Vizier's wish is always to throw blame upon Hussein Avni Pasha, it is quite possible that there may be some good explanation of the delay; but that there was much corruption in the mode in which the contracts were entered into by the latter is generally regarded as notorious.

It is to be regretted that upon his last quitting office Mahmoud Pasha's own character for integrity did not stand at all higher than his rivals.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 514.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 758.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 15, 1875.*

THE Grand Vizier, speaking of the operations to be carried on against the insurgents, has remarked to me that, whatever reluctance he has to the employment of irregular troops, it will be impossible to conduct operations without them during the winter, while the movement of regular troops in the mountain passes becomes nearly impracticable.

I did not feel justified in protesting absolutely against the employment of irregulars, but expressed the hope that they would be used only against the organized

bands, and not allowed to overrun the country, which should efficiently be protected from their lawless habits by the regular troops quartered in it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 515.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 759.)
My Lord,

Therapia, November 15, 1875.

I HAVE caused the substance of Mr. Acting Consul Freeman's despatch No. 37 to be communicated to the Porte, and shall continue to impress the necessity of keeping a firm hand over the Mussulman population.

Mr. Freeman recommends the disarming of the whole population of both religions, and it appears from Sir Andrew Buchanan's reports that Count Andrassy holds the same opinion.

The measure has at various times been recommended to the Porte as the proper course to follow; although at the present moment there would no doubt be much difficulty in putting it into execution; for as long as armed bodies of insurgents are looking out for defenseless points to attack, it would seem to be hardly possible to deprive the well-affected population of the arms which they have carried from time immemorial, and leave them exposed to enemies, who would not be slow to avail themselves of any opportunity of falling upon them.

I am told that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador has expressed an opinion upon this subject much at variance with that of Count Andrassy, and that a few days ago, while speaking to some Turks of high position, he declared that they would find it impossible to subdue the insurgents, and that they should follow the same plan as had been adopted by his own Government a few years ago.

Upon asking what that plan was, and upon being told that it was to give every man a gun and a small sum of money, one of the Turks drew himself up and answered that such a mode of proceeding might "suit the Austrian stomach, but that it would not agree with a Turkish digestion."

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 516.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 761.)
My Lord,

Therapia, November 17, 1875.

THE plan mentioned in Sir Andrew Buchanan's telegram of yesterday of placing Bosnia under the direct rule of a Christian Prince, probably the Grand Duke of Tuscany, if it has ever been seriously entertained, would not for a moment be listened to by the Porte.

The open and avowed annexation of the provinces to Austria would in fact be preferable to placing it under an Austrian Archduke, and the position of any Christian Prince would be altogether untenable.

It would be impossible for him to establish his authority over the Mussulmans; and, as the Christians of the Orthodox Greek Church would prefer a Mussulman to a Catholic, he would find more than two-thirds of the population ranged against him.

The project appears to me so little serious that I cannot think it necessary to enlarge to your Lordship upon the numerous objections to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 517.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 762.)
My Lord,

Therapia, November 17, 1875.

THE telegram which I have to-day received from your Lordship confirms the information which I have forwarded last week in reference to the wish of the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet to be invited by the Powers to make a military occupation of Bosnia.

The French occupation of Syria is the precedent invoked as one which should now be followed.

There is little analogy between the two cases, but if in that of Syria the occupation was considered objectionable by Her Majesty's Government, the objections to it in Bosnia are far more serious.

In Syria there had been an unprovoked massacre of the Christians, and a Christian Power interfered to protect them from further outrage.

In Bosnia it was the Christians who rose upon the Mussulmans, and the danger to which they are exposed is of a retaliation for their own acts.

In the former case the intervention was in favour of the victims, in the second it would be in support of the aggressors.

In Syria it was plain that, upon the withdrawal of the occupying troops, the country would remain under the Government of the Sultan.

In Bosnia it is hardly less clear that an Austrian occupation can only be a step to the loss of the province, and to the commencement of the dismemberment of the Empire.

While confirming the Christians in a determination to emancipate themselves entirely from the Sultan's rule, an occupation would produce among the Mussulmans an exasperation against them much greater than that at present existing, and before which the Austro-Hungarian Government would not consider themselves justified in withdrawing their troops, and however sincere may be the present professions that there is no desire on their part to profit by the disturbance to seize the province for themselves, there is little probability that they would ever consider themselves in a position to restore it to the free administration of the Porte.

If insisted upon by Austria, supported by Germany and Russia, and probably by France, the Sultan's Government will have no choice but to yield; as it would be equally compelled to do if the four Great Powers were to require that the province should be openly ceded to the neighbouring Empire, and it is open to question whether the latter demand might not, of the two, be the least fatal to the interests of Turkey and the least full of peril to the future peace of Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 518.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 767. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Therapia, November 20, 1875.

IN a confidential conversation which Mr. Sandison had to-day with the Grand Vizier, his Highness said that while there were various reforms, which he was resolved to introduce to improve the position of the Christian populations, there was one which he must frankly admit his inability to carry out at the present moment.

He was ready to have Christian Lieutenant-Governors and officials as well as policemen in districts of mixed populations, but he could not undertake to enforce the acceptance of Christian evidence in the courts.

Mr. Sandison reminded the Grand Vizier that the acceptance of Christian evidence would not be a new concession, but merely the fulfilment of an engagement already formally taken by the Porte.

Mahmoud Pasha replied that he was perfectly aware of this, but he could not venture to enforce it just now.

The feelings of the Mussulmans in Bosnia described in the private letter from Mr. Holmes, of which I inclose an extract, may probably explain the hesitation of the Grand Vizier.

The professed equality of Christians and Mussulmans is, however, so illusory so long as this distinction is maintained, that I shall take the earliest opportunity of reverting to the subject with the Grand Vizier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 518.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

(Private.)
My dear Sir Henry, *Mostar, November* 5, 1875.

I HEAR from Serajevo that the Mussulmans are disgusted with the appointment of Reouf Pasha, who, they say, is a Ghiaour, and they were dreadfully scandalised at his starting for Mostar early on the first day of the Bairam without even going to the Mosque. There is much discontent on the part of Mussulmans in Bosnia, and great firmness will be required to keep them in order. Mustafa Pasha, of Svornik, imprisoned some thirty Bashi-Bozouks a short time ago for acts of pillage and violence, and this has given great offence.

I hear that Server Pasha's instructions, which many impartial people consider not to go far, are pronounced by the Bosnian Mussulmans impossible of execution, and I really do not know where Turkish Governors or subordinate agents are to be found who will have the courage or firmness to introduce these or other reforms in the face of the opposition they will encounter on the part of the influential Turks.

I hear that the Bashi-Bozouks are doing in Bosnia what they do here, creating much more mischief by their lawless conduct than is compensated by the services they have rendered. Their acts of oppression, it is said, have driven numbers to revolt who otherwise would not have thought of it. The Redif, it is said, are not much better.

I hear that Ibrahim Bey, the Mutessarriff of Serajevo, is doing his best to have the Bashi-Bozouks disbanded. Server Pasha promised to do this long ago, but nothing has been done. I think it is highly expedient that the large towns in Bosnia, where the Mussulmans preponderate, should be solely garrisoned by regular troops who are not Bosniacs, as the latter troops are certainly not to be trusted in case of a Mussulman outbreak to act against their relatives and friends. It would, perhaps, be well if your Excellency would suggest this, as I see if some precautionary measures are not taken in time, there is a danger that the Mussulmans of Bosnia will give trouble and complicate the difficulties of the situation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 519.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 768.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 20, 1875.

I AM informed that the continuance of the Herzegovina insurrection, which, rightly or wrongly, is regarded as having been, if not fomented, at least encouraged, by the sympathy of various foreign Powers, is beginning to produce a feeling of irritation among the Mussulman populations in different parts of the Empire, which is not seen without uneasiness by the authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 520.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 769. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 20, 1875.

I COMMENTED a few days ago, in a despatch to your Lordship, upon the probable effects of an Austrian occupation of Bosnia, which Sir Andrew Buchanan reported Count Andrassy to wish the Powers to ask for.

In conversation with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador yesterday, I touched upon this scheme as one of the things that was sometimes talked of.

Count Zichy answered that the notion was such an "absurdity" that it could not enter the mind of any one who knew anything of the condition of the country, and he was convinced that his Government would at once refuse to take such a step if it should be pressed upon them.

He spoke of the indefinite prolongation of such an occupation; of the difficulty of afterwards restoring the province to the administration of the Porte; and of the exasperation it would produce upon the Mussulman population, much as I have done in the despatch before alluded to.

This is an instance, among many others, of the difference between the language held by the Ambassadors here, and that of their own Cabinets.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 521.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 770.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 21, 1875.

SIR ANDREW BUCHANAN has informed your Lordship that Count Andrassy states that all that Austria wishes is that Bosnia and the Herzegovina shall cease to look to Servia and Montenegro for the improvement of their condition, and that the Porte, granting the Christians the privileges necessary for their relief, shall give them such securities regarding the tenure of land as shall place the Slavs of Turkey in as good a position as those of Austria.

There cannot be a more entire delusion than the belief that it is for the improvement of their condition that the people of Bosnia and the Herzegovina turn their looks towards Servia and Montenegro.

They have to complain of maladministration and oppression in various forms from which they are entitled to ask for relief, but the object they have in view, and which they will not abandon, is one of national ambition.

It animates the whole Slav race, whether in the Principality, in Bosnia, or in Montenegro, and if every material grievance were removed, they would still cling together, as they now do, in the confident expectation of ultimately accomplishing their aim of establishing a great Slav State.

The question of the tenure of land, which, from Count Andrassy's language, he would almost appear to think capable of a prompt and simple solution, is one of the most difficult and complicated nature, which, as has been found in other countries, where the case is not aggravated by the presence of two antagonistic races, can only be dealt with with caution, and with a thorough knowledge of all its bearings.

If the land is to be taken without compensation from the proprietor and given to the cultivator, it would be an act of spoliation, and the Turkish finances are certainly not in a condition to permit the Porte to think of finding the large amount that would be necessary to compensate them.

When Count Andrassy talks of the Slavs of Turkey being put in as good a position as those of Austria, he forgets that in Bosnia the Mussulman element, and the hatred of the two races, constitute difficulties in the way of a satisfactory administration with which in the neighbouring Empire he has not to contend; and if details of reform are to be concocted by foreign Statesmen very superficially acquainted with the requirements of the country to which they are to be applied, it will be difficult to expect much good result from them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 522.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 772.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November* 23, 1875.

RIZA PASHA, who was appointed Minister of War about three weeks ago, has been replaced by Namyk Pasha, the Minister of Marine, to whose post he succeeds.

It is understood that the Grand Vizier had wished Dervisch Pasha, the late Governor-General of Bosnia, to be entrusted with the War Department, but that the Sultan refused his sanction.

His Majesty was probably influenced by the hostility of which Dervisch Pasha is the object from the Austrian and Russian Embassies, which, having succeeded in obtaining his removal from Bosnia at a moment when his energy and activity rendered his presence most desirable, will now have been the means of placing the War Department in the hands of a Minister of notorious fanaticism, who has exhibited complete administrative incapacity during the few weeks he has been Minister of Marine.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 523.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 773.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 23, 1875.*

I HAVE received from Mr. Vice-Consul Dupuis the despatch of which the copy is inclosed, upon the state of things in the district of Adrianople and Philipopolis.

By a previous despatch, Mr. Dupuis had informed me that a decided improvement had taken place since the arrival of the new Governor-General.

Your Lordship will find, in the despatch now inclosed, evidence of the difficulty which the Porte has to encounter in the introduction of the reforms necessary for the protection of the Christians, from the aversion with which they are viewed by the Mussulman part of the population, upon which it is obliged to rely upon all occasions of difficulty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 523.

Vice-Consul Dupuis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Adrianople, November 20, 1875.*

I LEARN from a private source that the examinations of those arrested during the late disturbances at Eski Zaagra are now finally under way, that the investigations are not at all searching, and that about one hundred villagers have been released.

At a deliberation as to whether the village teachers should also be set at liberty in order that the schools might be opened, the proposition met with so much disfavour from the rest of the prisoners that it was finally decided not to do so. It also appears that a considerable number of Turks have also been imprisoned at Eski Zaagra and elsewhere, which it is hoped will act as a check to violence and robbery on the highways and in the villages. The Bulgarians, my informant tells me, are still in great fear, and when obliged to travel generally secure a Turk as a road companion.

Frequent robberies and occasional murders take place, and a man was killed the other day in a vineyard. A serious disturbance, I am informed, occurred at Karajeli. A large company of Turkish Arabajis returning from carting Government grain, made a descent upon a hay-stack belonging to a Bulgarian, who stirred up the villagers and a serious fight ensued.

Previous to Bairam it was believed by the Bulgarians that the Turks were planning a general massacre of the Christians, but happily nothing came of it. My informant adds that he inclines to think that the apprehensions were not altogether groundless, that the Turks were thoroughly armed, and that even Turkish prisoners in Philipopoli were secretly provided with deadly weapons. In conclusion, he informs me, that no attempts at insurrection will be made soon, as the Christians feel themselves powerless, but the Government needs to institute very great reforms without delay, or a more serious attempt will be made at the first favourable opportunity.

I beg leave also to acquaint your Excellency that private intelligence reaches me from Philipopoli that the reforms promised by the Imperial Government cannot be carried out, because the ruling classes and the Turks generally are of opinion that

these reforms will operate to their disadvantage; that the Central Government doubtless is sincere in its desire to ameliorate the condition of the Rayahs, but the dominant race in the different vilayets and towns think that improving the condition of Christians means nothing less than their own destruction and ruin. Under these circumstances it is believed that reforms cannot be adopted, and that matters will eventually be allowed to pass back into the old channels. It is, however, said that if the public press were free, the Government would be in a better position to learn the real state of the country. The present distracted state of affairs will necessitate great changes in all the administrative departments of the Empire, and unless this be done, and greater liberty accorded to the press, no benefits can possibly accrue to the country.

I learn from this source that the Bulgarians are anxiously waiting the result of the trials still going on in Eski Zagra, into the late disturbances, and as to the fate of their countrymen. It is believed, however, that all the prisoners will be pardoned, and only those punished who crossed the borders to incite rebellion.

My informant in Philipopoli ventures the opinion that the British Government does not, or will not understand the necessity of caring for the Bulgarians, and adds that if England only showed them a little sympathy, English influence would be paramount, and to the exclusion of all others in Bulgaria. Other Governments, he says, make ostentatious displays, and demonstrations of being the true and only friends of the Bulgarians; but they are distrusted, whereas if such professions of friendship came from England, it would be immediately known that those feelings were employed and free from selfish motives, and only the good of the country sought.

From all I see and know of the Bulgarians, I am inclined to believe they are proud of the interest England takes in their behalf, and they tell me that they would like to see England, like Russia and the other European Powers, maintain Consuls in all the principal towns in Bulgaria.

Since writing to your Excellency on the 13th instant, the following military movements have taken place:—

A company of 210 men and 12 officers (Redifs), belonging to the 5th Army Corps, and the Erzenjan battalion, stationed in Adrianople, left on the 11th instant for Yamboli, and 2nd Infantry battalion of the 4th regiment (Redifs); also of the 4th Army Corps, consisting of 523 men, 22 officers, and 2 horses, were dispatched on the following day to the seat of war.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. H. DUPUIS.

No. 524.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 774.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 23, 1875.*

THE "Levant Herald" publishes the inclosed list of what profess to be the demands or expectations of the Bulgarians.

I cannot say upon what authority this list is given, but I believe it accurately represents the wishes of that people, which will be generally recognized as moderate, and such as the Porte should be willing to comply with.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 524.

Extract from the "Levant Herald" of November 19, 1873.

WHAT DO THE BULGARIANS WANT?—We have received the subjoined moderate statement of the desires of the Bulgarians, which we have reason to believe differs little from what the Grand Vizier has already planned to grant. It harmonises in all essential points with the project of reforms entertained by Server Pasha, according to the statement of the special correspondent of the "Times" in the Herzegovina, who, in a letter dated from Mostar, published in the "Times" of the 11th inst., draws an admirable picture of the administrative and social difficulties which the Commissioner of the Porte will have to encounter in endeavouring to put his project into practice:—

Much is said as to what are the feelings of the Bulgarians toward the Turkish

Government at the present time. Some say that the Bulgarians are as a nation entirely hostile to the Government, while others deny this and affirm that the nation is quite satisfied with the present administration. Words, however, are one thing and facts another. As I have not thus far seen any statement which gives the feelings of this nation aright, I think it my duty, both as a lover of my nation and as a defender of the Sultan's Imperial Government, to say a few words on the subject, hoping that they will not be in vain. I will be short, but plain.

I have recently been in different parts of Bulgaria proper, Thrace, and Macedonia. I have been in close communication with every class of the people and have learned what their feelings are.

Is there, then, any unpleasant feeling among the Bulgarians against the administration?

Yes; the whole nation is gravely dissatisfied with it. But note here, they are not actuated by any hostility to the Sultan, or his Government, but feel oppressed by an administration which does not truly represent the Sultan's will. No one ought to be mistaken on this point; Bulgaria is a volcano that may burst at any moment if the needed measures are not taken. I should be untrue and unjust both to my nation and to my Government if I said otherwise. To conceal the disease is not the way to cure it.

What, then, do the Bulgarians want? We answer the Bulgarians wish:

1. That justice be done to all parties. This is one of the most urgent needs.

2. That the taxes on the children, which were imposed upon the Christians one or two years ago, be abolished. This is too hard on the people. They say that they cannot bear it very much longer, nor can they understand what is meant by such taxation.

3. That the true tithe of one-tenth should be taken, and not one-eighth.

4. That these tithes should be collected justly. The suffering caused by abusive collection is very great. Sometimes the "multesims" (tithe collectors) take nearly half, and even more, of the whole income. As a general rule, the "multesims" act most arbitrarily, whether they are of the Mohammedan or of the Christian faith. They become lords of the villages, and do what they please with the property of the poor.

5. That the people should not be compelled to purchase time after time new title deeds of their property.

6. That members of the councils of cities and villages, tax-collectors ("muhtars"), be chosen by the people, and not imposed by governors and soldiers.

7. That the police of cities and villages be composed not exclusively of Mohammedans, but also of Christians.

8. That mudirs, kaïmakams, and some other governors, should be from both Mohammedan and Christian races.

9. That when the Mohammedans and the Circassians are armed, the Christians should be free to arm themselves also.

10. That when the people have cause of complaint against any Governor or tax-collector, their complaint should be heard by the Imperial Government, and attention given.

11. That all petitions should receive prompt consideration.

These are the things which the Bulgarians want, and they feel that their wishes are lawful. Are not all these implied in the Decrees and Hatts of the Sultan's Imperial Government? But not one of them is in practice in the administration of the Empire. Let these be put in practice by the Government, and the Bulgarians will be the most peaceful people.

We are in great hope that the Sultan's Imperial Government will give good attention to the above sincere and plain words.

No. 525.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.— (Received December 3.)

(No. 775.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 23, 1875.*

I DIRECTED Mr. Sandison to remark to the Porte that, although a considerable time had elapsed since the report had been received of the massacre at Popovopolis of a number of the Christian refugees who had returned to their homes, we had not heard of anyone having been punished for the outrage.

Mr. Sandison having to-day spoken in this sense to the Grand Vizier, His Highness at once telegraphed to the Governor-General of Bosnia to inquire what had been done to ensure the punishment of those concerned in the murders.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 526.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 776.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 23, 1875.*

YOUR Lordship will have received from Mr. Holmes a report of the engagement between the Turkish troops and the insurgents on the 11th instant, which he considers to have turned to the disadvantage of the former.

According to the accounts received by some of my colleagues, the Imperial forces would seem to have met with a serious check.

A totally different version of the affair is given by the Porte, and the inclosed telegram from the Governor-General states the engagement to have been the most important, and the advantage the most decided, that has yet been gained by the Imperial troops.

I have already remarked to your Lordship that the official reports issued by the Porte are in general but little more to be trusted than those published by the newspaper correspondents on behalf of the insurgents, and in the present instance I am inclined to believe that the announcement of the victory gained by the Imperial troops is more than usually far from the truth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 526.

Telegram received at the Porte from Reouf Pasha, dated Gatchko, November 19, 1875.

SUR l'avis reçu d'un rassemblement à Mouradovitcha d'insurgés en nombre considérable, dix bataillons de troupes sous les ordres du général de division Chevket Pacha furent envoyés contre eux. Ces troupes, après avoir passé la nuit à Glassovitcha, canton de Piva, reprirent leur marche le lendemain, 29 Octobre. A une heure de distance de ce lieu, elles trouvèrent en effet à Mouradovitcha les insurgés, qui étaient plus de dix mille hommes, tant indigènes que Monténégrins. Ils se trouvaient réunis sur les hauteurs des montagnes hérissées de bois et de rochers, qui sont des positions naturelles très fortes.

Chevket Pacha donna aux troupes l'ordre d'occuper au plus vite les points principaux. Le combat s'engagea et dura de sept heures jusqu'à une heure du soir (à la Turque). Les insurgés ne purent pas résister aux attaques vigoureuses des troupes et furent complètement défaits. Les troupes fortifièrent leurs nouvelles positions à Mouradovitcha et y passèrent la nuit. Quant aux insurgés, retirés dans les bois, ils s'occupèrent toute la nuit à enlever leurs morts à la clarté des feux qu'il y allumèrent.

Le jour suivant ils se rallièrent et tentèrent d'engager de nouveau le combat. En effet, les insurgés commandés par le chef Petko Pavlovitch et divisés en douze colonnes se postèrent derrière les bois et les rochers en attendant les mouvements des troupes.

Chevket Pacha donna de nouveau l'ordre aux troupes d'occuper les positions des insurgés. Ce second combat dura jusqu'au soir et finit encore par la déroute complète des insurgés. Après ce succès, les troupes sont retournées à Gatchko.

Les insurgés qui se trouvaient dans ce canton n'avaient pas subi jusqu'ici un échec aussi complet que dans ces deux affaires. Ils ont laissé sur le terrain 470 morts, outre ceux qui ont été enlevés par eux pendant la nuit. Les pertes des troupes Impériales sont relativement de peu d'importance.

No. 527.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 777.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 23, 1875.*

WITH reference to my despatch of this day respecting the engagement with the insurgents on the 11th, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Mr. Sandison happened to be present when the subject was being discussed between the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and the First Dragoman of the German Embassy.

The latter, who was insisting that the insurgents had obtained an important victory, declared that it was due to the successful execution of their plan of proceedings, which was known to the German Embassy as far back as the 24th of August.

That plan was to manœuvre so as to bring the Turks to an engagement on the precise ground where this fight had taken place, and where the troops would be at a decided disadvantage.

I understand that Artin Effendi confined himself to remarking sarcastically that the Porte were much obliged to the German Embassy for the timely information just given by it.

The Grand Vizier is indignant that the Embassy of a professedly friendly Government, which constantly expresses its wish to see the insurrection suppressed, should be in possession of the plans of the insurgents without giving any intimation of them to the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 528.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 778.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 23, 1875.*

A REPORT has been forwarded to the Porte by the Governor-General of Bosnia to the effect that large organized bodies of men, chiefly Montenegrins, had openly crossed from that Principality, and formed an important contingent of those engaged in the last fight, many Montenegrins being found among the killed.

Some of my colleagues energetically declare that the report is entirely without foundation, but upon questioning them, I could not find that they were in possession of any more information than I have myself upon the subject.

They appear to consider that Prince Nicholas' declaration that he is observing a strict neutrality is all that need be required, and that any statements in contradiction to it must necessarily be calumnies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 529.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 779.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 23, 1875.*

I COMMUNICATED to Artin Effendi, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, the substance of the different despatches from Mr. Consul Sandwith, reporting how the orders of the Porte for the strict observance of the "Règlement Organique" of Crete had been disregarded, and His Excellency telegraphed to the Governor-General calling for explanations.

To-day, the Grand Vizier being now able to attend to business, though not able to go to the Porte, Mr. Sandison informed him of the reports which I had received, and His Highness asked what steps Artin Effendi had taken.

Upon being told that he had telegraphed for explanations, Mahmoud Pasha exclaimed, with every appearance of anger, that this was not sufficient, and he immediately drew up a telegram, which he requested Mr. Sandison to take to the Porte, for transmission to the Governor-General.

This telegram stated in strong terms that the Grand Vizier had learnt with surprise that the late orders of the Porte had not received a proper execution, and desired that they should be carried out without further delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 530.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 781. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 24, 1875.*

HAVING yesterday found the German and Russian Ambassadors together, I asked them what they knew of the instructions which I understood to be preparing for them at Vienna.

They both professed total ignorance of what was going on at Vienna, though they said they believed some decision was being come to there which would shortly be communicated to them.

When Baron Werther left, General Ignatiew continued the conversation, and spoke with great soreness of the manner in which his Government had placed the whole direction of the Bosnian question in the hands of Austria.

He did not understand a Government being willing, as his own appeared to be, to adopt any decision that might be come to by the Minister of another Power.

He particularly distrusted the demands which Count Andrassy was supposed to make upon the Porte in reference to tenure of land in Bosnia.

He had expressed his own opinion on that subject very freely, but there appeared to be an intention of recklessly rushing into a complicated question which had better be avoided.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 531.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 783. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 25, 1875.*

RASCHID PASHA having assumed the direction of the Foreign Department, I called upon his Excellency this morning.

I was desirous of ascertaining from him his impressions of the policy which is being followed by the three Powers at Vienna.

He said, however, little that has not already been reported by Sir Andrew Buchanan, which it is therefore unnecessary for me to repeat, except that, according to him, it is not only with General Ignatiew that Count Andrassy is dissatisfied, but also the Russian Government, which, he complains, he cannot induce to come to an understanding with him.

Raschid Pasha believes the Austro-Hungarian Government to be sincere in desiring the pacification of Bosnia, but wishes this to be done in such a way as to make the Slav population think that it is to their influence that the concessions to be granted had been obtained from the Porte.

I said that all I had heard only made it appear to me the more essential that the Porte should lose no time in declaring what the reforms were which it was determined to carry out, not only in Bosnia, but throughout the Empire.

Raschid Pasha said that this was precisely his own opinion, which he meant to impress upon the Grand Vizier, who had told him that he was preparing a project of reforms, but he had not yet had time to learn from His Highness what he proposed to do.

He attributed the encouragement given to the insurgents from Dalmatia to the fact of all the officials in that Province being Slavs, who sympathized in the movement, but did not believe it to be seen with pleasure by the Austrian Government, although it was too weak to put a stop to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 532.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 3.)

(No. 785.) *Therapia, November* 25, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAD this morning some conversation with Safvet Pasha, the late Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon the present aspect of things, which he looks upon as extremely serious.

In speaking of the assistance which had been afforded to the insurgents from Dalmatia, his Excellency recognized the difficulty which the Austro-Hungarian Government might have in efficiently controlling their Slav population, but he could not help remarking that that Government had not given a semblance of execution to the declarations formally and repeatedly made to the Porte of the mode in which they would proceed in regard to the insurgents.

The Porte had been assured, not once, but on several different occasions, that the insurgents who crossed the frontier into Dalmatia would be disarmed and "internés," so that they should not return.

This promise had never been observed.

The insurgents who were driven across the frontier by the Imperial troops had been allowed to keep their arms, and returned unhindered to renew their hostility, accompanied probably by many Austrian subjects.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 533.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 3.)

(No. 786.) *Therapia, November* 25, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a report from Mr. Sandison of a conversation with the Grand Vizier upon the hostile proceedings of the Montenegrins.

I this morning asked Raschid Pasha what he believed to be the truth of the report of their having invaded the Herzegovina in such strong force.

He said that he had no doubt that the number was not so great as had been represented, but there could not be a question that it was very considerable, and the declaration of my colleagues, who assured him that only a few hundred Montenegrins had taken part with the insurgents, was manifestly incorrect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 533.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.) *Therapia, November* 20, 1875.

Sir,

I FOUND the Grand Vizier this afternoon in a state of considerable excitement and irritation in consequence of telegrams received from Reouf Pasha stating that large organised bodies of Montenegrins had openly joined the insurrection in the Herzegovina.

His Highness had just been having an interview with General Ignatiew, to whom he had complained bitterly on the subject, recalling to his Excellency's recollection the repeated assurances he had given him, as well as the Sultan, in regard to the peaceful attitude and designs of Montenegro, which had now assumed a very different character.

The Grand Vizier told the General at the same time that having fully relied upon these assurances, he had almost guaranteed to the Sultan the neutrality of the Montenegro, and that in presence of what was now going on in that quarter, his Majesty would hardly hesitate to tax him with gross misrepresentation on this subject.

The General proceeded to offer fresh assurances and explanations, which entirely failed to satisfy the Grand Vizier, who felt little hesitation in telling his Excellency that had the Porte suspected the ulterior designs of Montenegro, she would have taken some steps to guard against them now by providing in good time a sufficient force calculated to keep the Principality at bay, or in fact enable the Government to enter into open hostilities with it.

Such being the case, and taking into consideration the natural obstacles offered to the suppression of the insurrection, and the part of Montenegro so openly participating in it now, his Highness declared to the General that unless some satisfactory guarantee were offered to the effect, that no material support or encouragement from Montenegro shall be afforded to the insurgents in the Herzegovina, the Porte would soon be driven to the alternative of employing Bashi-Bozouks or gendarmerie, as it is intended to style them, and that Europe must no longer feel surprised if the safety of European Turkey and the peculiar nature of the country in the Herzegovina called for such a measure.

Judging from the firmness with which his Highness spoke on the subject, it would seem that the Government have now almost decided to resort to the employment of Bashi-Bozouks, who, though placed under the command of the military authorities, can never be susceptible of anything like military training and discipline.

In fact the Grand Vizier himself readily admitted the correctness of this observation by comparing these unruly savages to a pack of hounds in pursuit of a wild animal which they will try to tear to pieces in spite of the keepers' whip and efforts to drive them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 534.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 3.)

(No. 402. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, November* 30, 1875.

I READ to Baron Hofmann yesterday your Lordship's despatch No. 271 of the 20th instant, and he asked me if I would leave it with him for communication to Count Andrassy. I therefore put it into his hands without giving him an answer, and after reading it carefully, he returned it to me, making a note of its contents. I fancied, however, that he thought it represented him to have gone further in assuring me of his readiness to give me information as to the views of the Government with respect to the Herzegovina than would be agreeable to Count Andrassy, as it is generally understood that Count Andrassy and M. de Novikow have agreed to keep what passes between them secret, until the two Imperial Governments have come to an agreement respecting the reforms to be recommended to the adoption of the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 535.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 3.)

(No. 405. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, November* 30, 1875.

WITH reference to Sir Henry Elliot's despatch No. 762 of the 17th instant, your Lordship will have learnt from my despatch No. 383 of the 16th, that my telegram of that date, of which Sir Henry Elliot received a copy on the following day, was a denial and not a confirmation of General Ignatiew's statement, reported in Sir Henry Elliot's telegram of the 14th instant, that Count Andrassy wished Austria to be invited by the other Powers to send an army of occupation into Bosnia.

I am in some degree responsible for the misunderstanding, which would not have arisen had I referred to Sir H. Elliot's telegram of the 14th instant, in reporting Count Andrassy's denial of the truth of its contents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 536.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 408. Very Confidential.)
Vienna, November 30, 1875.

My Lord,

HAVING learnt from Baron Hofmann that there is reason to hope for a satisfactory answer from St. Petersburgh to the Austrian proposals, as to the measures which should be recommended to the Porte as necessary for re-establishing and maintaining tranquillity in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, I inquired whether he felt confident that the insurrection would cease if the Porte accepted the suggestions which would be offered to her. His Excellency answered that a few weeks should suffice for effecting the pacification of the Provinces, as the Christians would undoubtedly be satisfied with the advantages which would be secured to them; but, I said that, as the armed bands, who are fighting for the independence of the country, may not be so easily satisfied, I should like to know how they were to be obliged to lay down their arms. His Excellency stated in reply, that the Austro-Hungarian Government would probably have to undertake that duty, and though he could only speak as Baron Hofmann and express his personal opinions on the subject, as he did not yet know what decision might be taken by the Government, he considered that if they would incur the very considerable expenditure which would be necessary to employ a sufficient number of troops, the frontier could be so effectually closed, and the insurgents so completely cut off from supplies of food and ammunition, that their submission would become a necessity; while the Prince of Montenegro would doubtless, if representations were addressed to him by the six Great Powers, find means to prevent his subjects from supporting the insurrection.

If this can be done, the Turkish Government will probably be of opinion that their complaints against the Austrian frontier authorities during the last six months have not been unfounded.

In the meantime, Baron Hofmann said that the Government having had reason to suspect that a greater part of the grain supplied to Montenegro to feed Herzegovinian refugees, had found its way to the insurgent commissariat, the quantity allowed has been reduced by two-thirds.

The means which his Excellency has indicated, as being possibly adopted for the suppression of the insurrection, would account for the reports which have been for some time in circulation as to the movement of troops, and as to the regiments having received orders to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Dalmatia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 537.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 3.)*

(Telegraphic.)
(Secret.)
Therapia, December 3, 1875.

THE Austrian Ambassador, by order of Count Andrassy, has urged the Grand Vizier not to promulgate any project of reforms.

Herzegovina, he says, must first be pacified, and reforms should then be given with the concert of the Powers which signed Treaty of Paris.

The Grand Vizier expressed surprise that such language should be held to him.

The reforms were intended for the benefit of all the Sultan's subjects, and he could not understand how the Austrian Government could wish them to be withheld.

He would certainly carry them out without delay.

The Ambassador was disconcerted by the firm tone of the Grand Vizier, and begged that, as His Highness took that view, his communication might be kept secret, and not even communicated to the Minister for Foreign Affairs; but the Grand Vizier declined to conceal it from his colleague.

The communication has inspired the Grand Vizier with deep distrust of Austria.

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* Repeated to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and Rome.

No. 538.

Raschid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 4.)

(Extrait.)
(Télégraphique.)
Le 2 Décembre, 1875.

QUANT à la proposition qui serait élaborée par le Comte Andrassy, nous en ignorons l'existence, ou du moins nous n'en avons reçu jusqu'à présent aucune communication ni information.

Par contre, dans les divers entretiens que j'ai eus, tant avec le Comte Andrassy à Vienne qu'avec le Comte Zichy ici, leurs Excellences m'ont déclaré, de la façon la plus formelle, que le Gouvernement Impérial et Royal n'avait point été saisi d'un projet analogue; que ses dispositions bienveillantes à l'égard de l'Empire n'avaient point varié; et qu'il considérait le respect des droits de la Sublime Porte comme la base fondamentale de l'amitié séculaire qui unit les deux Empires.

Nous avons lieu de croire qu'il n'y a rien de modifier jusqu'à présent dans ces dispositions; mais je n'en crois pas moins devoir dire que si un malheureux concours de circonstances, que rien d'ailleurs dans l'état actuel des choses ne justifie ni ne fait prévoir, nous plaçait en présence d'une telle éventualité, nous préférerions condescendre aux plus dures nécessités plutôt que de souscrire de gaieté de cœur à un fait qui ne serait rien moins que la négation des droits souverains de la Sublime Porte.

Je laisse au tact et à la sagacité de votre Excellence le soin de faire valoir dans un langage convenable ces considérations auprès de Lord Derby.

No. 539.

Mahmoud Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December 5.)

(Télégraphique.)
Constantinople, le 5 Décembre, 1875.

VOUS savez combien est vive la sollicitude du Gouvernement Impérial pour tous les sujets du Sultan, et combien il a à cœur de satisfaire à leurs vœux légitimes par réformes opportunes et appropriées aux véritables besoins du pays.

Dans cet ordre d'idées, et s'inspirant de ces sentiments, la Sublime Porte est occupée en ce moment sérieusement à compléter les réformes décrétées dernièrement, et à en arrêter le mode d'exécution, toutes choses qui doivent émaner naturellement et essentiellement de l'initiative souveraine.

Ces améliorations complémentaires ont été déjà soumises à Sa Majesté, qui a daigné les sanctionner; et, si le tout n'est pas encore publié, c'est parce que le Gouvernement Impérial tient à annoncer ces réformes conjointement avec leur application incessante, de sorte qu'elles soient connues en même temps qu'elles se traduiront en fait.

Je me réserve de les porter dans le plus bref délai à votre connaissance et de vous donner les instructions qu'elles nécessitent.

No. 540.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 6.)

(No. 488. Most Confidential.)
(Extract.)
Berlin, November 29, 1875.

I THANKED Prince Bismarck for the friendly feelings he had expressed towards England and Her Majesty's Government, which, I said, I would at once communicate to your Lordship, and, in the course of the conversation which ensued, I asked him his opinion on the prospects of the Herzegovina insurrection.

Prince Bismarck replied that the Emperor had asked him the same question a few hours ago, and he would give me the same answer.

Germany has no direct interests in European Turkey, but indirectly the greatest in preventing Austria and Russia from quarrelling over the sick man's inheritance.

Germany must, therefore, adhere strictly to the part of peacemaker, and never side so completely with either of her allies as to make two against one in a tripartite alliance.

In regard to the Herzegovina, he believed that Count Andrassy and Prince Gortchakow agreed in substance, and differed only in words and expressions, and that

the last Austrian proposals awaiting the arrival of Prince Gortchakow at St. Petersburgh would be accepted by him after he had corrected Count Andrassy's wording of the draft to his own taste.

Prince Gortchakow was expected to-night in Berlin, and he would see him and do his best in conversation to-morrow to promote the good understanding now existing between Austria and Russia, and to make it as lasting and as sincere as possible.

It was clear that Count Andrassy and the Hungarians were against an annexation policy, which could bring them no advantage, and might possibly weaken their position in Austria, and Prince Gortchakow was as clearly against a breaking-up of Turkey, and the inevitable conflict which would follow, for which Russia was not prepared at present.

What Russia might do in the remote future he was, of course, not prepared to say; but as far as the present question was concerned, he believed in the sincere desire of both Prince Gortchakow and Count Andrassy to find a peaceful solution, acceptable to the Sultan as well as to the European Powers, and beneficial to the populations concerned, so that he did not anticipate any serious trouble or complications in the East at present, while Count Andrassy held office in Austria.

I asked whether Count Andrassy's position was a strong one.

Prince Bismarck said it happily was, but there existed a party in Austria who were intriguing against him, and trying to get the Emperor to put Baron Hubner in his place, and Count Beust in the Paris Embassy.

The Emperor was open to new influences, and among the Archdukes there were partizans of an annexation policy who represented Count Andrassy to His Majesty as being too German. When an Archduke last year published a pamphlet against Germany, Count Andrassy persuaded the Emperor to reprimand him; and when an Austrian officer, Colonel Lahe, wrote another pamphlet in favour of Germany, the Archdukes persuaded the Emperor to punish him also, which showed that His Majesty was open to contrary and conflicting influences.

On taking my leave, Prince Bismarck begged I would consider what he had said as confidential.

No. 540 A.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 6.)

(No. 490. Confidential.)
(Extract.)

Berlin, December 1, 1875.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW arrived in Berlin yesterday, and leaves to-night for St. Petersburgh. In the course of a long conversation on many and various topics, he told me that he had excellent news from Count Schouvaloff, in regard to his relations with your Lordship, and that he, Prince Gortchakow, flattered himself that the relations, now happily established between England and Russia, had never been more cordial or more satisfactory than at the present moment. When we met last May he had hoped to have ended his career, after securing the peace of Europe by that timely demonstration with England at Berlin, because he felt growing old and wanted rest, and had asked the Emperor's leave to retire, but the Emperor had refused to let him go; and circumstances had taken an unexpected turn, which rendered his services once more necessary at St. Petersburgh, so that he found himself compelled to return to his work to accomplish what, he hoped, would be the final task of his public life.

The Eastern question was threatening again, and had to be faced and dealt with. There were two ways of dealing with it: 1st, a complete reconstruction; or, 2nd, a mere replastering ("replâtrage") which would keep matters together for another term of years.

No one could possibly wish for a complete settlement, everyone must wish to put it off as long as possible.

He, for one, could only consent to give his best efforts to the "replâtrage à six, et pas à trois," and he hoped for, and reckoned on, the co-operation of England and France with the Northern Powers to make it as lasting as possible. He expected to find, on reaching St. Petersburg, the plan drawn up by Count Andrassy for the pacification of the Herzegovine, and he was prepared to find it good, for he had the greatest confidence in Count Andrassy, and wished to co-operate cordially with him, not to say follow his lead.

He, Prince Gortchakow, had already done his part by keeping the Servians and Montenegrins in order, and the other Great Powers had done their part in supporting the Sultan's authority and dignity, and discouraging the insurgents; and so all that remained to be done was something for the Christians, something practical and durable, which would satisfy their legitimate demands, and which the Sultan must be really compelled to guarantee and carry out.

He, Prince Gortchakow, was not prepared to say what that should be until he had reached St. Petersburgh, and seen and reflected over the Austrian proposition, besides which, circumstances changed now so rapidly, that what he said to-day at Berlin might have no value by the time he reached Russia to-morrow, and he thought your Lordship also looked upon matters in the East as growing more serious now than at the outset.

The change of public opinion in England was surprising to him; the "Times" actually wanted to go very much further than Russia wished, or thought necessary, or than he himself could agree to.

No. 540 B.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(*Received at the Foreign Office, December* 6.)

Sir,

Buda Pesth, December 1, 1875.

THE recent articles of the "Times," advocating an occupation of the disturbed provinces of Turkey by Austro-Hungarian troops, have been severely criticised by the Magyar press, especially by the "Ellenör" and the "Naplo," which are in very direct relations with the Government. The "Lloyd," which is undoubtedly well informed in general as to Count Andrassy's sentiments, is equally decided in deprecating any action of the kind. In fact there exists as yet, as far as one can see, complete unanimity in public opinion as to the impolicy of any step which would commit this Empire to an active interference in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. Nevertheless, it is to be feared that the Slav populations of Lower Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonica are not only hoping for, but counting upon, such an interference within the next few months; and their aspirations are not likely to be discouraged by the tone of that English journal which is accepted abroad as the oracle of English policy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 541.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 6.)

(No. 411.)
My Lord,

Vienna, December 2, 1875.

ACCORDING to information received by the Vienna press, it would appear that the Servian Government have failed, both at Vienna and at Frankfort, to obtain a loan which they wish to contract.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 542.

Acting Consul Freeman to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 8.)

(No. 23. Political.)
My Lord,

Bosna-Serai, November 24, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, according to reliable intelligence received from Mehmet Ali Pasha, commander of the troops in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, the greater part of that district is now free from insurgents. A strong military cordon has been established along the frontiers from Sienitza to Vishegrad, which appears to have effectually stopped all incursions from Servia, and has restored security on the Constantinople road. In the neighbourhood of Tashlidjeh, however, and towards the Montenegrin frontier, the insurgents are still in considerable force, and

Mehmet Ali Pasha is of opinion that eventually an expedition must be made into Sharantzi, but at the present advanced season of the year fears that such an expedition would be attended with considerable risk. He also doubts whether it can be undertaken at all from his present position, as it would involve the crossing of the river Tara, which would be extremely difficult in the face of an enemy on account of the steep and rugged nature of its banks. He thinks that the attack would be more advantageously made by way of Focha and the Herzegovina, but purposes making a careful reconnoissance.

My French colleague, who was lately at Banialuka and Gradiska, also informs me that at the present moment that part of the province appears to be tranquil, but he states that when at Austrian Gradiska he found himself in the midst of an insurrectionary committee which held its sittings and discussed its plans at the hotel without any attempt at secrecy.

The authorities state that upwards of 100 families who had fled to Austria have returned to their homes in the Sandjak of Banialuka, and that 40 or 50 families who had taken refuge in Servia have also returned to their homes in the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar. This may possibly be the case, although doubtless the numbers are greatly exaggerated, but it cannot be taken as an indication that the insurrection is permanently on the decline. It is simply the natural result of the approach of winter, which for the next three or four months will stop all active operations in Bosnia, and many who object, as strongly as ever, to Turkish dominion, and will be ready even to fight for their liberty at the first favourable opportunity, are naturally glad to obtain a temporary shelter during the inclement season.

The news of the late defeat of the troops under Shefket Pasha, in the district of Piva, has had a depressing effect on the already discouraged Mussulman population of this town. They are quite disheartened, and feel that nothing is to be hoped or expected from the Turkish Government, and would, I am confident, accept with equanimity any arrangement, even should it involve a transfer of their allegiance.

With regard to the "Talimat" issued more than a month ago by Server Pasha, I beg to inform your Lordship that so far it has remained a dead letter. Many of its provisions will naturally only come into force later, but there is no attempt to carry out those regarding which there need be no delay. As an instance, I may state that the "zaptieh" or police force continues to be recruited from the scum of the population; also that the peasants' horses are seized, as formerly, for Government service. No doubt, to a certain extent, this is inevitable; as, otherwise, the troops would be left without food or ammunition, and in a country like Bosnia, where there are no other means of transport or locomotion, I do not see how the system can ever be abolished. This, however, should have been thought of before. The present transport service, which the peasants are obliged to perform with their horses, is one of their greatest grievances; and when they find that the promised exemption from this onerous duty is not adhered to, they will naturally place no faith in any of the other promises made by the Porte.

I may also state that up to the present moment no contracts have been drawn up before the local authorities between any landed proprietors and the cultivators of the soil, defining their mutual relations. This is not astonishing, nor is any blame to be attached in this matter to the Government. The peasant himself will be found to be quite as averse to this innovation as the landowner; the former can never read, and only in some cases the latter, and neither of them will be inclined to make a written agreement which he cannot understand.

It is also proclaimed that in future all sentences pronounced by the Tribunals are to be written in the language of the country, that is to say, in Slav, as well as in Turkish. At present this is exceedingly difficult of execution. The Mussulmans of this province, with rare exceptions, never learn to read and write Slave; and if that language is to be admitted as official in all the Courts of Justice, Christians must in future be extensively employed in the administration of the country.

In fact, as regards nearly all the promised reforms, evasion is most easy—as it were a loophole has been left for escape—and Turkish officials have expressed to me their conviction that they never will be, and probably were never intended to be, carried out.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. B. FREEMAN.

No. 543.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 8.)

(No. 18.)

My Lord, *Mostar, November* 22, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot regarding a conflict which has taken place near Piva, and the substance of conversations with Server Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 543.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, November* 19, 1875.

I TELEGRAPHED to your Excellency yesterday as follows:—

"On the 11th insurgents in great numbers attacked Shefket Pasha on his way to Piva with nine battalions, and he was forced to return to Gatzko. The affair was the most serious that has yet happened, and unfavourable to the Turks. Governor-General with seven battalions is now at Gatzko. Server Pasha now admits that my view of the revolt is correct."

This news has been known here some days, but I could not venture to telegraph it to your Excellency until I could ascertain as nearly as possible how far it might be correct. On the 9th, as I told your Excellency in my last despatch, I saw Server Pasha. He then declared that Shefket Pasha had arrived at Piva, and had not seen a single insurgent, and exultingly asked, "Where are, then, the rebels about whom so much is said? Only wait a few days, and I shall be able to announce that the insurrection does not exist." Nedjib Pasha also told my Russian colleague that he had received telegrams announcing Shefket Pasha's arrival at Piva. This will show your Excellency how little official telegrams are to be trusted. The accounts of fugitives who have arrived here all agree that a conflict most disastrous for the troops took place. Muleteers declare that they cut loose their loads that the animals might escape, and that the provisions and ammunition must have fallen into the hands of the insurgents. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that ammunition was urgently demanded, and some 200 loads left this for Gatzko the day after the news arrived. In fact, the popular description of the affair is that it was a second Grakovo. The insurgents were commanded by Lazaro Socitza and Peiko Paulovich.

I called on Server Pasha on the 16th, and at once saw from his Excellency's manner that the matter was most serious. He declared that the troops had been attacked by at least 10,000 Montenegrins and insurgents, regularly disciplined troops. He said he had instantly ordered up reinforcements, and that Raouf Pasha was then at Gatzko with seven battalions, and that there were now there seventeen battalions. I mentioned to him that he had positively stated that Shefket Pasha had arrived at Piva. He seemed rather confused, but said that was an incorrect report. His Excellency seemed entirely to have changed his tone, and in reference to my opinion that the revolt could not be overcome as long as the Montenegrin and Dalmatian frontiers were open to the insurgents, and Montenegrin and Austrian subjects openly took part with them, he said that he saw I was perfectly right. I spoke to him again about Popovopolie, and of the trifling number, if indeed there were any, of the inhabitants of the revolted districts who had returned to their homes, and this time he did not say a word to the contrary. I admitted that a great number wished to return, but that the insurgents would not allow them, and they had no proper protection. He exclaimed, "Why it would require more than 60,000 troops in the Herzegovina!" Lately, since the waters have risen and the plain of Popovo is divided by a lake, the inhabitants on the Austrian side have settled in their villages, because the waters protect them from the Turks. The insurgents, however, sent to warn them that unless they obeyed the *mot d'ordre* of the revolt, they would come and burn their villages, and they immediately showed their adhesion by plundering a Turkish village near Gatella of some 80 head of cattle. There is not a soul on the Turkish side of the lake.

Agitation increases here. The Mussulmans have lately held more meetings in the mosques. Some time ago, I am assured, it was proposed to massacre the Christian

inhabitants, but some of the Mussulmans said that this would at once bring 20,000 or 30,000 Austrian troops into the country, and the matter dropped. No one has any confidence in Server Pasha. I told your Excellency long ago that he was held in open contempt by the Mussulmans. He shows neither courage nor energy. Some time ago I spoke to the President of the Special Tribunal created by Server Pasha, and asked him whether he had been able to effect any good. He smiled, and said the members were thinking of giving in their resignation, as their sentences were not carried out by Server Pasha. In confidence he admitted that the whole affair was a farce. He and the other members had taken the matter seriously, but there was no result, owing to Server Pasha's weakness. It is now some weeks since this Tribunal has ceased to meet. I see that Server Pasha is afraid of a Mussulman revolt, as well as a Christian one.

I gave your Excellency in my last despatch an idea of the miserable condition of the troops. The winter has commenced, and they will soon be worse off, if possible, than they are now. I am assured that, to procure a little money, they sell their ammunition in the bazaars. Matters are certainly not improving; to me they seem to be going from bad to worse, and if European diplomacy cannot during the winter bring about a pacification, I expect that in the spring both Bosnia and the Herzegovina will be in a state of complete anarchy, which will probably result in frightful massacres, and, as I have said before, Austrian military occupation. I am not an alarmist, but all that I see and hear compels me most unwillingly to this conclusion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 544.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 8.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Very Confidential.)

Pera, December 8, 1875, 2·30 P.M.

THE Austrian Ambassador has again been instructed to urge delay in the promulgation of the reforms, and to represent that it is asked in the interest of the Porte.

Grand Vizier again answered that he could not withhold measures intended for benefit of the Sultan's subjects in all parts of the Empire. He asked my opinion.

I said to him that Her Majesty's Government had always recommended that required reforms should be promptly given, and unless Austrian Government gave some satisfactory reason for wishing for delay, measures, I thought, could not be published too soon.

The German and Russian Ambassadors speak in favour of the immediate publication, but at the particular request of the Austrian Ambassador, they have not been informed of his action. Rashid Pasha believes that Count Andrassy's object is to cause it to appear that the initiative of the concessions proceeds from him.

No. 545.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 392.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, December 8, 1875.

HER Majesty's Government approve the advice which your Excellency gave the Grand Vizier, as reported in your despatch No. 753 of the 14th ultimo, to issue, before any suggestions had been submitted to the Sultan's Government, a statement of the reforms which the Porte intended to carry out for improving the position of the Christians in Bosnia.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 546.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 394.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, December 8, 1875.

HER Majesty's Government approve your Excellency's language to the Grand Vizier respecting the employment of irregular troops by the Turkish Government in the winter campaign against the insurgents, as reported in your despatch No. 758 of the 15th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 547.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 396.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, December 8, 1875.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 767 of the 20th ultimo reporting that the Grand Vizier had stated in a confidential conversation with Mr. Sandison that he could not undertake at present to enforce the acceptance of Christian evidence in Mussulman courts, and Her Majesty's Government approve your Excellency's intention to urge on the Porte the necessity of carrying out rights which have been already conceded to Christians.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 548.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 397.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, December 8, 1875.

HER Majesty's Government approve your Excellency's proceedings, as reported in your despatch No. 775 of the 23rd ultimo, in which you state that you had reminded the Porte that no intelligence had been received of any one having been punished for the massacre at Popovopolis of the Christian refugees who were returning to their homes, and that the Grand Vizier had in consequence telegraphed to the Governor-General of Bosnia to inquire what had been done to secure the punishment of those concerned in that outrage.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 549.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 398.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, December 8, 1875.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 779 of the 23rd ultimo, Her Majesty's Government approve your Excellency's having communicated to the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and to the Grand Vizier the substance of the different reports from Mr. Consul Sandwith, showing how the orders of the Porte for the strict observance of the "Règlement Organique" of Crete had been disregarded; and I have to instruct your Excellency to continue to point out that the failure to observe the Règlement affords grounds for distrust in other Provinces and among the Powers of the promises of the Porte with regard to reforms.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 550.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 399.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 9, 1875.

HER Majesty's Government approve the language held by your Excellency to Rashid Pasha, as reported in your despatch No. 783 of the 25th ultimo, on the subject of the policy of Russia and Austria with regard to the pacification of Bosnia, and the expediency of the Porte declaring, as soon as possible, what the reforms were which it was determined to carry out.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 551.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 415.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 8, 1875.

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me to-day and communicated to me the accompanying telegram from the Porte,* stating that the Turkish Government was engaged in completing the reforms recently decreed and in determining the manner of carrying them out, and would make them public as soon as arrangements could be made for bringing them into operation.

His Excellency informed me that he was instructed to add that the Porte regarded the question of reform and the administration of the Empire as exclusively within its own competence, and that the Sultan could not accept proposals for reforms from any other Powers, as it would be incompatible with the independence of the Ottoman Empire and inconsistent with the provisions of the Treaty of Paris, by which the Powers had bound themselves not to interfere in the internal affairs of this country.

I said that I regretted to hear such an announcement. It seemed to me premature to reject projects of reform, the nature of which was still unknown, but Her Majesty's Government could not offer any opinion on the matter until they had fuller information both as to the measures contemplated by the Porte and the project referred to as about to be recommended by other Governments.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 552.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.†

(No. 750.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 9, 1875.

I INCLOSE for your information an extract of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin‡ reporting a conversation which his Excellency had recently with Prince Gortchakow. You will understand that this extract relates to a conversation of a private and unofficial character, and is therefore intended only for your confidential information.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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* No. 539.
† Identic despatches were addressed to Lord A. Loftus, Sir H. Elliot, Sir A. Paget, and Sir A. Buchanan.
‡ No. 540.

No. 553.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December* 10, 1875.

WITH reference to your telegram of last night, Baron Hofmann told me yesterday that he did not expect an answer from St. Petersburgh to Austrian proposals till the middle of next week, but that he has reason to believe they will be accepted. I learn from the French Ambassador that his Excellency has held same language to him, as I reported in my despatch No. 406 of the 30th ultimo.

Count Andrassy has returned to Pesth.

No. 554.

The Earl of Derby to Sir A. Buchanan.

(No. 291.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 11, 1875.

THE Austrian Ambassador called on me to-day and communicated to me the substance of a telegraphic despatch which he had received from his Government to the following effect:

The Austrian Government are informed that, in consequence of the pressing language of the Emperor's Ambassador at Constantinople, the Porte will proceed to reforms of a general character, not, however, making them the object of a solemn hatt. As for special reforms for the insurgent provinces, the Porte is prepared to accept such propositions emanating from the Powers as may not affect the dignity of the Turkish Empire in form or in effect. Every real difficulty seems to them thus to have been got rid of, the aim of the Austro-Hungarian Government being to obtain the extinguishing of the insurrection before the spring. They hope to be in accordance on this point with the British Cabinet, and to see the influence of Her Majesty's Government at Constantinople directed to the same ends.

The Turkish Ministers had hitherto directed their energies exclusively to the task of preventing anything which could be construed into an interference of any kind into the internal affairs of Turkey. This standpoint, however respectable it may be, has the disadvantage, the Austro-Hungarian Government considered, of prolonging a regrettable state of things, and therefore of aggravating the danger.

Negotiations respecting the affairs of the East are now being carried on between Vienna and St. Petersburgh, the result of which will be communicated, as soon as an agreement has been arrived at, to Her Majesty's Government, not in the light of an accomplished fact, but for their consideration, and for them to state their own opinions on the propositions agreed upon.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 555.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 13.)

(No. 20.)
My Lord, *Mostar, November* 29, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, with details of the conflict which took place at Muratovizza, near Piva, and other matters connected with affairs in this province. Preparations are still being made at Gatzko for a fresh attack on the insurgents, who are now said to amount to 6,400.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 555.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Mostar, November 26, 1875.

Sir,

LAST night I received a letter from Mr. Stillman, correspondent of the "Times," dated Cettinje, November 18th, in which he says:—

"I got here just in time to get the first news of the fight at Muratovizza, near Piva, of which I suppose you have heard long ere this, in which the Turkish army only escaped utter annihilation by the commander leaving a battalion to keep up a fire at night while the balance stole away in the dark, aided by a snow storm which concealed their movements. Socitza on Thursday stopped the road to Piva and Goransko, and while the fighting was going on Pecko and other chiefs came up, and closed up the passes in the rear, and, as I say, the Pasha only escaped after two days' fighting by leaving part of his troops to their fate, of whom all were either killed or taken prisoners. The latter, about an hundred in number, were released three days after and sent on to Gatzko. The insurgents have cut off 500 heads and noses of the dead, and they state the entire loss at not less than 800; wounded being entirely unknown, as carried off by the Turks. They took the provision train, 11 loads of ammunition, 50 tents, and 300 rifles, and we hear now that Raouf is collecting a great army of all available forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina to try it again. The Christian forces were about 3,000, some say as much as 4,000, but the smaller figures is enough; but they say that for the new attack they will have 6,000. This may be taken, I think, as pretty near the truth, as it is the substance of the reports made by the runners of the Prince. I saw to-day also the Captain of the fort of Bezué, which surrendered to Socitza with 105 men to avoid being blown up, the whole garrison being released, and the captain taking unlimited *congé* of a service with which he is profoundly disgusted, having been twenty-two months ill fed and unpaid. The taking of this fort was denied up to the time I left Ragusa by the Turkish authorities there. I suppose it is still at Mostar."

All this perfectly coincides with what we hear here, but M. Jonine, the Russian Consul at Ragusa, has written to my Russian colleague here that Server Pasha has telegraphed to Danish Effendi that he is authorized formally to deny that the Turkish troops were defeated at Muratovizza, where, on the contrary, they dispersed the insurgents.

I did not mention the affair of the fort of Bezué as it was, as usual, officially denied here.

All the troops that can be collected are being sent to Gatzko, but there is no news as to what is taking place there, or whether Raouf Pasha has been able to make his way to Piva. The strength of both parties is now concentrated at this point.

I hear that the Austrian Government has withdrawn the subvention made to the Herzegovinian refugees in Montenegro as it considers sufficient funds for their support are being received from Russia. I hear also that in future the Dalmatian frontiers are to be more carefully guarded. At present, however, there are no insurgents in that direction, all being assembled on the frontiers of Montenegro.

I was told the other day that the Mussulmans here, disgusted at the incapacity and impotence of their own Government, were now even becoming anxious for an Austrian occupation to put an end to the ruinous state of affairs, and that it was even suggested to send a deputation to ask for it. This was stated to one of my colleagues by the Roman Catholic Bishop, but I cannot vouch for its accuracy. I do not think that any such step is likely to be taken, at least for the present. I hear also from Serajevo that the Mussulmans of Bosnia are also thoroughly disgusted, and would probably accept Austrian dominion with perfect resignation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 556.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 13.)

(No. 567.)

St. Petersburgh, December 8, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Prince Gortchakow returned here on the 3rd instant, and has resumed his duties as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I had an interview with his Highness yesterday, when he received me with his accustomed courtesy and cordiality.

Prince Gortchakow began by observing that on his departure in the spring all was serene, and there was not a cloud in the political horizon. Since then these Eastern difficulties had arisen, which, he said, were of a grave and serious nature. The Chancellor said that he had from Vevey, and again from Berlin, informed Count Andrassy that the Imperial Government would act completely in unison with Austria; and since his return he had been enabled to confirm this assurance in the name of the Emperor, and by His Imperial Majesty's orders, his Highness said that His Imperial Majesty continued "inébranlable" in this determination to act with Austria, and that General Langenau, the Austrian Ambassador here, had been charged to convey this assurance by telegraph to Count Andrassy.

In reply to my inquiry whether the Russian reply had been sent to Count Andrassy's proposals, his Highness said that they had awaited his return, and that he was now occupied with examining them.

I understood his Highness to mean that in principle they were already accepted, and that his present object was to examine them with a view to ascertain whether any suggestions or additions might render them more complete.

Prince Gortchakow then referred vaguely to a project of reforms now under elaboration by Mahmoud Pasha, and observed that he had been informed by General Ignatiew that it would be shortly communicated to the six Powers.

Prince Gortchakow was of opinion that the project of Mahmoud Pasha might be of service, and observed that the communication of it by the Porte to the six Powers would, at all events, give them not only the right but the duty to make representations to the Porte on the subject of the required reforms, whilst it would greatly assist the endeavours of the European Powers in the humane object they had in view.

His Highness expressed his opinion that if the six Powers act in unison at Constantinople, the Porte could not resist the voice of United Europe in behalf of the Christian populations. His Highness further stated that the opinions of the six Powers should be conveyed to the Porte in "identic notes," in order to give additional weight to their representations.

Prince Gortchakow stated that he was assured of the support of the French Government, and he had no doubt of the full concurrence of Her Majesty's Government, for all were equally interested in the amelioration of the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and in the maintenance of the general peace. "For twenty years," said His Highness, "we have always held the same language. To the Porte we have preached the amelioration of the condition of the Christians. On the Christians we have urged patience and submission, without which they could expect no aid or support from Russia."

I asked His Highness what influence could be brought to bear on the insurgents to induce them to lay down their arms and resume their peaceful avocations, and whether he was of opinion that the 30,000 refugees (here the Prince corrected me, and said 60,000) now on foreign soil could be persuaded to give in their submission and return to their homes?

Prince Gortchakow replied that if the six Powers could give proofs of the sincerity of the reforms introduced, and could insure to them their strict execution, he considered that a successful issue might be the result, and that the refugees might return to their homes. As yet, his Highness added, there had been no question of exercising any but a moral influence, which, in his Highness' estimation, if representing the united voice of Europe, should suffice. He said that the idea of a military occupation by Austria had never been entertained, nor did he think that any such measures would be in conformity with the wishes of Austria.

In referring to the precedent adopted in the case of the Lebanon some years ago, Prince Gortchakow stated that it had been casually put forward, but that he did not consider that the two cases were analogus.

His Highness expressed his belief in the sincere intentions of the Sultan, and of his present Grand Vizier, but observed that Europe must have some more certain guarantee for the due fulfilment of the projected reforms.

"We have done a great deal for Turkey, said the Prince, in holding back Montenegro and Servia. We must now do something for the Christians, at the same time that we safeguard as far as possible the dignity of the Sultan."

Prince Gortchakow appeared to attach great gravity to the present state of affairs in Turkey, observing that whatever was now done, could only be a "replatrage," as his Highness expressed it. He told me that he had just received a telegram, announcing another rather serious defeat with great loss of life of the Turkish forces in the Herzegovina. He also mentioned that the position of Mahmoud Pasha at

Constantinople was a critical one, and it was doubtful whether he would be able to maintain himself.

In referring to the question of reforms, Prince Gortchakow entered into no details as regards the proposals of Count Andrassy. His language was marked by a great spirit of moderation and conciliation, by an anxious wish to effect a satisfactory settlement of the grave difficulties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by an earnest desire that a perfect understanding should exist among the European Powers, as the surest means of maintaining the general peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 557.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 13.)

(No. 369. Most Confidential.)

St. Petersburgh, December 8, 1875.

My Lord,

ON leaving Prince Gortchakow yesterday, I had an interview with Baron Jomini, which was unfortunately cut short by his Excellency being summoned to the Chancellor; but, however short the interview, it was sufficient to throw some light on the ultimate object of the Austrian and Russian Governments, in regard to the measures for the pacification of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

In referring to this question—the absorbing one at this moment—Baron Jomini observed that the amelioration of the condition of the Christian population in those Provinces must be insured by something of a more certain nature than the promises of reform given by the Porte. He said that if the promises contained in the Hatti Humayun had been faithfully carried out, the present exigencies would never have arisen; and he read to me the IXth Article of the Treaty of Paris, which was laying open before him. He hinted, without making any decided statement, that, in order to satisfy the Christian population and to induce them to return to their homes, some security must be given that the reforms conceded by the Sultan will be faithfully carried out, and that for this purpose a power of surveillance, to be exercised by the Consular body, might be granted to the six Powers. The Consular body, his Excellency remarked, would not be authorized to assume any local interference, but the Consul of each Power would be instructed to report to his Ambassador at Constantinople any infraction of the new regulations, or any departure from the system inaugurated by the reforms.

Baron Jomini was called away before I was enabled to make further inquiries on this subject; but the little he said (in conjunction with the fact that he was studying the IXth Article of the Treaty of Paris lying before him) gave me the impression that he had intentionally or unintentionally revealed to me the nature of the guarantees for which Count Andrassy has been so mysteriously striving as a means for the pacification of the Turkish insurgent provinces.

If my surmise is correct (for I must again repeat that Baron Jomini merely expressed the necessity of some guarantee), it would appear that Count Andrassy, acting in community with Prince Gortchakow, is meditating a guarantee of that nature, which will establish a Protectorate of the six Powers over the Christian population of the insurgent provinces.

Your Lordship will find in the IXth Article of the Treaty of Paris the following stipulation:—

"It is clearly understood that it cannot in any case give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of His Majesty the Sultan with His subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire."

Should it, therefore, be the intention of Count Andrassy to propose a guarantee of the nature to which I have referred, it will be clearly in direct opposition to the IXth Article I have cited, and a violation of the Treaty of Paris.

I have always been at a loss to understand in what way Count Andrassy intended to seek for a "guarantee" from the Porte for the strict execution of the reforms, and the light which suddenly fell on that question yesterday from Baron Jomini has given me a key to this mystery, and explains to me the basis on which the perfect understanding between Austria and Russia rests.

It is evident that Prince Gortchakow, whose whole political object since his accession to power has been to tear up the Treaty of Paris, will find inordinate satisfaction in assisting in a measure of this nature, whilst he will indulge in a cynical exultation that the initiative should be taken by an Austrian Minister.

If the impression I have received is correct, Austria and Russia are now preparing to submit to Europe, as a guarantee necessary for the pacification of the insurgent provinces, the proposal to abrogate the stipulations of the IXth Article of the Treaty of Paris; the effect of which will be not only the rescinding of another Article of that Treaty, but the disavowing the very principle on which the Crimean war was undertaken.

But, in regard to the principle at issue, very much will depend on the manner in which a proposal of this nature is made and carried out. It must be admitted that circumstances are altered since the Treaty of Paris was signed. The hopes then formed of Turkish regeneration have not been realized; the promises given by the Sultan in his Hatti-Humayun have not been fulfilled, and are a dead letter; the internal state of the Christian provinces is worse now than before; and the moment has arrived when it is a serious question of doubt whether the Christian Provinces can be preserved to the Ottoman Empire.

It may further be observed that what Russia strove for in 1853 was an undivided Protectorate over the Christians in Turkey, whereas the plan of Count Andrassy (if my surmise should prove correct) would confer a general Protectorate exercised in common by the six Powers.

It may also be urged that the Porte is placed between two alternatives, either that of losing complete hold over the insurgent provinces, and thereby stimulating insurrection in other Christian Provinces of the Empire, or that of accepting the aid and support of Europe to maintain the integrity of the Empire, and to restore peace and order among the disaffected subjects, even on terms which may in some degree wound her susceptibility.

The present moment is one of critical importance to Turkey; should no arrangement be effected before the early spring, there can be no doubt that the present insurrection will assume larger proportions, while the Porte will be less able to contend with the difficulties by which she is menaced.

I have thought it my duty to lay before your Lordship the impression made on me yesterday by my conversation with Baron Jomini; at the same time I must request your Lordship to consider the opinions I have expressed as based on that impression, and not as resulting from any official statement of Baron Jomini.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 558.

Acting Consul Summa to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 14.)

(No. 33.)

Scutari, le 30 *Novembre*, 1875.

Excellence,

COMME j'ai eu l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence par ma dépêche datée du 19 du mois dernier, la ville de Niksitch se trouve toujours assiégée par les insurgés qui, ne pouvant s'en emparer par la force, étant dans une position inexpugnable, espèrent de la réduire par la famine; c'est pourquoi nous avons vu avec quelle opiniâtreté les insurgés Herzégoviniens se sont opposés à la marche des troupes Impériales venant de Gatska, commandées par Chevket et Selim Pacha, qui se proposaient de ravitailler Niksitch; et votre Excellence aura eu à son temps connaissance de l'engagement qui s'ensuivit le 12 de ce mois entre les insurgés et les troupes Turques, et dans lequel ces dernières ont dû se rétirer après un combat sanglant sans pouvoir mettre leur dessein à exécution.

En ce qui concerne la situation de Niksitch, il résulte des informations puisées à une source certaine, que le manque de vivres se fait sentir de plus en plus, et à présent les assiégés sont réduits de se contenter pour toute nourriture de peu de maïs et de pommes de terre, et si la place ne sera pas ravitaillée sans délai, elle ne pourra plus prolonger la défense pour longtemps et devra par conséquent se rendre à la merci des insurgés; le doute à cet égard n'est plus permis.

Quant au Prince du Monténégro il a changé de tactique, et, d'après les informations

les plus authentiques à présent, il ne s'oppose plus au passage sur le sol Monténégrin des convois de vivres destinés à Niksitch, et que le fournisseur des troupes qui y sont assiégées, envoye, d'ordre du Gouvernement Impérial, et ces vivres sont déchargés de l'autre côté de la Principauté, aux frontières, dans le village Monténégrin de Povia, qui n'est éloigné de Niksitch que deux heures environ.

J'ai la parfaite conviction qu'en donnant la permission du passage le Prince du Monténégro était tout à fait certain qu'il n'y aurait personne qui s'hasardât d'aller directement à Niksitch, car la route de Povia à Niksitch était trop bien gardée par les insurgés et les Monténégrins pour que personne eût le courage de s'y engager, et comme toujours le Prince joue un double rôle et continue à aider l'insurrection, ce qui est constaté d'ailleurs par le fait que dans le combat précité du 12 de ce mois beaucoup de Monténégrins et de capitaines très-connus, ont été trouvés morts dans le champ de bataille.

J'ai, &c.
(Signé) F. SUMMA.

No. 559.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 14.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December* 14, 1875.

THE Firman ordering the reforms has been communicated to the Embassies, with provisions agreeing with the information I have already given to your Lordship.

No. 560.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 15.)

(No. 17. Political.)
Canea, Crete, November 27, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I have written to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot on certain matters of local interest.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

Inclosure in No. 560.

Consul Sandwith to Sir H. Elliot.

Canea, Crete, November 27, 1875.

Sir,

REFERRING to my despatch of the 11th instant, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the dispute connected with the Church of the Virgin at Calyvia has been settled.

The Vice-Consul of Candia informs me that the Christians have consented to buy from the alleged Turkish proprietor the disputed piece of land which had already been decreed by competent authority to belong to them. The unfinished house has also been roofed, and it may be hoped that an affair which has caused so many heart-burnings is finally set at rest. The Authorities are also restoring the 2½ per cent. of extra tithes, both here and at Candia, and doubtless they will do so at Rethymo also. Samih Pasha, the Governor-General, has been at the latter town for the last fortnight endeavouring to induce the local merchants to come to some satisfactory arrangement with their debtors. His Excellency also took occasion, when some of the leading citizens had come to pay him their respects, to tell them that the current rumour

which attributed to the English Ambassador the merit of obtaining for the Cretans the restitution of the tithes was absolutely unfounded, his Excellency having himself procured the favour for them. The Pasha's assertions are not, however, likely to change the prevalent opinion on this matter.

An unwarrantable act of violence on the part of a zaptié has just excited the anger of the population of this neighbourhood. A Christian peasant, accused of sheep-stealing, met a corporal of zaptiés with two of his men, who bid him follow them to the town to be tried for his alleged offence. Trying to escape on the road, one of the zaptiés raised his gun and lodged a bullet in his neck. Seeing him fall, the guardians of public order ran for refuge to their block-house, leaving their victim for dead, who was presently found and carried to a neighbouring village. The bullet, which had traversed the neck, and lodged near the spine, was successfully extracted, and the man is likely to recover. The authorities have imprisoned the guilty zaptié, but his imprudent zeal is not likely to keep him long in gaol. I mention the incident as one which tends to heighten the animosity of the people aginst their rulers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 561.

Rashid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December* 16.)

(Personnelle et Confidentielle.)
(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le* 14 *Décembre,* 1875.

JE vous transmets, pour votre information personnelle, le résumé du Firman Impérial énumérant les nouvelles réformes octroyées aux sujets de Sa Majesté le Sultan, et me réserve de vous envoyer par le plus prochain courrier la traduction textuelle de l'exposé des motifs de ces importantes et radicales mesures. La traduction en Français en a été communiquée aux Représentants des grandes Puissances à Constantinople. Il va sans dire que, tant que l'ordre ne sera pas rétabli en Herzégovine, ces mesures ne sauraient y recevoir leur application.

1. Réorganisation du Ministère de la Justice; choix des membres de manière à commander l'estime générale; séparation de la présidence de la Haute Cour de Cassation du Ministère de la Justice; inamovibilité des Juges; réunion des Tribunaux de Commerce au Ministère de la Justice.

2. En province, les membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans des Conseils et des Tribunaux seront élus par les populations elles-mêmes.

3. Les procès entre Musulmans et non-Musulmans, et les procès des non-Musulmans entre eux, seront jugés dans les Tribunaux Mixtes (en affaires commerciales, criminelles, et civiles).

4. Unification des divers impôts.

5. Ordonnance relative à la recherche d'un nouveau mode de perception des dîmes.

6. Des percepteurs choisis par les habitants eux-mêmes seront désignés pour le recouvrement des impôts.

7. Les titres de toutes les propriétés immobilières, à quelque catégorie qu'elles appartiennent, seront délivrés par le Ministère des Archives de l'Empire.

8. Réorganisation des corps de zaptiés (agents de police), qui seront choisis parmi les personnes jouissant de la confiance des habitants de chaque localité.

9. Ordonnance formelle concernant les mesures à prendre pour l'entière prohibition des corvées, ainsi que pour éviter de faire du service de prestations une cause de vexation, en réformant le système défectueux en vigueur.

10. Réorganisation du Ministère du Commerce et de l'Agriculture.

11. Confirmation des droits et immunités des chefs spirituels et des communautés, ainsi que de la liberté de l'exercice des cultes, en accordant, en outre, toutes les facilités pour la fondation et la construction des églises, écoles et autres édifices nationaux. Ordonnance confirmant l'admission aux emplois de l'Etat des sujets non-Musulmans.

12. Modification dans le système de conscription de l'impôt d'exonération du service militaire.

13. Jouissance, sur le pied de la plus complète égalité de toutes les classes de la

population, des dispositions de la loi sur la possession des terres et la propriété foncière.

14. Les dispositions testamentaires des sujets non-Musulmans de l'Empire dans les provinces seront respectées, et il ne sera point permis de s'immiscer dans la gestion faite par les tuteurs des biens des mineurs.

Sa Majesté finit par ordonner à son Grand Vizir de préparer des règlements et des instructions définissant les attributions des Gouverneurs-Généraux, des Gouverneurs et des Sous-Gouverneurs, et de tous les fonctionnaires en général, conformément aux ordres Impériaux.

En attendant la réception du texte du susdit Firman, que votre Excellence fera publier aussitôt qu'il lui sera parvenu, elle voudra bien ne se servir du contenu de cette dépêche que pour redresser les nouvelles erronées, ou les interprétations fausses qui viendraient à se propager autour d'elle.

No. 562.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, December* 16, 1875, 4·30 P.M.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOW, in accepting Count Andrassy's proposals, has intimated that he should await receipt of Turkish reforms before taking further action. Latter are represented as very satisfactory. The whole direction of the negotiation is left to Count Andrassy. There is no apparent wish here to raise any question in regard to Treaty of Paris. The guarantee required may be obtained by common assent of Powers, in like manner as action taken by Protocol signed at Paris, August 3, 1860. The tone of this Government is moderate and conciliatory. They will implicitly follow Count Andrassy.

No. 563.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19, 4·30 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Pera, December* 19, 1875, 11·55 A.M.

I HAVE had an audience of the Sultan to deliver the Queen's letter.

His Majesty's language was most satisfactory, as regards his determination to cause full execution to be given to the late reforms.

With respect to the insurrection the Sultan said he did not see how it was to be suppressed as long as the insurgents continued to receive the assistance they at present get from the neighbouring States.

He spoke with irritation of the Dalmatian frontier being left open to the insurgents, and said that General Ignatieff had intimated that Montenegro was especially protected by Russia. Austria and Russia protest that they wish to see the end of the insurrection, but the one did not enforce the neutrality of her own frontier, and the other threw a shield over Montenegro.

No. 563*.

Mr. Stuart to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 204. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Athens, December* 11, 1875.

MY Ottoman colleague has been lately informed that the Hellenic Government are about to appoint Political Agents at Belgrade and Bucharest, and in Egypt, the pretext given by M. Coumoundouros being that he is unable to resist the exigencies of his political friends, who importune him for appointments, and that, as other Powers had agents of the same character in those places, the Porte could not object to such a step on the part of Greece.

I believe that Photiades Bey represented to M. Coumoundouros and to M. Contostavlos that in ordinary times there might not be much objection to the intended appointments, but that in the present state of affairs they could not be made without producing a political effect, particularly those to Belgrade and Bucharest, where they would be taken as an indication of Hellenic interest and sympathy, and as being more or less an act of intentional discourtesy to Turkey. He also suggested that the exigencies of M. Coumoundouros' friends might be satisfied by being appointed to those places with the already existing rank of Consul-General.

Although the Hellenic Ministers gave as strong assurances as ever, upon the above occasion, of their desire to maintain the most friendly relations with Turkey, and to refrain from giving the smallest cause of offence to the Ottoman Government, it may be feared that their sincerity can no longer be implicitly relied upon, and that M. Coumoundouros may have some ulterior objects in view, including not only the conclusion of a commercial Treaty with Roumania, with respect to which the Porte unfortunately had given no definite answer to his predecessor, but also the establishment of some political understanding with Servia. It is, perhaps, now the time to remember that, when in opposition, he used to urge that, whilst remaining upon friendly terms with Turkey, Greece ought also to cultivate the goodwill of the Christian races and provinces of that empire. Such a policy may imply a great deal more than the words literally mean; and it will, at any rate, be as well to watch M. Coumoundouros' proceedings, and those of his Political Agents, with a certain amount of suspicion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 564.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 20.)

(No. 76. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, November* 29, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, as I anticipated in my despatch of the 30th ultimo to Sir Henry Elliot (inclosed in No. 73 Political, to your Lordship), the Servian militia has been gradually removed from Alexinatz, and the men have been sent home.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 565.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 20.)

(No. 78. Political.)
My Lord, *Belgrade, December* 4, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of a despatch I this day addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting the rumours as to increasing disaffection in Bulgaria, and the intemperate and arbitrary conduct of the Ottoman authorities in that province.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 565.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Belgrade, December* 4, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that all accounts received here from Bulgaria concur in describing the disaffection towards the Porte as increasing in that province, and ascribe to the Ottoman authorities there a conduct so intemperate and arbitrary as to give a handle to the political agitators, who are no doubt attempting to

carry on a seditious propaganda, and endeavouring to prepare insurgent movements there for next spring.

It appears that a confidential communication confirming partly these reports has been received by Count Zichy, and a copy of it was sent a few weeks ago by him to Prince Wrede, my Austrian colleague here, and an abstract of it found its way into the "Politische Correspondenz," an officious print of the Vienna Foreign Office.

These allegations are very much to be regretted, as a few months back I was assured by competent Slav authorities that all the efforts made by agitators to propagate sedition in Bulgaria had, up to that time, proved ineffectual.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 566.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 79. Political.)
Belgrade, December 4, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch of this day, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting the negotiations carried on at Vienna by the Servian Government with a view to contract a loan for military purposes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 566.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, December 4, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that the Prince and Government of Servia appear now determined to obtain by means of a loan the necessary funds for carrying out military, *i.e.*, warlike preparations in the Principality.

A financial agent has been sent for that purpose to Vienna, and another to Paris, Amsterdam, and, I believe, London. The former of these has come home with a proposal sufficiently acceptable from some leading Vienna bankers. I hear it consists of an offer of a loan at 6 per cent., at 85, less commission, per 100, with security for repayment at par; but this Government showed some hesitation, and it is very doubtful whether money will be ultimately procured in this way.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 567.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 80. Political.)
Belgrade, December 7, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch of the 6th instant, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting the Mission of M. Christitch to Montenegro and the supposed secret understanding between that country and Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 567.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

Belgrade, December 9, 1875.

Sir,

CERTAINLY the most important political event in these parts during the last few weeks has been the mission of M. Philip Christitch to Montenegro.

M. Christitch is, I believe, personally known to your Excellency, as he has been, during several years, Servian Agent at Constantinople; he came of course to see me previous to his departure for Cettingé, and on the day after his return, and he has, in speaking of his mission, acted on the principle called by modern divines as minimising

I am therefore unable to give your Excellency any precise information as to the nature of the understanding that has been brought about between Servia and Montenegro, but it is generally believed at Belgrade that a secret offensive and defensive alliance has been concluded, and I am disposed to believe something of the kind, as I find that Prince Wrede, who is in possession of some secret information on the subject, is inclined to that opinion.

The relations of the rulers of these two Slav countries were not the very best during the last few years, and it has been admitted here to me that it was most desirable that if hostilities were to be carried on openly against Turkey, these two Governments should act in concert.

I am aware that a few months ago the participation of Montenegro in the insurrection was strongly denied at Vienna, but I should think that it must have been admitted since.

I have it on reliable authority that previous to M. Christitch having been sent to Montenegro, the idea of such a step was suggested by Russia and two persons in high positions, and both of them in the Russian interest, have admitted to me indirectly that the success of M. Christitch's mission is entirely due to General Ignatiew's influence, without giving, however, any particulars as to the nature of the concert established between the rulers of these two States and without indicating its object.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 568.

Consul-General White to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 81. Political.)
Belgrade, December 8, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the accompanying copy of my despatch of this day, addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, stating the causes of apprehending complications next spring in Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

Inclosure in No. 568.

Consul-General White to Sir H. Elliot.

(Confidential.)
Belgrade, December 8, 1875.

Sir,

WHEN I had the honour of reporting to your Excellency my apprehensions, in July last, that the insurrection in the Herzegovina, if protracted, might lead to very serious complications, that alarmist opinion was not generally entertained; and I fear that when I telegraphed to your Excellency on the 2nd of August last, in connexion with Prince Milan's visit to Vienna, that "apprehension of complications out of the Herzegovina disturbance increases," I was giving expression to fears which may have appeared exaggerated at the time.

Such must have been the view entertained then at some Courts, for amongst the Consuls accredited here by the six guaranteeing Powers, four were absent from their posts, and there was only myself and my Russian colleague present then at Belgrade, and for a couple of weeks afterwards.

The situation of Servia, and the desire of its Prince and people to make political capital

out of the difficulties of Turkey, has since been prominently put forward before the Cabinets of Europe, and if this Principality has refrained hitherto from taking advantage of the Porte's difficulties by siding openly with the insurrection, it has been quite as much owing to local causes as from any desire to defer to the wishes expressed by the Powers; but it is very much to be feared that these will be removed, and will cease to operate should the Bosnian disturbances continue till next spring, and that Servia will feel then more inclined than ever to throw itself, careless of consequences, into an attitude of open hostility to the Porte.

In the present instance I am no longer the solitary alarmist that I was last July or August. All my colleagues appear to admit the gravity of the approaching danger, and the impossibility of averting it without resorting to the extreme measure of a foreign occupation; whilst the natives of all parties are persuaded that Servia cannot continue during next summer to look with folded arms on the desperate fighting of the struggling Rayahs.

Unanimous regret is expressed at Belgrade at the missing of the opportunity in August last, when it was asserted that a successful inroad might have been carried out into Bosnia or to Nisch, if the Prince had not hesitated too long.

From that time the inaction of Servia may be attributed to the following local and temporary causes:—

Personal dislike of the Prince to his Ministers; want of sufficient preparation in the presence of the large Turkish force concentrated on the frontier; want of a proper understanding with the malcontents in Bosnia and Bulgaria, but especially with Montenegro.

It is thought that the two last impediments will not be effectually removed till next spring in the way reported in my despatches of the 4th and 6th instant, and that by that time the Prince will feel strong enough to call to his side Ministers on whom he can rely entirely, especially if he is determined to adopt a policy sufficiently patriotic to secure the popular favour.

Another private cause has been mentioned in a whisper by a few persons generally well informed at Belgrade, but I am not aware how far it may be deserving of belief; these persons pretend that the Prince, having almost spent his private fortune, and feeling how insecure his position in Servia was after all, could not make up his mind to anything decisive until he had obtained a promise from the Imperial Court at St. Petersburgh, that he might rely with certainty on a pension from that Court, should he be compelled to live as an exile on his wife's estate in Russia, provided he observed a certain line of conduct in the meantime. To those who have watched some recent proceedings here with attention, there is nothing altogether impossible in this strange assertion.

In many respects the state of things which we are approaching in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey resemble that which was being prepared during the Cretan Insurrection under the same artful and presiding genius, General Ignatiew. The political condition and alliances existing on the Continent appear to me, however, very different in 1875 from what they were in 1866 and 1867.

At that time Prince Gortchakow had also drawn up a Memorandum recommending reforms in the Christian Provinces of Turkey (dated $\frac{12}{24}$ March, 1867). An alliance was brought about between Montenegro and Servia, Roumania was arming, and Servia secured a secret loan of half-a-million sterling from Russia, through Messrs. Baring Brothers, as related in a former despatch to your Excellency.

It may be that, as in 1867, this extensive scheme, tending to a general conflagration in the Christian Provinces of Turkey, may be given up at the last moment, or postponed indefinitely, but it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the increasing number of complications which may ultimately baffle even the skill of the designing magician should he desire to quell the fires so artfully kindled in different directions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. A. WHITE.

No. 569.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 21.)
My Lord, *Mostar, December 6, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch of the 3rd December, which I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, reporting that Raouf Pasha has been to, and returned from, Piva, without opposition on the part of the insurgents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure in No. 569.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, December 3, 1875*

I HAVE just seen Server Pasha, who informs me that Raouf Pasha with a strong force has been to Piva, without any opposition on the part of the insurgents. After his return to Gatzko, he proceeded in the direction of Zupci. It would appear that the insurgent bands have dispersed for the moment, according to their usual practice, as they cannot keep long together in force. They will probably now remain inactive, until an opportunity occurs to attack another convey of provisions.

An attempt was made a few days ago to burn the Turkish Custom-house, near Metconik, but it did not succeed. I have nothing of any importance to report on this occasion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 570.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 788.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 27, 1875.*

I HAVE this morning had some conversation with a Bulgarian gentleman of much influence with his countrymen, who has always taken a leading part in matters affecting their interests.

He states that there can be no doubt of the truth of the reports, which I have forwarded to your Lordship, of the outrages committed upon the Bulgarians by the armed Mussulmans in various parts of the country; but, he adds, that a marked improvement had taken place since the appointment of a new Governor-General to Adrianople, and of a Governor to Philopopolis, who is favourably known.

With regard to the measures required for rendering the people contented, there is none to which he attaches so much importance as the complete re-organization of the police, whose extortions and exactions are now intolerable.

Without undervaluing the benefit to be got from the appointment of Christian Sub-Governors, he considers that the crying necessity is the removal of the people from the tyranny of an exclusively Mussulman police force, of which the men cannot possibly live upon their miserable pay, and are forced to resort to extortions upon the people.

I asked whether he believed that the grievances now complained of were greater than they had formerly been, and whether there had been a change for the better or the worse of late years.

To this he replied without hesitation that the position of the people was incomparably better than what it used to be.

Formerly the acts of oppression which have for some months made some sensation were of constant occurrence, and were submitted to by the people as part of their lot in life, against which there was no remedy.

Now the more flagrant excesses only take place under exceptional circumstances such as at present, when the Mussulmans are excited and irritated by the accounts of the conflict in the Herzegovina.

Formerly, moreover, these excesses passed unknown; but with the greater publicity now prevailing, they excite more attention.

The administration of the Province was still abominable, and many real grievances called loudly for redress; but he could not, he said, as an honest man, deny that there had been a marked progress and improvement.

I promised to use such influence as I possessed in persuading the Porte to adopt effectual measures for remedying these evils, and said that I had reason to believe the Grand Vizier to be prepared to adopt several of the most important of those he had suggested.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 571.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 789.)

Therapia, November 28, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the inclosed copy of a confidential report from Mr. Sandison, giving the Grand Vizier's account of the audience which he had of the Sultan three days ago for the first time since his illness.

The reforms for which Mahmoud Pasha states His Majesty's sanction to have been given are of an important nature, although their value must much depend upon the form into which they may be put.

The projected abolition of the Council of State may possibly have the appearance of a retrograde measure to those who are imperfectly acquainted with the manner in which it has worked during its seven years of existence, but, as I have repeatedly stated in my correspondence with your Lordship's Department, it has been amply proved to be an institution totally unsuited to this country, which has done more than anything else to retard its development and to place hopeless difficulties in the way of all beneficial enterprises.

From the experience I have had of it, I shall see it swept away with unmixed satisfaction.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 571.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Therapia, November 27, 1875.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Excellency's information, that the Grand Vizier had a very satisfactory audience of the Sultan yesterday, during which His Highness advocated successfully the general question of reforms, to which His Majesty is represented to have shown himself favourably disposed.

The Grand Vizier said that he had left a long list of them with the Sultan, who had already sanctioned some of the most pressing, if not the most important ones under existing circumstances, viz.:—

The appointment of Christian Kaïmakams in certain parts of European Turkey; the reorganization of the provincial police, which would apparently imply the introduction of Christians into that corps, as already contemplated; the curtailing of the attributions and authority of the religious courts of justice; the introduction of certain ameliorations into the existing system connected with the tenure of real property; and, lastly, the abolition of the Council of State, as well as the Supreme Council of Justice.

His Highness thinks that the remaining reforms, as enumerated in his list, will also receive the Imperial sanction.

Having thought the opportunity a favourable one, his Highness told the Sultan what had come to his knowledge as regards the intentions of the three Powers to send instructions to their respective Ambassadors here on the subject of reforms, and at the same time mentioned to His Majesty the suggestions repeatedly made by your Excellency in view of those instructions, the practical effect of which would be to impose upon the Porte what might bear the character of a spontaneous act on its part, provided it was immediately accomplished. His Majesty, having seen the full importance of it as tending to save the dignity of his Government, expressed to the Grand Vizier his high sense of the valuable advice given by your Excellency on this occasion.

As Count Zichy had his audience of the Sultan to-day, I inquired what was the account he had received of it. His Highness was not able to give me the full particulars, but said that he had just heard with surprise from the Foreign Minister that Count Zichy, who had all along given the Porte every assurance as to the peaceful intentions of the Prince of Montenegro and of his people, should have now spoken in quite a different sense to the Sultan, by saying that Montenegro and the Prince were by way of making common cause with the insurgents of the Herzegovina, which had the effect of startling His Majesty.

The rest of the conversation seems to have turned chiefly upon the subject of reforms, and upon the judicious composition of the present Ministry.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 572.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 794.)

Therapia, November 29, 1875.

My Lord,

I HAVE forwarded to your Lordship by my despatch No. 789 Mr. Sandison's confidential report, stating that the Sultan has given his approval to the Grand Vizier to various reforms.

The Grand Vizier has now received from His Majesty the formal Iradé directing them to be carried out, and His Highness will immediately proceed to settle their details.

He repeated to me what he proposed to do, much as he had stated it to Mr. Sandison.

He said that, although Christians would at first only be appointed to the posts of sub or district Governors, it was intended that they should shortly be nominated to the superior position of Governors likewise.

The present law of the Vilayets would be abrogated, and replaced by one which should give the people a more real voice in the administration of the provinces than they had hitherto had, and the members of the Provincial Councils would be elected by the inhabitants upon a franchise which will have to be determined.

In the reorganization of the police, he proposed that it should be selected from persons of both religions, and that for the future its duties should be confined to the maintenance of order, leaving the collection of the taxes to the care of special functionaries.

He proposed as far as possible to unify the taxes, to correct the present complicated system under which they are levied, and to prevent the "bedel," or tax for military exemption from being levied upon children, which has been the occasion for much well grounded complaint on the part of the Christian populations.

In regard to the tenure of property, the Christians would be put upon a footing of perfect equality with the Mussulmans, and the old arrangements which partook of the character of serfdom should be abolished.

The attributions of the "Sheri," or religious courts, would be curtailed and confined to the cases more properly appertaining to them, other matters being referred to the Civil Tribunals.

This is a point of much importance to the Christians, for, as the religious courts neither admit documentary nor written evidence, nor receive Christian evidence, they could hope for little justice from them.

The above reforms only or chiefly affect the administration of the provinces, but the abolition of the Council of State, and of the High Court of Justice affects that of the whole Empire.

With regard to the latter I hardly feel competent to speak with confidence, but judging from the manner in which, upon a recent occasion, it set aside the verdict pronounced by the competent Tribunal upon the murderers of a British subject, I conceive that, as at present constituted, it is little calculated to advance the ends of justice.

The abolition of the Council of State, as I have said in another despatch, I view with unmixed satisfaction.

Imposed upon the Porte at the pressing instance of a foreign Government, it has been proved to be the most fatal impediment to all progress, and a convenient irresponsible body behind which every department of the State was always able to shelter itself, and indefinitely to protract the settlement of the most just claims.

The Grand Vizier says that his intention is that each Department shall, for the future, be responsible for its acts.

Your Lordship will perceive that the reforms projected are of the highest importance, but their value must depend upon their details being so arranged as to prevent their being illusory, and upon the sincerity with which they are put into execution.

The Grand Vizier anticipates much opposition from some of his colleagues, but says that, being now armed with the formal sanction of the Sultan, he is fully determined to carry these measures out.

He had not yet communicated this information to any of my colleagues, and must beg me, for the present, to consider it as entirely confidential, but he was most anxious to be assured of my support in an arduous task.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 573.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 802.)
My Lord, *Therapia, November 30, 1875.*

THE separation of Midhat Pasha from the Grand Vizier is an untoward occurrence at the present moment, for he is unquestionably the only man in whom reliance is placed by the public, and whom they look upon as capable of extricating the country from its difficulties.

Any project of reform from which he dissents will be received with distrust, and will give less satisfaction than it would otherwise have done. The Grand Vizier intimates that Midhat Pasha looked upon some of his proposals as too sweeping, but it may well be that he regarded them as insufficient or illusory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 574.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 804.)
My Lord, *Therapia, December 2, 1875.*

THE project of the different reforms, of which I have communicated the basis to your Lordship, has been under the consideration of the Council of Ministers, which has already approved the greater number of them, and put them into the final shape that they are intended to have.

These have been submitted to the Imperial sanction, and, as the Council is to-day occupied upon the rest, it is expected that they will be promulgated within a very few days.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 575.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.— (Received December 20.)

(No. 809. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Therapia, December 2, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a Report from Mr. Sandison, of a confidential conversation with the Grand Vizier, who informed him of the substance of a communication which had been made to him by the Austrian Ambassador.

Count Zichy stated that he had been instructed by Count Andrassy to urge His Highness not to promulgate his contemplated reforms till after the suppression of the insurrection in the Herzegovina, and then only in concert with the Signatories of the Treaty of Paris, and not without previously consulting them.

The Grand Vizier appears to have rejected Count Zichy's proposal in peremptory terms, but your Lordship will understand the painful impression that it has produced upon His Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 575.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Therapia, December 2, 1875.*

AFTER hearing from General Ignatiew, through Artin Effendi, that the Emperor had disapproved of the Austrian proposal that the three Powers should cause a collective representation to be made to the Porte in regard to the reforms, the Grand Vizier received this morning a visit from Count Zichy, who told His Highness that he had just got instructions by telegraph from Count Andrassy to the effect that the Porte should not undertake to carry out the reforms it contemplated until after the suppression of the insurrection in the Herzegovina by force of arms, adding that the effect of their promulgation, at the present moment, would be to lead the insurgents to look upon them as proceeding from a feeling of fear and anxiety for the safety of the disaffected Provinces.

His Excellency added that when the time came the Porte should effect these reforms in concert with the Signatories of the Treaty of Paris, but not without first consulting them on the subject.

His Highness could not help expressing surprise at such language from the representative of a friendly Power in regard to a matter which was calculated to give general satisfaction, and one which did not apply to those who were up in arms against the Sovereign authority, but to the peaceful subjects of the Sultan in general.

His Highness then went on to say that he might perhaps have listened with less mortification to a downright declaration of war by Austria than to the adoption of a course which made so little account of the Sultan's Sovereign rights, but which he was determined to uphold as best he could.

Count Zichy, hearing the Grand Vizier reply in these terms, soon desisted from laying any further stress on the subject, and enjoined the greatest secresy about it. His Highness replied that if his Excellency had spoken seriously under instructions from Count Andrassy he could hardly undertake to keep the matter strictly to himself, and that he must at any rate communicate it to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Grand Vizier assured me that he has not mentioned the subject to any of the foreign representatives, and that he would be very glad to hear your Excellency's opinion about it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. SANDISON.

No. 576.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 810.)
My Lord, *Therapia, December 4, 1875.*

UPON the receipt last night by the messenger Harbord, of your Lordship's despatch, No. 362, recording your telegram of the 17th ultimo, transmitting one from Sir Andrew Buchanan, it was found that, owing to a singular mistake in the figures, it had been decyphered so as to convey a precisely contrary sense to that which was intended.

The telegram, as it reached me, represented Sir Andrew Buchanan, as stating as a fact, that Count Andrassy wished the Great Powers to invite Austria to occupy Bosnia, and it was upon this understanding of it that I wrote my despatch No. 762 setting forth the objections to such a course.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 577.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 811.)
My Lord, *Therapia, December 4, 1875.*

THE Austrian Ambassador, speaking yesterday of the complaints which had latterly been made of the assistance afforded to the insurgents by the Montenegrins,

said that it had given him much pleasure to be able to communicate to the Porte most satisfactory assurances of neutrality which his Government had received from Prince Nicholas.

I said that I must confess myself unable to attach much value to these professions.

From first to last the language of the Prince had been all that could be desired; but his acts had corresponded with them only to the extent of abstaining from openly taking part with the insurgents; and this had latterly been the case more than ever.

Count Zichy admitted the large number of Montenegrins who had of late taken part in the insurrection, but attributed it to the real inability of the Prince to prevent it.

General Ignatiew maintains, on the other hand, that there are not more than a few hundred Montenegrins with the insurgents, and, as I have never before known the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador express an opinion contrary to that of his colleagues, even upon the most trivial detail, he is probably acting under the instructions of his Government in now recognizing the part taken by the Montenegrins in the insurrection.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 578.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 813.)
My Lord, *Therapia, December 5, 1875.*

YOUR Lordship receives Mr. Consul Holmes' official Reports considerably before they reach me, but I transcribe from a private letter from him the following extract referring to the encouragement given to the insurrection by the neighbouring States.

Mr. Holmes writes that "Austria has acted towards Turkey more as a declared enemy than as a friend.

"The insurgents in the Herzegovina have received the most undisguised encouragement and assistance of every kind, and Austrian subjects have taken a most active part in the revolt.

"The insurrection in Bosnia, if it can be so called, has chiefly consisted of incursions of armed bands of Croats and Servians from Austrian territory, and the people only rose when they were absolutely forced to do so by these marauders, who, carrying off cattle belonging to Turkish proprietors, sold them freely in Austria, and then returned to make fresh raids.

"In fact, except that regular troops have not been employed, Austria might have been at war with Turkey.

"Montenegro, also, in spite of the professions of the Prince, has acted in the same manner, and the chief combatants in the Herzegovina have been Montenegrins and Crevosciens (Austrian subjects.)

"No powerful State would have tolerated such conduct for a moment, but Turkey has been obliged to do so without a word.

"If, during the winter, steps are not taken to alter this state of affairs, the most serious consequences to Turkey may be expected in the spring.

"From all that I hear, the rebels have been encouraged to hold out till then, in spite of all concessions; with what result will at length be apparent."

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 579.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 815. Very Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 8, 1875.*

THE Austrian Ambassador yesterday communicated to the Grand Vizier an instruction which he had just received from Count Andrassy, directing him again strenuously to urge

the postponement of the promulgation of the proposed reforms, and to represent that it was in the interest of the Porte that the delay was asked.

The Grand Vizier again answered that, as the measures were being prepared by the Sultan's orders with a view to the benefit of his subjects in all parts of the Empire, he could not withhold their promulgation without some good cause.

His Highness having asked my opinion, I said that, according to the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, I had constantly urged the Porte to adopt and publish without delay the measures of reform which are imperatively called for, and I continued to be of opinion that they could not be issued too soon, unless the Austro-Hungarian Government gave some satisfactory reason for wishing for a delay.

Raschid Pasha says that he is at a loss to account for the advice now given by the Austrian Ambassador, otherwise than by the supposition that Count Andrassy wishes to secure for himself the credit of the concessions about to be made by the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 580.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 822.)
My Lord, *Pera, December 10, 1875.*

THERE are two points connected with the reforms about to be published upon which the Grand Vizier has especially pressed me for my opinion.

The first has reference to the terms in which the Firman should state that Christians would be employed as District and Sub-Governors.

It was intended, as he had before told me, that these appointments should be made at once, to be followed, he hoped, later by Christians being appointed to the position of Governors of Provinces; but, if mention was made in the Firman of the nomination of intended Christians to the lower posts, he thought it might perhaps have the appearance of confirming their exclusion from the higher ones.

I said that I concurred with him in considering that he must carefully avoid conveying such an impression, and that he ought, therefore, on the contrary, so to word the Firman as to let it be known that the Christians were for the future to be eligible for any post in the provinces, however high.

He will, I believe, act upon this advice.

The next question related to the mode in which the Firman was to be communicated to the foreign Powers, which he had promised that it should be.

Was a copy of it simply to be given to the foreign Representatives, or was it to be sent to them in an official note?

I said that the latter course was decidedly that which should be adopted.

It should be communicated by a note stating that the Firman was issued by the Sultan for the purpose of putting all his subjects upon the footing of equality, which they had not hitherto fully enjoyed, and in order to remedy the just causes of complaint which existed in most parts of the Empire.

The Grand Vizier did not take an absolute engagement to adopt this course, but I have every expectation that he will do so, notwithstanding the indisposition of the Porte to admit the right of foreign Governments to expect to be officially informed of measures of internal administration.

My argument against this view is that, the Hatti Humayoun having been officially communicated, the same course should be followed in regard to the Firman intended to give it a real effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 581.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 824.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 10, 1875.*

RASCHID PASHA, who called upon me to-day, spoke of the perplexity in which the Porte was placed by the divergence in the language of the Austrian and Russian Governments.

Count Andrassy had told the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna that the three Powers were perfectly agreed; and that, if there was any apparent difference at Constantinople, it was the Ambassadors who were answerable for it.

At the same time, the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburgh telegraphed that the Russian Government recommended the Porte to issue their reforms as quickly as possible, and said that General Ignatiew had been instructed in this sense.

Count Zichy, on the other hand, communicated a telegram from Count Andrassy urgently pressing for a postponement of the measures of concession.

It appeared, therefore, that both Ambassadors were acting according to their instructions, and the difference of language must be attributed to their Governments and not to themselves.

Raschid Pasha alluded to another contradiction in the language of Count Andrassy.

The postponement of the reforms till after the suppression of the insurrection was urged on the ground that if given now they would be looked upon simply as a confession of weakness; and at another moment it was represented that, if issued with the concurrence of the Powers, they would lead to the pacification of the revolted provinces.

There was an inconsistency in all this which the Porte could not understand.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 582.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office, December 20.)

(No. 151. Most Confidential.)
Sir,

Buda Pesth, December 14, 1875.

I AM informed that Count Andrassy's Project of Reforms to be submitted to the Porte for the future administration of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, having been finally agreed to by Russia, is already in type, and extends to sixteen large pages of printed matter; so that it is possibly already in your Excellency's hands.

My informant repeated to-day, in my presence, to Mr. Robert Hanbury, M.P. for Tamworth (who has just arrived here from Bucharest and Belgrade), the account he originally gave me of the invitation he had received to assist in the preparation of this Project. He continues to maintain that it is impracticable, and he specified two points as examples: one being the proposal to give the Turkish administration to Christian adjuncts ("adjoints"), and the other the embodiment of a Christian National Guard.

He also told me, in the strictest confidence (and was exceedingly unwilling that I should make use of the information) that Count Andrassy had determined to recall Count Zichy from Constantinople. That Count Anthony Széchen had been sounded as to his willingness to accept the Embassy to the Porte, but had declared that he regarded Count Andrassy's policy as so dangerous that he could not do so. I have every reason to believe that Count Andrassy is anxious that this Empire should be diplomatically represented at Constantinople by a Hungarian, as he has over and over again said as much to my Turkish colleague.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.

No. 583.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 420. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Vienna, December 16, 1875.

A GENTLEMAN, acquainted with Count Andrassy's proposals for ameliorating the position of the Christians in the Bosnia and the Herzegovina, has expressed to me serious doubts of their being accepted by the insurgents; and on my observing that Austria could starve them into submission, he said such a measure applied to the refugees would be morally impossible, from the indignation it would excite among the Austrian Slavs, and that

the frontier was too extensive to be militarily occupied, so as to prevent the belligerents receiving supplies from their sympathizing neighbours.

The case was very different, however, with regard to the Turks, who could be prevented from procuring provisions and ammunition by closing Klek, and cutting off their communication with Ragusa and Croatia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 584.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 422. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Vienna, December 16, 1875.

IN confirmation of the statement in my despatch No. 411 of the 2nd instant, Baron Hofmann states that he has reason to believe that the Servian Government have not succeeded in contracting a foreign loan.

As I asked his Excellency if it were true that Montenegro is also endeavouring to borrow money, to be prepared for the eventualities of the spring, he answered that he had no positive information on the subject, but that the reports in circulation respecting it are probably not without foundation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 585.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 424. Confidential.)
My Lord,

Vienna, December 16, 1875.

AT an interview which I had to-day with Count Andrassy, I asked when he intended to communicate his views on the Herzegovina question to your Lordship, and he said that he hoped to be able to do so before Christmas, but that, at the request of the Russian Ambassador, he had delayed forwarding instructions on the subject to Count Beust, in case Prince Gortchakow should consider that the agreement to which the two Governments had come would require to be amended, in consequence of the publication of the reforms already decided upon by the Porte.

His Excellency did not himself believe that the arrangements suggested by Russia and Austria could be in any way affected by that publication, as it was merely a repetition or development of former theoretical rights granted by the Sultan to his Christian subjects, whereas the reform which will be recommended to the adoption of the Porte will be of a more practical character. As, however, it had been understood at St. Petersburgh that the concessions contained in the recent Iradé were only to have been communicated to the Representatives of the Great Powers, and not to be made public until after an exchange of ideas with them, he had assented to M. Nowikoff's wish to await his next despatches from Prince Gortchakow before communicating the views of the three Imperial Courts to their allies.

His Excellency said that he had found it necessary to instruct Count Zichy to hold very decided language to Mahmoud Pasha in reply to some observations of his Highness, in which he spoke of the reforms he had prepared for publication as being intended as a boon to the subjects of the Sultan throughout the Empire, and as not being in any way adopted with a view to the pacification of the insurgent provinces, which the Imperial troops would ere long fully accomplish, and that the Porte would consequently consider any recommendations by foreign Powers proposing concessions to the insurgents as an unjustifiable interference in the affairs of the Empire, inconsistent with its independence.

Count Andrassy said that, as he had a few days previously, at the request of the Grand Vizier, successfully cautioned the Prince of Montenegro against permitting a large force of Montenegrans assembled on the frontier from engaging in hostilities with the troops of the Porte, he had instructed Count Zichy to state that, if such services were asked of Austria, she had surely a right to expect that her advice, with a view to the pacification of the Provinces, would not be treated as uncalled for; and besides

that, as the Porte had proved that her troops could not suppress the insurrection, her neighbours who were suffering from it had as much right to suggest how the country might be pacified as the occupants of neighbouring houses would have to assist in extinguishing a fire which was threatening their property with destruction. His Excellency said he had been most pleased to learn from Count Beust that your Lordship had concurred in this view of the case in language which you had held to Musurus Pasha, and that he had instructed Count Beust to thank you for doing so.

I asked what grounds he had for hoping that his suggestions would satisfy the insurgents, and what was to be done if they failed to do so. He replied that all the European Powers could do was to prescribe what appeared to be a reasonable remedy for the disease with which they had to deal; that he considered there were nine chances in ten of its proving efficacious; but that, should it fail, Austria had no intention of becoming the gensdarme of Europe. All she could do would be to persuade the refugees on her own territory to return to their homes, as the advantages offered would no longer be deceptions; and if the mass of the population were satisfied with the material benefits secured to them, the revolutionary leaders would be left without a following, and have to retire from the contest.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 586.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 425. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, December 16, 1875.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 424 of this date, in which I report Count Andrassy to have said that Austria has no intention of becoming the gensd'arme of Europe, if the insurgents are not satisfied with the concessions which may be made to them by the Porte. His Excellency may possibly have not wished to admit that a more complete closing of the Dalmatian and Croatian frontiers could be effected than at present exists.

However, when I was at Pesth yesterday, a gentleman, who sees a good deal of his Excellency, said to me that, if there were a disposition on the part of the insurgents to decline the proposed concessions, there were mild means of repression in the power of the Government, which would soon make them reasonable. And an acquaintance I made last night in the railway, who appeared to be intimately acquainted with Slav politicians, and with their views and means of action, said that Austria, by fully occupying the frontier, could suppress the insurrection in a fortnight, the period to which Baron Hofmann, in the observations reported in my Confidential despatch No. 408 of the 30th ultimo, limited its duration, if the frontier were closed.

My railway acquaintance also pretended to know that Count Andrassy had stated two days previously that, though he would not interfere, if the Servians expelled Prince Milan, he would immediately send troops to Bosnia, if the Prince of Montenegro accepted the sovereignty of Servia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 587.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 426.)
My Lord, *Vienna, December 16, 1875.*

WITH reference to Mr. Consul-General White's despatch No. 98 to Sir Henry Elliot, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that a gentleman, who frequently visits Belgrade, apparently on commercial affairs, has stated to me that Servia has no chance of procuring a loan under the law passed for that purpose at the secret sitting of the Skuptschina, as it fixes too low a rate of issue, and precludes the Government from securing it on the property of the Principality. If the law, however, were amended so as to admit of guarantees being given for the payment of the interest and principal, this difficulty would be removed, and the money wanted would be readily

obtained; or should a railway loan be negotiated, arrangements, he thought, might be made for including in it the sum required for military purposes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 588.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 428. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, December 16, 1875.*

COUNT ANDRASSY, in speaking to me to-day of the recent purchase by Her Majesty's Government of the Suez Canal shares held by the Khedive, said that, as he was confident the purchase would prove as advantageous to Austrian as to British commerce, he could only look upon it with satisfaction, adding that he was also happy to feel that there is not one question in the east or in the west of Europe in which the interests of Austria and Great Britain are not, in his opinion, identical.

He regretted, therefore, that there appeared to be little confidence existing between the Ambassadors of the two countries at Constantinople, but he was ready to admit that though Sir Henry Elliot did not appear to encourage confidence on the part of Count Zichy, this might be accounted for by the latter being too much under the influence of General Ignatiew. He said he had warned Count Zichy of the inconvenience of his following unreservedly the inspirations of his Russian colleague, but he had just learned that they had written identic reports, in terms probably suggested by General Ignatiew, representing Prince Nicholas as free from any responsibility for the successes of the insurgents on the frontier of Montenegro, and the Turkish military officers as being alone to blame for them; whereas Count Andrassy is of opinion that, if the truth could be ascertained, it would appear that there was something to be said on both sides.

His Excellency added that whatever he might think of the proceedings of General Ignatiew, he believed the Russian Government to be sincerely desirous of suppressing the insurrection in the Herzégovina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 589.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 431.)
My Lord, *Vienna, December 21, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, in translation by Mr. Milbanke, a letter which has appeared in the "New Free Press," from their special correspondent at Ragusa, giving several details respecting the operations of the insurgents, and especially of the formation of a foreign legion in the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

Inclosure in No. 589.

Extract from the "Neue Freie Presse" of December 21, 1875.

(Translation.)

THE insurgent leader Ljubobratic has arrived at Ragusa to seek medical aid, as his health has been much injured since his fall from his horse. His friends maintain that he means to break with the so-called Montenegrin party, and act in future by himself. It was said that he had intended to return to Belgrade, where all the insurgent Servians were to follow him, and he was to organize an insurgent force to act against the Turkish troops on the Servian frontier. But it appears that Ljubobratic has received notice from the Austrian Government to leave Ragusa, and that he has now gone with his companions to Grebje, from whence he has marched against the Catholics of Popovo, who refused to take any

part in the insurrection. This expedition was, however, entirely frustrated, as the Catholics, assisted by the Turks, defeated the insurgents, and inflicted upon them not inconsiderable loss.

People are much occupied at the present moment at Ragusa with the formation of a so-called "foreign legion." A French officer of the name of Le Barbiew, by whose orders the Turkish fort at Tresicska was blown up with dynamite, has been decided upon as the leader of it. Volunteers from Italy, Servia, and Austria will be enrolled in the legion; and up to the present time 284 Frenchmen, 390 Italians, 53 Englishmen, 2 Americans, 1 Swede, 83 Greeks, and 22 Germans have expressed a desire to belong to it. Every man who is enrolled is bound to appear at Suttorina by the 1st of March, 1876, on which day the presentation of the standards will take place. The necessary money for the equipment of the expedition will be collected for the most part in France.

Several consignments of goods, consisting of clothes, bedding, &c., have lately arrived at Cettinje and Ragusa; they have been sent by the International Committée at Paris, and are destined for the Herzegovinian refugees.

A report that an envoy had arrived at Cettinje from the United States, offering arms and ammunition in the name of President Grant, appears now to be untrue; as the gentleman in question was not a Delegate of the Government, but only a commis voyageur of some American house.

The Catholic Metropolitan in Mostar has issued two Pastorals, in which he requires the Herzegovinian Catholics who have taken refuge in Austria to return to their homes. In one of these letters he says: "Why have you fallen into these unfortunate circumstances? Be not troubled; our merciful Lord has pity on you, and will not only treat you with justice, but will show you especial kindness. Be not, therefore, troubled, return to your hearths which you have been made to leave by malevolent disturbers of the peace. Be not troubled, nothing will happen to you; if you fear anything, turn to the Turkish Consul at Ragusa, who will give you the necessary directions to return here. And when you have once returned here, we will care for and protect you. Let not my advice and my request go forth in vain. Now there is still time; let matters not go so far that I shall be obliged to see you, with tears in my eyes, fall into still greater misery, without being able to render you assistance. Follow my paternal advice. Return to your homes, if love for your children has not wholly disappeared from your breasts."

"(Signed) IGNAZ, *Metropolitan.*"

Some insurgents driven on to Austrian territory, who assisted at the struggle of "Plano," and are now at Ragusa, relate that it was a most bloody encounter. The Turks fought very bravely, and in spite of the murderous fire of the insurgents, maintained their line of battle. From further accounts of the refugees, the alleged victory of the insurgents at Plano appears to have been a hard and bloody fight, but that the result was undecided.

No. 590.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 326.)

My Lord, *Rome, December* 16, 1875.

IN a conversation I had with Chevalier Visconti Venosta this morning, allusion was made to the programme of reforms which the Porte has just communicated to the Embassies at Constantinople.

On my asking his Excellency what was his opinion upon their merits, and the practical effect they were likely to produce, he replied that having only as yet received a telegraphic summary of them, he did not like to pronounce any absolute judgment upon them. The position of affairs, his Excellency proceeded to say, was certainly not rendered easier by the fact that the measures proposed to be adopted by the Turkish Government as a spontaneous act appeared precisely at the moment when the project concerted between Austria and Russia was reported as completed.

He could only hope, he said, that no question of *amour propre* on either side would stand in the way of the adoption of what was most likely to lead to a pacification of the insurrectionary provinces; that Turkey would be ready to accept whatever was good in the Austro-Russian scheme, and that these two Powers would not insist upon the acceptance of their measures if those announced by Turkey seemed likely to effect the object desired.

But independently of the merits of the measures themselves, his Excellency continued, the question remained as to what guarantee the Porte could offer for their being

carried into execution; for unless the insurgents could be inspired with confidence in this respect (and his Excellency has little hope they will rely upon the Sultan's promises) it was certain they would not lay down their arms.

M. Visconti Venosta looks forward with great apprehension to the spring, when, if the insurrection is not quelled, it is sure, in his Excellency's opinion, to spread to Montenegro, Servia, &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 591.

Consul Sandwith to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 21.)

(No. 18. Political.)

My Lord, *Candia, Crete, December* 7, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry Elliot on certain signs indicating coming disturbances in Crete.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

Inclosure in No. 591.

Consul Sandwith to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Candia, December* 7, 1875.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that on the 27th ultimo, I received a telegram from the British Vice-Consul in this town, to the effect that the Turkish soldiers of the garrison had insulted and maltreated several Christians, which had produced a feeling of much uneasiness in the town. Three days after the receipt of this intelligence I proceeded by steamer to Candia, in order to obtain more exact information on the spot. It appears that a lax discipline is maintained among the troops, who sometimes leave their barracks at night, and are supposed to be the perpetrators of several petty thefts that have taken place. They have assaulted and used menacing language to peaceable Christian inhabitants, one of whom had his ribs broken by a blow, for which offence the soldier was condemned to three days' imprisonment, and it is uncertain if even that slight punishment was inflicted. The hostility of the soldiers towards the Christians is explained by the events of the Herzegovina Insurrection, which is much discussed here, producing elation on the part of the Christians, and feelings of animosity on that of the Turks. I called on the Pasha, and pointed out to him the importance of preventing anything like a feeling of panic among the Christians; and he has since ordered the police to patrol the streets at night, and has promised to recommend the officer commanding the troops to keep his men in better discipline.

Having also learned that some Mussulmans in the country were beginning to remove their valuables to the town, and in a few instances their families also, I determined to take a few days' journey into the interior to seek the cause of this proceeding. I found in effect that the Christians were already beginning to talk more or less openly of again trying the fortune of war in the spring, and that their words being repeated to the Mussulman peasantry, who are in a great minority in these parts, the latter had in a very few instances been transporting their household goods to Candia and the fortress of Spina Longa as to places of security. A few families have also made their appearance here, but the Government is doing its utmost to check the movement, which would rapidly become contagious. At one village at which I stayed, the people complained to me of the conduct of a company of Turkish soldiers who garrison a block-house in their neighbourhood. A band of them had marched through their village a few days previously, and terrified the women and children by their unseemly words and behaviour, and had committed several petty thefts. The people desired to come to me in a body to complain against them, but I declined to receive them, telling them to address themselves to the Governor. At Kritza, the largest village in Crete, situated towards its eastern end, and peopled entirely by Christians, I myself was present at a conversation which took place between a Mussulman and one of the Christian inhabitants who had come to see the master of the house where I

was lodging. The latter remarked, that the next time they took up arms they would be sure to succeed, because the Turks had now neither soldiers nor money to spare to put them down. The other rejoined that the Christians might perhaps be masters in the country, because they were much more numerous, and more active in scaling mountains, but that the Mussulmans would be quits in the towns. The dialogue took the form of seemingly good-tempered banter, but it was certainly significant of new hopes springing up among the people; and I can safely say no Christian durst have used such language in mixed company during the five years that I have spent in Crete. The chief of this village told me that when he returned to his home after the amnesty granted at the close of the last insurrection, he was seized by the soldiers and suspended from two poles by his feet and the hair of his head, and left exposed to the burning sun for eight hours. He was then beaten, and the same punishment was renewed the following week, till the old man, who was then upwards of sixty, thought he must have died.

While on a visit to a leading Chief in this eastern half of Crete, who was one of the staunchest supporters of Kostachi Pasha, the late Governor of that district, I received fresh proof that the Christians were following with feverish anxiety the struggle of their co-religionists in Bosnia, of the movements of which, the Trieste papers published in Greek keep them well informed. In these journals they see reproduced in translation, leading articles from the "Times," and other English newspapers, which lead them to believe that England's policy in the East is undergoing a change, and that she would do nothing to prevent the disruption of the Ottoman Empire. To the perusal of such articles I attribute the origin of some remarks made to me by the chief to whom I refer. He said that if the Herzegovina insurrection was a-foot in the spring, his people could hardly be prevented from trying conclusions with the Turks in desperate fight, for that they were wearied with their administration, and longed for liberty. "But after all," he added, "we have no great desire to be annexed to Greece, for neither of us could be of service to the other. What we want is a strong Government in order to make us keep our hands off the Mussulmans, and from what I know of my countrymen, they would desire no nation to rule them so much as the English." I need not assure your Excellency that I gave no encouragement to any such idea, but I reproduce the remark as significant, for my interlocutor is a man who with a word could raise the eastern half of the island.

I may state, in passing, that I learnt from this man that just before the outbreak of the last insurrection the Russian Consul in Canea sent for him and urged him to take up arms without delay. "You have nothing to fear," said he, "even though there were a Turkish soldier behind every bush of your mountains, for Russia will support you." "We can never trust Russia again," he added, "but England has never deluded us with false promises."

During my tour I have been much struck with the unpopularity of the Christian employés. With few exceptions they are men who have recommended themselves to the Turks by their servility, and by services peculiarly odious to their fellow-countrymen, such as denouncing to the Government any man suspected of being disaffected to it. Such men are everywhere the basest of their kind, and it is not wonderful if they have succeeded in irrevocably alienating from Turkish rule the better element of the population. Miltiades Aristarchi Pasha, the Christian Mutessarif of the country I have just travelled over, seems fairly popular, though he is scarcely the equal of his predecessor, Kostachi Adossides Pasha. His Excellency bitterly complained to me of the conduct of his Mouavin or Councillor, who is a son of Hamid Bey, the Mussulman Muskaver of Canea, on whose noxious influence over public affairs I have often had occasion to speak. He said he was a thorn in his side, and thwarted by every means, open or under-handed, his efforts at improving the condition of his district.

I take the liberty of adding one remark which was yesterday made me by a gentleman who has just come on a visit to this town, and who remembered it twenty years ago. Then, he said, you would see bazaars thronged with busy traffickers, houses and shops in good repair, a few well-dressed substantial merchants, both native and foreign, and an air of general prosperity pervading the place. Now, he said, it looks dilapidated and overtaken by misery, and you can scarcely meet a well-dressed man in the place. I could hardly believe it was the same town.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOMAS B. SANDWITH.

No. 591*.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 21.)

(No. 826.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 14, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship the copy of a note from the Porte, inclosing a translation of the new Firman by which the Sultan orders the administrative reforms to be carried out.

In transmitting to your Lordship, by the present post, the copy of the document as I have received it from the Porte, it is not possible for me to accompany it with any comments.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 591*.

Raschid Pasha to Sir H. Elliot.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Sublime Porte, le 13 Décembre, 1875.*

J'AI l'honneur de communiquer ci-inclus à votre Excellence la traduction en Français du Firman Impérial par lequel Sa Majesté le Sultan, mon auguste maître, dans sa haute sollicitude pour tous ses sujets sans distinction, a daigné leur octroyer de nouvelles immunités et faveurs comme complément de celles qui leur avaient été accordées précédemment.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) RASCHID.

Inclosure 2 in No. 591*.

Imperial Firman.

(Traduction.)
A vous mon illustre Grand Vésir, Mahmoud Nédim Pacha.

LES Etats civilisés doivent consacrer leurs efforts à garantir les droits publics. Tous les moyens qui doivent concourir à la sauvegarde et au maintien de ce principe ne peuvent être obtenus que par une stricte application de la justice à tous sans distinction et par l'organisation régulière de l'administration. Les intérêts individuels ne sont assurés que par l'ordre et la prospérité du pays, les intérêts particuliers étant intimement liés aux intérêts généraux.

Depuis notre avénement au Trône, nos intentions et nos sentiments impériaux, déjà portés à la connaissance de tous, ont eu pour objet, avec l'aide de Dieu, la grandeur et la gloire de notre Empire, la tranquillité et le bien-être de toutes les classes de nos sujets, et le développement du progrès au profit de la richesse et de la prospérité de nos Etats. Pour réaliser plus complètement encore ces intentions, nous avons résolu d'octroyer à tous nos sujets et de promulguer des immunités et des réformes propres à assurer complètement la confiance publique. En conséquence nous ordonnons, en vertu de notre présent Iradé Impériale, l'application, par la grâce du Tout Puissant, des mesures qui suivent :—

La garantie des droits publics repose sur l'abstention de toute ingérence du pouvoir exécutif dans l'exercice du pouvoir judiciaire, ainsi que sur la défense de la loi contre tout abus.

Il ne suffit pas d'instituer des tribunaux, pour qu'il soit en possession de la confiance générale; il faut encore que les membres de ces tribunaux se recommandent par leur mérite réel, par la pureté de leurs mœurs, et par leur intégrité, ainsi que par des actes conformes à la justice et à l'équité.

Notre Haute Cour de Justice n'a été instituée que pour concentrer en elle toutes ces conditions et qualités. Dès lors il est nécessaire de fonder sur ces bases sa composition et ses attributions, et d'introduire des améliorations sérieuses dans les diverses parties de ses fonctions.

De même que l'indépendance des Tribunaux par rapport au pouvoir administratif peut seule en assurer l'impartialité, de même l'inamovibilité des juges, sauf révocation

pour cause légitime, peut seule les rendre dignes de toute confiance. Il faut donc que le choix de ces membres soit fait de manière à commander l'estime de tous.

Les attributions de la Présidence de la Cour de Cassation qui domine tous les tribunaux Nijamié (civils, correctionnels, criminels) sont détachées de celles de notre Ministère de la Justice. Les deux sections de cette Cour auront un Premier Président et un Vice-Président. En même temps la Cour d'Appel et les Tribunaux de Commerce seront réunis à notre Ministère de la Justice, ce qui permettra au Ministère du Commerce de se consacrer au développement de tout ce qui intéresse le commerce, l'industrie et l'agriculture. A cet effet la Cour d'Appel attachée à notre Haute Cour de Justice réunira les attributions de la Cour d'Appel du Commerce, ainsi que celles du Tribunal Criminel. Elle comprendra par conséquent trois chambres correspondant aux affaires correctionnelles, aux affaires civiles, et aux affaires commerciales. On élira de nouveau les Présidents et les Juges tant de cette Cour ainsi instituée que de la Cour de Cassation de manière à ce qu'ils réunissent toutes les conditions légalement requises.

On réformera et on constituera de la même manière les Tribunaux Civils de Première Instance. Il sera délivré à chacun des membres de ces Cours et Tribunaux, choisis avec la plus scrupuleuse attention, un Bérat Impérial les garantissant contre toute destitution sans cause légitime, et on élaborera également un Règlement qui fixera leurs droits à la retraite.

La réorganisation que nous venons de décréter de notre Haute Cour de Justice, ayant pour but d'assurer l'expédition normale et régulière de toutes les affaires litigieuses en reliant entre eux, aux moyens d'une organisation uniforme, tous les Tribunaux Nijamié (civils, criminels, et correctionnels), nous voulons que les mêmes règles soient appliquées aux dits Tribunaux institués dans nos États et dont la mission est de rendre la justice à nos sujets et de faire régner partout les lois de l'équité.

Dans le but d'écarter toute cause de méfiance de la part du public par rapport à la constitution et à la composition de ces Tribunaux, et de les mettre à l'abri de l'ingérance et de l'influence du pouvoir, nous ordonnons de la manière la plus formelle ce qui suit :—

Tous nos sujets sont autorisés à élire eux-mêmes les juges et les membres Musulmans et non-Musulmans, tant des dits Tribunaux, que des Conseils Administratifs des Provinces. En conséquence, des instructions précises seront envoyées dans toutes les provinces de l'Empire pour instituer ces Tribunaux et Conseils et procéder à leur composition suivant le mode ci-dessus décrété.

Les naïbs qui se trouvent dans les chefs-lieux des vilayets occuperont le poste de Présidents des Cours d'Appel de ces chefs-lieux. Les Présidents des Tribunaux Civils et Criminels dans les chefs-lieux des Sandjaks et des Cajas seront choisis parmi les personnes les plus capables.

L'examen, par rapport au Chéri, des sentences rendues par les Tribunaux de Chéri, des Sandjaks, et des Cajas, sera également dévolu aux dits naïbs des chefs-lieux des vilayets.

Comme l'institution des Tribunaux doit avoir pour effet essentiel de centraliser les garanties de sécurité pour les droits des personnes, les procès de nos sujets Musulmans avec nos subjets Chrétiens et autres non-Musulmans, ainsi que les procès de nos sujets Chrétiens entre eux ou avec nos sujets appartenant à d'autres croyances non-Musulmans, et les procès de ces derniers entre eux seront référés aux Tribunaux Nijamié (civils, correctionnels, criminels). On devra compléter et mettre en vigueur dans le plus bref délai les lois et règlements concernant la procédure à suivre devant les dits Tribunaux et d'après nos Décrets Impériaux.

L'observation scrupuleuse de la loi est un sauvegarde contre l'arbitraire et doit être par conséquent l'objet de l'attention constante des Tribunaux. De même l'application des dispositions de la loi, proportionnée à la gravité du crime constaté, doit être prise en sérieuse considération, de façon à ce que personne ne soit détenu sans jugement, et que les mauvais traitements ne soient jamais tolérés. A cet effet on doit publier que tous ceux qui auront été convaincus d'avoir commis ces actes en violant les principes qui viennent d'être posés seront poursuivis et punis d'après toute la rigueur des lois ; et ce afin d'assurer le respect absolu de la justice.

Un des points les plus importants du principe fondamental qui garantit les droits de nos sujets consiste dans l'application d'une juste proportion dans les impôts et redevances de l'État, aussi bien que dans leur perception suivant un mode équitable. Il est vrai que les revenus généraux du Trésor ont été proportionnés aux dépenses administratives et militaires exigées par l'exercice de l'autorité, et que l'on doit rechercher sans les moyens propres à augmenter ces revenus au fur et à mesure du développement des richesses du pays et de la prospérité publique ; mais on doit aussi,

et telle est notre volonté Impériale, renoncer à celles des branches des revenus publics qui sont une cause de souffrance pour la population, sans assurer aucun avantage important au Trésor.

La diversité des impôts et contributions intérieures auxquels sont soumis tous nos sujets, ayant amené un régime anormal de perception et de répartition, nous ordonnons de rechercher un mode d'unification des dits impôts, et de les mettre immédiatement en vigueur de manière à alléger les populations de notre Empire, par l'établissement d'une juste proportionalité, tout en sauvegardant les intérêts légitimes du Trésor.

Indépendamment de la suppression du quart supplémentaire de la dîme, suppression qui a été récemment décrétée par l'effet de notre sollicitude Impériale pour le bien-être de tous nos sujets, on doit encore prendre les mesures les plus efficaces pour prévenir l'arbitraire dans la perception de la dîme par l'intermédiaire des fermiers, et pour empêcher également qu'aucun dommage ne soit porté soit à nos populations agricoles soit à notre Trésor Impérial.

Comme la perception des impôts directement payés par nos sujets, perception qui doit avoir un caractère spécial, avait été confiée aux zaptiés dans les provinces, et que ce mode de procéder est reconnu aujourd'hui abusif, nous ordonnons que la police n'ait plus à exercer aucune immixtion dans le recouvrement des impôts, et qu'on désigne pour cet objet les percepteurs choisis par les populations Musulmanes et non-Musulmanes elles-mêmes, lesquels auront à opérer les recouvrements suivant les instructions qui seront élaborées à cet effet. Telle étant à cet égard notre ferme volonté Impériale, on mettra sans retard à exécution cette mesure destinée à garantir aussi bien l'exercice des droits du fisc que le mode de perception de l'impôt.

Parmi les questions qui touchent les intérêts de nos sujets se présente celle de la réforme à introduire dans les titres de la propriété immobilière. La délivrance de ces titres, qui s'effectue d'une manière différente dans notre capitale et dans les provinces, et l'absence de titres, ont pour effet de surcharger de travail les Tribunaux, d'occasionner des difficultés et des procès au préjudice des populations, et de déprécier la valeur des immeubles. Pour obvier à ces inconvénients, les titres de toutes les propriétés immobilières, à quelque catégorie qu'elles appartiennent, seront désormais exclusivement délivrés par la Direction Générale des Archives. Un programme complet sera présenté à cet effet pour assurer le droit de propriété à tous nos sujets.

Suivant notre constant désir, la vie, les biens, et l'honneur de tous nos sujets doivent être garantis, et ce but doit être principalement atteint au moyen de la police. En conséquence, les zaptiés seront choisis parmi les personnes honnêtes et jouissant de la confiance des habitants de chaque localité. Les mesures concernant les attributions seront immédiatement mises à exécution, afin d'établir une fois de plus la confiance et la sécurité parmi toutes les classes de nos sujets.

Le progrès de la civilisation dans notre Empire formant l'objet de tous nos vœux et les richesses d'un peuple ne pouvant se développer que par le bien-être, il est du devoir de l'autorité d'épargner à nos sujets toute contrainte et tout abus tels que la mesure vexatoire des corvées, qui est déjà entièrement prohibée en principe, lesquelles corvées étaient appliquées à la construction des routes et chaussées et aux autres travaux d'utilité publique, au sujet desquels la population montre tant de zèle et de patriotisme. On doit donc éviter de faire du service de prestation rendu par nos sujets aux travaux publics une cause de vexation et de dommages tant pour leurs personnes que pour leurs intérêts. En conséquence le système défectueux en vigueur sera réformé et entouré de plus de garanties. Des instructions précises et catégoriques seront données aux fonctionnaires de l'administration afin qu'ils tiennent constamment la main pour qu'aucun acte contraire à notre volonté Impériale ne soit commis à cet égard.

Considérant qu'il y a urgence à adopter les mesures propres à réformer et à développer l'agriculture, l'industrie, et le commerce de notre Empire, et à augmenter ainsi les richesses de nos sujets ; considérant également que les attributions essentielles du Ministère du Commerce doivent consister à réaliser nos intentions à ce sujet ; nous ordonnons que l'on consulte sur ces matières les hommes capables et compétents, et que l'on soumette leurs décisions à notre sanction Impériale.

Toutes les classes de nos sujets qui vivent à l'ombre de notre protection Impériale sont à nos yeux et dans nos sentiments de justice sur le pied d'une complète égalité. C'est pourquoi nous confirmons les pouvoirs dont sont revêtus les patriarches et les autres chefs spirituels pour les affaires de leurs communautés respectives, ainsi que pour le libre exercice de leurs cultes, conformément aux privilèges et immunités

existant des dites communautés. Toutes les affaires se rattachant tant à l'autorité des dits chefs spirituels qu'on besoin et aux actes de leurs conseils spéciaux, dans les limites des droits et autorisations qui leur ont été octroyés, continueront à être l'objet de toute notre protection, et l'on accordera toutes les facilités pour la fondation et la construction de leurs églises, de leurs écoles, et de leurs autres édifices nationaux.

Toutes les classes de nos sujets ayant toujours le libre accès des grades et des fonctions publiques, suivant leur mérite et leurs aptitudes, nous confirmons l'admission à ces emplois de nos sujets non-Musulmans, dont l'intégrité et la sagacité auront été reconnues.

L'impôt d'exonération du service militaire auquel sont soumis nos sujets Musulmans a été établi en compensation du service militaire effectif auquel sont astreints nos sujets Musulmans; mais comme l'égalité des droits comporte l'égalité des charges et que l'on n'a pas tenu compte, dans une juste proportion, de l'âge et de la condition des contribuables; qu'enfin la perception et la répartition de cet impôt au sein des communautés ne sont pas soumises à un contrôle régulier et équitable, nous ordonnons, comme une nouvelle marque de notre justice, que la répartition du dit impôt soit faite de façon à ce que tous ceux de nos sujets non-Musulmans qui n'auraient pas atteint l'âge de vingt ans ou qui auraient dépassé l'âge de quarante ans, ainsi que les infirmes et les invalides, soient affranchis de cette contribution. On veillera à ce que la règle établie, calculée sur sa quotité individuelle de cette contribution, ne soit pas affectée par cette mesure; que l'impôt soit perçu suivant le nombre réel des contribuables, et que dans le cas où ce nombre augmenterait, les revenus du Trésor suivent la même progression; qu'enfin le recouvrement, suivant le mode ci-dessus décrété, s'opère par les soins des contribuables eux-mêmes. Dès lors la contribution actuelle de 100*l.* par tête pour ceux des Musulmans qui veulent s'exonérer du service militaire sera, suivant le même principe d'égalité, réduite à 50*l.*

Dans certaines parties de notre Empire nos sujets non-Musulmans ne peuvent pas devenir propriétaires et sont employés dans les fermes. Cet état de chose étant contraire à nos sentiments de justice, il n'existera plus désormais aucune distinction entre nos sujets, soit pour la possession des terres vacantes vendues par adjudication, soit pour la possession des terres et biens qui sont vendus par des particuliers. En conséquence on leur assurera la jouissance, sur le pied de la plus complète égalité, des dispositions de la loi sur la propriété foncière.

Les dispositions testamentaires de nos sujets non-Musulmans dans les provinces seront respectées, et il ne sera point permis de s'immiscer dans la gestion faite par les tuteurs des biens des mineurs. Ce n'est que dans le cas où des plaintes seraient portées pour mauvaise gestion contre les tuteurs et exécuteurs testamentaires que l'autorité interviendrait et prendrait l'administration des biens des mineurs sous sa surveillance.

Toutes ces prescriptions et immunités émanées de notre volonté Impériale ont pour objet principal d'augmenter le bien-être des populations placées sous notre autorité Souveraine. La grandeur, la gloire, et la sécurité des Etats ne peuvent se maintenir que par l'intégrité et la justice du pouvoir exécutif, par l'obéissance de tous aux lois établies, et par l'observation rigoureuse, de la part des grands et des petits, des droits et attributions de chacun. Tous ceux qui dans nos Etats agiront conformément à ces principes seront l'objet de nos faveurs Impériales; de même que ceux qui méconnaîtront ces mêmes principes encourront un juste châtiment. Nous ordonnons, en conséquence, que l'on établisse, après l'avoir soumise à notre sanction, une règle suivant laquelle nous seront présentés, en toute sécurité, tous les renseignements et tous les voeux légitimes qui se produiraient pour signaler les contraventions à nos ordres Souverains ou les méfaits qui auraient été commis. Nous voulons également qu'indépendamment des mesures qui seront prises pour garantir la stricte observation des lois, on prépare des réglements et des instructions pour définir les attributions des Valis, des Mutessarifs, des Câimacams, et de tous les fonctionnaires en général, conformément à nos ordres Impériaux. Nous voulons enfin qu'il soit connu de tous que les faveurs que nous octroyons pour les présentes ne doivent profiter qu'à ceux qui accomplissent leurs devoirs de sujets fidèles et loyaux, et que ceux qui sont sortis de cette voie en soient naturellement privés.

Vous qui êtes notre illustre Grand Vézir, vous publierez et promulguerez, dans la forme voulue, ce rescrit Souverain, tant dans notre capitale que dans toutes les provinces de notre Empire, et vous veillerez à ce que toutes les mesures nécessaires soient prises pour assurer l'exécution stricte et constante des dispositions qu'il contient.

Donné le 13 Zilkadé, de l'an 1292.

No. 592.

*Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.**—(*Received December* 21.)

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Constantinople, December* 21, 1875.

THE Turkish Ambassador at Petersburgh telegraphs that Prince Gortchakow suggests that execution of the late reforms should be placed under the control of the Ambassadors here.

General Ignatiew says that this is Count Andrassy's scheme, against which he has been working for several months, and that, although his Government seems to have put themselves under Austrian guidance, he has made another effort to convince them that it is not one which can be practically carried out.

No. 593.

The Earl of Derby to Lord Lyons.

(No. 805.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 23, 1875.

THE French Chargé d'Affaires called at this Office to day, and said that the Duc Decazes had received yesterday from the French Ambassador at Constantinople a telegram reporting that the Porte had requested the three Imperial Powers to intervene with the Prince of Montenegro to cause him to cease assisting the insurgents, as the Ottoman Government declared it to be impossible to support any longer the Prince's connivance, which prevented them from suppressing the insurrection. Articles had appeared in the Turkish semi-official newspapers which presented a complete ultimatum towards the Principality. The Ambassador added that the correspondence from Montenegro showed that the Prince was really favouring the insurgents.

The French Chargé d'Affaires was told that no similar intelligence had been received at this Department, and that should any telegraphic despatches to the same effect arrive he should be informed without delay.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 593*.

Raschid Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Derby by Musurus Pasha, December* 24.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le* 21 *Décembre*, 1875.

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan vient de décréter l'institution d'un Conseil Exécutif qui aura à diriger et à surveiller, sous la présidence directe de son Altesse le Grand Vézir, l'exécution des réformes octroyées par son récent Firman. Un Comité des Contrôleurs sera attaché au dit Conseil. Ces Contrôleurs seront envoyés dans les Provinces pour tenir la main à l'exécution stricte et prompte de ces réformes, conformément aux instructions qui leur seront données par le Conseil. Au besoin, les membres eux-mêmes du dit Conseil feront des tournées en Provinces pour le même objet.

No. 594.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 25, *at night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December* 25, 1875, 4:35 P.M.

COUNT ANDRASSY has informed me that an amended draft of his Memorandum of the measures proposed by Russia and Austria for the pacification of the Herzegovina left yesterday for St. Petersburgh, and, if approved by Prince Gortchakow, will be forwarded in five days to London.

He said that the answer of the Prime Minister at Pesth as to intervention was equivocal, because a declared determination of Austrian-Hungarian (Government?) not to intervene would have been used by Slavonian agitators to urge Servia and Montenegro to move. He denied that there is any idea of the Ambassadors superintending the execution of the reforms, and he considers that an engagement from the Porte to carry out the reforms, deemed sufficient by the Great Powers, will satisfy the insurgents and prevent further action by Montenegro and Servia.

He feels confident that his proposals will meet with your Lordship's approval and support.

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* Repeated to Lord A. Loftus, Lord Lyons, Lord Odo Russell, Sir A. Buchanan, and Sir A. Paget.

No. 595.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 26.)

(No. 332.)
My Lord, *Rome, December* 22, 1875.

SINCE the date of my despatch No. 326 of the 16th instant I have had another short conversation with M. Visconti Venosta, respecting the Turkish reforms and the project drawn up by Count Andrassy.

His Excellency has not as yet received the text of either programme, but he again referred to the immense importance which attaches, in his mind, to affording some security or guarantee to the populations in revolt as to the faithful execution of the promises held out to them. Without this he felt convinced they would not lay down their arms. He doubted if they would be satisfied with any guarantee short of that which might be afforded by Austria and Russia, and it was not likely that those Powers would be responsible for any projects not emanating from themselves. He did not conceal from himself the sacrifice of *amour propre* and dignity which the Porte might feel it to be to adopt any plan or any part of a plan drawn up by foreign Governments at a moment when the Sultan had just issued a programme of reforms of his own spontaneous will; but, considering the immense importance of the stake involved, that if between this and the spring the insurrection were not subdued, it would certainly take wider proportions, and spread to Montenegro and Servia, the question arose whether the Porte should not be advised, in the event of the Imperial Governments urging the adoption of their measures, to accept them so far as they might be necessary to secure the assistance of Austria and Russia in inducing the populations to submit.

His Excellency said he had not as yet received positive information as to whether it was the intention of the Imperial Governments to press, under present circumstances, the acceptance of their programme at Constantinople, but seeing that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador had, in the name of his Government, urged the Porte to withhold the publication of their plan of reforms, it appeared to him not unlikely they would do so, and if they did, he thought it very desirable that the other Powers should consider together the advice which it behoved them to offer to the Turkish Government in the interests of peace.

I replied, as the expression of my own opinion, that as Turkey was still by way of being considered an independent Power, it would only be fair that the effect of the promised reforms should be first tested, and that if all the efforts of the Porte to pacify the insurgents should fail, it would be time to consider what other means might advantageously be employed.

M. Visconti Venosta remarked that the spring would soon be upon us, and that there was, therefore, not much time to lose.

His Excellency leaves this evening to pass his Christmas at Milan, but will return to Rome the last day of the year.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 596.

Lord Odo Russell to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(No. 523. Secret.)
My Lord, *Berlin, December* 21, 1875.

WE had the honour of dining at the Palace to-day, and after dinner the Emperor spoke to me in terms of the highest commendation in regard to the purchase of the Khedive's shares of the Suez Canal by Her Majesty's Government; an act, he said, equally beneficial to the maintenance of peace in Europe, as to the development of the commercial interests of the world, and His Majesty requested me to express his sincere congratulations to Her Majesty's Government on their auspicious decision and policy through your Lordship.

His Majesty then spoke of your Lordship's recent speech at Edinburgh and said that he had learnt with surprise, not unmingled with envy, that England was also blessed with a "Conservative working class; the working men of Germany were unfortunately not yet so enlightened."

In the course of the evening the Emperor also had a long conversation with the Turkish Ambassador, who appeared to me so upset when it was over that I asked his Excellency whether he felt oppressed by the great heat of the room.

My Turkish colleague replied that it was not the heat, but the Emperor's words that oppressed him. His Majesty had spoken with the greatest interest and gracious kindness to him as usual, but he had censured the Sultan's Government for publishing the Firman of Reforms, after having been repeatedly requested by the Austrian and Russian Governments to withhold it until Count Andrassy's plan had been communicated to the Porte and to the Powers; and His Majesty had added that the Sultan's Ministers were not justified in disregarding the wishes and advice of the allied Emperors—"Car quand trois Empereurs veulent quelque chose, ils le veulent bien."

These words, the Turkish Ambassador said, implied a determination on the part of the Northern Powers not to admit the free and independent action of his Government, and made him fear that evil days were in store for Turkey.

He begged I would consider what had occurred as secret.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ODO RUSSELL.

No. 597.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(No. 396. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St Petersburgh, December* 21, 1875.

I HAD an interview with Baron Jomini on the 15th instant, and inquired of his Excellency what progress was making in regard to the proposals of Count Andrassy for the pacification of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to be communicated to the other Powers.

His Excellency stated that the Imperial Government had suggested to Count Andrassy that, as the Porte had communicated to the Ambassadors at Constantinople the reforms assented to by the Sultan, which were said to be of a large and liberal nature, it would be advisable to await their examination before taking action in regard to his own proposals.

His Excellency informed me, that with some difficulty Count Andrassy had obtained an assurance from the Porte not to promulgate the Turkish reforms until they had been communicated to the Powers. From what he had learnt, he believed that they were extremely liberal, and even went beyond the project of Count Andrassy. He considered therefore that Count Andrassy would act wisely in awaiting their communication before launching his own project. But his Excellency observed that the principal object was the nature of the guarantee which Count Andrassy had in view for their faithful execution, and which would enable the Powers to induce the insurgents and refugees to give in their submission.

He again referred to Article IX of the Treaty of Paris, and was of opinion that the non-fulfilment of the terms of the Hatti-Humayoun rendered it necessary to call the attention of the Porte to this subject, and to require on the present occasion some formal guarantee that the conceded reforms would be strictly carried out. In referring to this question, he observed that a Protocol was signed in London in August, 1868, in which the Powers reminded the Porte of the non-execution of her engagements, and pressed for their fulfilment.

He said that on another occasion a proposal had emanated from England to hold a Conference at Constantinople with a similar purpose, but that it had not been carried out.

The Imperial Government, Baron Jomini said, left everything in the hands of Count Andrassy, in whom they placed the most implicit confidence, and who had acted openly and straightforwardly since the commencement of the negotiations. He had frankly stated that Austria could never admit of a Slav Independent State on her frontier, and that he should prefer annexation rather than the creation of such an independent State, but that a certain autonomy, in the shape of local self-government, could be granted without danger to Austria.

Count Andrassy's primitive idea comprised two points, viz., first, equality between the two populations; and, second, the abolition of the forced labour; but his principal aim was to obtain from the Sultan a formal guarantee for the strict execution of the proposed reforms, without which it was hopeless to expect submission on the part of the insurgents.

The Porte should understand that the required guarantee is in the interest of the Porte itself, and could be granted without any reference to the Article IX of the Treaty of Paris. In reply to my observation that the guarantee he referred to would virtually amount to a protectorate of the six Powers, Baron Jomini stated that, in fact, Turkey existed by the protectorate of Europe, but he defined his views of the protectorate by observing that no local interference would be exercised by the consular body, but that each

Consul would be instructed to report to his Ambassador at Constantinople any case of oppression or violation of the new system.

I do not think that there is any wish or intention here to raise any question as to the Treaty of Paris, as the object in view might be obtained by the common assent of the Powers and Turkey. The tone of this Government is moderate and conciliatory; and it is evidently their wish to throw all responsibility from their shoulders on those of Count Andrassy.

It was, said Baron Jomini, of the highest importance for the European Powers to obtain a pacification of the Herzegovina before the spring, or matters would assume a far graver aspect. In view of this danger, it was necessary for diplomacy to act, and to act with energy and decision.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 598.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)

(No. 397.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, December 22, 1875.*

I HAD an interview this day with Prince Gortchakow; his Highness, in reply to my inquiry as to the progress of the negotiations with Vienna on the subject of the Herzegovina insurrection, said that he was awaiting a communication from Count Andrassy.

Prince Gortchakow, observing on the reforms promulgated by the Sultan, said, "C'est un roman." He expressed his opinion that the Porte would be unable to carry them out, and finally remarked that they would be inapplicable to the insurgents, as they were merely intended for the "faithful" subjects of the Sultan.

His Highness expressed the anxious wish of Russia for the preservation of the Turkish Empire. He adverted to the various occasions on which he had advised the Porte to ameliorate the condition of its Christian subjects; he expressed his hope that the unity of Europe on this subject would ensure the object desired; but, he stated, that a guarantee must be given which would secure to the Christian population the faithful execution of the concessions now made.

I inquired of His Highness whether he knew the nature of the guarantee which Count Andrassy intended to propose for this purpose.

Prince Gortchakow replied that he was now awaiting a communication from Vienna, and that until he received it he could not say what would be the decision of Count Andrassy.

His Highness expressed his hope and his belief that, with the unanimous concurrence of the European Powers, the question at issue may be satisfactorily solved.

In speaking of Mahmoud Pasha, Prince Gortchakow said that he had received reports which gave him reason to believe that the position of the Grand Vizier was assured, and that there was no fear of his losing the support of the Sovereign.

He spoke in terms of satisfaction of Caboull Pasha, the new Turkish Ambassador, who was received on Monday last by the Emperor of Russia very graciously and with much attention.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 599.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 27.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December 27, 1875.*

IN a private conversation last night with Count Andrassy he informed me that the idea of the Ambassadors exercising a control over the reforms in Herzegovina originated with (? General Ignatiew) who wished Porte to initiate reforms, the Ambassadors to criticize them and then to control their execution.

This scheme, set forth in a memorandum, was afterwards (? proposed) in a modified form by Prince Gortchakow, but finally abandoned in deference to Count Andrassy's opinions, who has always held that moral guarantee of the Sultan's promise is the only one which the Porte can give or the Powers ask for.

* Repeated to Lord A. Loftus, Lord Lyons, Lord Odo Russell, Sir A. Buchanan, and Sir A. Paget.

He has entire confidence in the pacific intentions of the Czar and Prince Gortchakow, and does not believe that any precautionary measures have been taken by Russia with a view to possibility of complications in the East; and with respect to your Lordship's reference to Austria in your speech at Edinburgh, which has displeased the Vienna press, he said that he had read it with satisfaction, and would have held exactly similar language if he had been obliged to speak to the public on the subject.

No. 600.

Consul Holmes to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 28.)

(No. 22.)
My Lord, *Mostar, December 17, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of two despatches of the 13th and 17th instant, which I have addressed to Sir Henry Elliot, regarding various matters connected with the insurrection in this province.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 600.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Mostar, December 13, 1875.*

ABOUT ten days ago the insurgents are said to have attacked the troops, between Gatzko and Piva, at Govito and Plana, and to have destroyed more of them than at Muratovizza; while they themselves also suffered a greater loss than at the latter place. It is impossible, however, to obtain any precise or authentic details. The Turks avoid saying anything, and the news comes chiefly from Ragusa, but it seems to be confirmed from indications to be observed here. I hear that Raouf Pasha is now assembling his forces at Trebigné, to endeavour to drive the insurgents from Zupci. Other reports, more probable, state that he is placing his troops in winter quarters, Shevket Pasha having been named Commandant at Trebigné, Osman Pasha at Gatzko, and Ali Pasha at Bilekia. It is clear, however, that the insurrection is as far as ever from being suppressed. I have often stated my opinion that while Austria and Montenegro maintain the attitude they have hitherto assumed, the Turks cannot put down the rebellion. I thought it, however, very possible that they would be able to drive the insurgents out of the Herzegovina when attacking them in force, but that this success would be only momentary, and that as soon as the troops retired, the insurgents would again re-enter the country; but the fact is, that up to the present time the Imperial forces have never yet been able to accomplish even this temporary success, and that in every collision they have suffered the most. It is said that there are not now in the Herzegovina more than ten or twelve thousand effective troops, and that this number is rapidly diminishing. The hospitals are crowded. There are no proper medicines or appliances for the wounded, who die in unnecessary numbers. Neither the sick nor the healthy have proper food or covering. Their clothes are in rags, and I myself have remarked that a large per-centage of the soldiers arriving here are bare-footed. Numbers of the sick redif have been discharged to take care of themselves. An inclination to mutiny is also stated to have appeared among the troops, unpaid and ill fed. The population of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, both Mussulmans and Christians, are thoroughly disgusted at the conduct of the Albanian troops, which have lately been marching through the country, and which seem to be entirely without discipline, and steal everything they can lay their hands on. A few days ago, while on the march, one of them shot a Christian, at Konitza, who objected to part with his cloak. The murderer has been arrested here, but I think it doubtful whether the authorities will have the courage to inflict exemplary punishment. The Mussulmans have lost all confidence in the Government, and say that if left to themselves they could do much better. Raouf Pasha is at all events showing activity, and doing what he can, but he is in delicate health, and I fear will not long be able to support the fatigues to which he is exposed. All this will show your Excellency the apparently hopeless condition of affairs, and the probability that the insurrection will easily be prolonged during the winter.

Dr. Kœtschet, a Swiss gentleman, formerly in the service of the late Omer Pasha, and who was with him during the Insurrection of 1861, and has since been employed at Serajevo, has been named chief Dragoman of the Vilayet, and has just passed through Mostar to join Raouf Pasha. I imagine that His Excellency intends to send Dr. Kœtschet to Cettingé, to endeavour to come to terms with Prince Nicholas, to whom he is well

known. If the Prince could be induced by any means to sincerely set his face against the insurrection, a pacification might still be accomplished, but I fear it is too late, and that the Prince is not altogether his own master as to the line of policy he might wish to pursue. I think, however, it is the only chance the Turks have of arriving at a solution, and if this fails, they must declare war against the Principality, which would then be attacked from the Albanian frontier.

Your Excellency best knows how such a step would be received by certain European Powers, but it would afford the Turks more chance of success than their impotent and exhausting efforts under existing circumstances to deal with the insurrection in the Herzegovina alone. I am assured that endeavours have been made to corrupt the insurgent leaders, but as yet there are no signs of success.

Up to the last four days it has rained incessantly for nearly twenty days, and last week the postman could not leave this for Metcovich, owing to the flooded state of the country. It is now fine, but very cold.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 600.

Consul Holmes to Sir H. Elliot.

Mostar, December 17, 1875.

Sir,

ON the 13th a report was spread through Mostar that 4,000 or 5,000 insurgents had surrounded Nevessine, and it was said that a telegram had been received, urgently demanding assistance. A number of Beys and Agas, with their followers, immediately left for Nevessine. The report was evidently an exaggeration, but the Bashi-Bozouks have not yet returned, and it is impossible to learn any further particulars. I can learn nothing certain about the movements of the troops. It is now said that they are preparing to march to relieve and revictual Nicksich. Myself and my colleagues have no sources of information beyond the talk of the bazars, and occasionally the reports of individuals coming from the frontier districts, which cannot be considered authentic. We have long since learnt to believe that any information vouchsafed by Server Pasha is equally doubtful, and most of my colleagues have ceased to visit his Excellency. I have, therefore, little or nothing to report, beyond what I have already stated in previous despatches. The situation continues the same, and the troops seem totally incapable, under actual circumstances, of putting down the revolt, which is sustained as vigorously as ever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. HOLMES.

No. 601.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 443.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 29, 1875.

HER Majesty's Government approve the advice which you gave to the Grand Vizier not to delay the promulgation of the proposed reforms, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 815 of the 8th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 602.

The Earl of Derby to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 446.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 29, 1875.

THE Turkish Ambassador called to-day, and said that there was a matter which he was very anxious should be clearly understood.

It had been stated in the press that the fact of the Sultan issuing a Firman for reforms was a proof that the reforms promised by the Hatti-Humayoun had not been carried into effect, and, if this were so, how could greater confidence be placed in the present than in past promises of reforms?

Now this was far from being the truth.

The power of the Sultan had originally been absolute. He could put persons to death at his pleasure, and his word alone was law.

By the Hatti-Sheriff of Gulhané of 1839, the Sultan undertook to respect the life, property, and honour of his subjects, and to regard them all as equal before the law.

By the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, the Sultan further undertook to establish Ministers of Justice and Finance, to admit Christians to all privileges enjoyed by Turks, from which they might then be debarred, and to establish a system of local Government by Councils, to which Christians of all denominations were admitted, and also to create Mixed Tribunals for the settlement of law suits between Christians and Turks, in which Christians could give evidence.

The recent Firman was merely a confirmation of this by introducing a reformed plan of administration. For instance, under the Hatti-Humayoun, the chief of the Courts of Law was the Minister of Justice.

Now a Supreme Court was to be established, whose head was to be permanent and not a Minister. Hitherto the Judges had been appointed for uncertain periods by a system of election. Now they were to be immoveable, except after conviction of crime.

In short, the edifice, of which the foundation was laid by the Firman of Gulhané in 1839 and the body completed by the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, was now crowned and made perfect by the recent Firman.

He then said he hoped that when the Austrian proposal came in he might be made acquainted with it, so as to be able to assist Her Majesty' Government by offering remarks.

He added that he could not believe the Porte would be able to accept it. As for guarantees, what could be required more than the word of the Sultan, who could have no interest in evading the execution of the Firman? Indeed, he was determined to execute it at once, and had appointed councils to give effect to it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 603.

Memorandum of Conversation between the Marquis d'Harcourt and Lord Tenterden.

AFTER speaking to me about the Roumanian Commercial Treaty question, the Marquis d'Harcourt made some remarks in a conversational tone which are worth notice.

He said, "So the Austrian note is still delayed?"

I replied, "Yes, we are in no hurry for it."

"Ah," he said, "it is not so important now to you as it is to us. We are very anxious to see the matter settled before the spring."

I said, that we were equally desirous to see it settled, but what I meant by not being in a hurry was that as the Austrians had evidently altered the proposal once, if not oftener, probably the better they considered it the more reasonable it was likely to be.

He said, "This might be so. The real point was that the insurgents would not lay down their arms till they were assured there was some European guarantee for the reforms."

I said, that of course that was what we were told, but everyone knew what the effect of insurgents fighting on a frontier was. For instance, Greek brigandage had been kept up for years by being carried on on the Greek-Turkish frontier, over which they had passed backwards and forwards as suited them.

"Yes," he said, "that's true. Hofmann said the other day, 'Ça finira quand nous voudrons.'"

I remarked that the question of reforms was a difficult one. These details of Turkish Mixed Tribunals and Mussulman Courts required careful handling.

He said, "That is what Beust (who hates Andrassy) says, that Andrassy knows nothing of the Mussulman law. You know," he continued, "that Andrassy wanted to override the Mussulman law altogether, and to insist on ignoring it; but Russia, who, like England, has Mussulman subjects, refused to consent."

T.

December 30, 1875.

No. 604.

Mr. St. John to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 66. Political.)

My Lord, *Bucharest, December 20, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of an article which has just appeared in the "Pressa," a semi-official paper conducted by M. Boeresco, the late Minister for Foreign Affairs, announcing the arrival at the frontier of forty-eight cannons, and clearly pointing out the attitude taken by Prince Charles and his Government.

It appears that more guns and materials of war are shortly expected, and that next spring His Highness will be able to put 50,000 men into the field.

I have to report to your Lordship that the Porte has requested the Roumanian Government to pay in advance the 800,000 francs due in three months as tribute, and that the Government here replied that "In consequence of the present state of the finances of Roumania, as well as of those of other neighbouring Powers, having been seriously affected by the crisis now going on at Constantinople, such a request could not be complied with," and I have it from good authority that for the same reason they had expressed considerable doubts whether, when the time came, they would be in a position to pay the usual tribute.

It is believed here that in the spring a general rise will take place in Turkey, and that Prince Charles is only awaiting a favourable turn of events in order to proclaim his independence.

The Bulgarian Committee at Bucharest, who are now actively preparing an insurrection in Bulgaria, have, I have been told, been advised by M. Zinoview, the Russian Consul-General, at whose house they appear to hold constant meetings, to postpone a rise until the spring, when a more favourable opportunity may occur and their chance of success would be greater.

Notwithstanding recent rumours set afloat by the Opposition respecting the downfall of the present Government, I can safely state that M. Catargi, who is strongly supported by His Highness, is now again all-powerful, and that the Government of which he is the head is strong enough to hold out some time longer.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. ST. JOHN.

Inclosure in No. 604.

Extract from the "Pressa" of December 4, 1875.

(Translation.)

WE learn with unbounded satisfaction that forty-eight cannons have arrived for us at Turnu-Severin. These guns, which are of the finest manufacture, and of the most approved system, have now reached our frontier, viâ Germany and Austria, and before long will be at Bucharest.

Thus the armament of our land force has made another important step in the right direction.

We should like to see this system continued, and all the existing arms transformed or replaced by a more improved weapon.

We have a right to expect this from General Horesco, who already merits our best thanks.

Our army, though small, should be composed of the very best material.

Our soldiers are excellent; and our officers, in whom a sense of duty and honour is every day becoming more apparent, are making great progress in the art of war. Discipline, the backbone of every army, is rigidly enforced.

It is obvious, therefore, that our military forces, not to be a useless luxury, must possess the very best arms that can be procured, and in sufficient number, in order that the army may be placed on a proper war footing.

Our army, since 1859, and with a Hohenzollern at its head, has now become an institution, and has ceased to be child's play.

In strengthening our army, we contribute to the maintenance of peace.

It behoves us not to be indifferent to the events now taking place around us. We arm not to attack, but to uphold our rights, to secure our interests, and to defend ourselves when attacked.

Let those who cry out for economy remember that reason and necessity dictate otherwise.

It appears to us that all our efforts should be strained in order to maintain our "existence."

It would be well to encourage economy as far as possible; but, with regard to our army, great sacrifices must be made in order that, when called upon, it may do its duty.

No. 604.*

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(Telegraphic.) *St. Petersburgh, December 30, 1875.*

ACCEPTANCE by Russia of Austrian proposals was telegraphed to Count Andrassy Tuesday, 28th instant.

No. 605.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 829.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 14, 1875.*

THE engagement between the Turkish troops and the insurgents, of which the account is given in the inclosed despatch from Raouf Pasha, is regarded here as the most important and the most successful that has occurred since the commencement of the insurrection.

I have up to this time received no account of it from Mr. Holmes.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 605.

Newspaper Extract.

THE INSURRECTION.—Raouf Pasha, Governor-General of Bosnia, has addressed the following telegram to the Minister of War, under date of November 30:—

"On the 27th instant, I started for Gatchko at the head of 17 battalions. I reached Alashevit on Sunday, and entered Gavranka, the chief town of the district of Piva, on the following day. We found the troops stationed there in perfect security and in good condition. I directed my men against a body of 5,000 insurgents who had made their appearance near Glassivit. The rebels dispersed of their own accord without giving battle. After leaving five months' provisions with the troops at Piva, I turned back towards Gatchko, where we arrived to-day in perfect condition."

No. 606.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 831.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 14, 1875.*

WHEN Midhat Pasha resigned, the Grand Vizier intimated to me that it was in consequence of his refusal to acquiesce in the complete project of reform which he was preparing, but I had soon reason to doubt the accuracy of this explanation.

Midhat Pasha called upon me this afternoon and spoke very freely of the causes of his resignation and his views of what it was necessary to do in the emergency in which this Empire is now placed.

He had, he said, resigned because he found the measures proposed by the Grand Vizier insufficient.

He had not seen the Firmin about to be published, but he was generally acquainted with its contents, and although the different reforms to be announced by it were beneficial in themselves they were mere palliatives, and did not touch the root of the vice of the administration, which was that of excessive centralisation.

What he had wished to do was to proclaim the absolute quality of all classes of the Sultan's subjects, the reform of the army, with the view, I imagine, of introducing Christians into it, although he did not expressly say so; the constitution of the Provincial Councils in such a manner as to establish a real control over the local administration

instead of letting them continue, as at present, mere instruments in the hands of the Governors General; and lastly, he had wanted to obtain some supervision and control over the Finances by means of an independent and unremunerated body selected from among the chief personages of the Empire.

Nothing short of this would, in Midhat Pasha's opinion, avert the ruin that is threatening.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

P.S.—I inclose herewith a translation of the letter addressed to the Sultan by Midhat Pasha upon his resignation.

H. E.

Inclosure in No. 606.

Letter addressed to the Sultan by Midhat Pasha.

DE même que les fonctions qui m'ont été confiées jusqu'à présent étaient les effets de la faveur exceptionnelle de Votre Majesté Impériale, sans qu'elles fussent le fruit de ma capacité personnelle; de même mes fonctions actuelles sont également au-dessus de la valeur de mon mérite, et ne peuvent être considérées par la même raison comme une juste récompense accordée dans la constante sollicitude de Votre Majesté Impériale. Aussi je n'ai eu autre but à suivre dans ma tâche que de me conformer en tout point à votre auguste volonté, sans me hasarder à viser à occuper un poste plus important. C'est une vérité que je suis heureux de déclarer en toute franchise.

Il en résulte que je ne possède pas le pouvoir d'entrer ni personnellement, ni par la pensée, en dissipation des rumeurs plus ou moins inquiétants qui circulent sur la position actuelle du Gouvernement de Votre Majesté Impériale, et qui préoccupent l'attention générale, rumeurs qui gagnent de jours en jour plus d'expansion.

A défaut de ce pouvoir, je ne puis que me sacrifier seulement pour remplir mes devoirs dans la branche d'administration qui m'est confiée, en laissant l'avenir entre les mains de Dieu, convaincu que je ne puis dire un mot en plus, ni immiscer dans les détails des rumeurs précités.

La majeure partie de ma vie s'est passée dans l'intérieur, aussi j'ai toujours eu des missions trop faciles à remplir, et qui m'ont toujours dispensé de recourir à de grandes fatigues intellectuelles pour leur gestion, missions qui étaient donc accessibles à mon intelligence, et non pas pesantes, compliquées et lourdes, comme les charges profondes de la Sublime Porte. Mais cependant quelque facile et quelque insignifiante que soit la tâche que j'ai à remplir, toujours est-il qu'elle n'est pas équilibrée avec ma faible intelligence. Et s'il est vrai que l'on me donne toutes les facilités nécessaires pour être à même de pouvoir applanir les difficultés qui surgissent quelquefois dans l'exercice de mes fonctions, et pour me mettre à la hauteur de mes devoirs, ce dont je remercie infiniment, toutefois la crainte de m'écarter sans le vouloir de la voie qui m'est tracée, et que j'ai à suivre de droit, me donne une préoccupation telle que je me trouve dans la pénible nécessité de décliner.

Or dans la conviction intime que c'est toujours servir son Souverain que de le servir de près ou de loin dans un emploi important ou insignifiant, et qu'il n'y a en cela aucune distinction de gloire, je viens en conséquence supplier, très respectueusement, Votre Majesté Impériale de vouloir bien daigner agréer en bonne et sincère considération l'objet de ma demande, et consentir, en égard à ma position difficile et embarrassante, au changement de mes fonctions en me faisant confier un poste quelconque dans un des vilayets tels que Brousse, Alep, Konia, ou bien dans un autre vilayet de cette catégorie, ou à défaut encore dans un endroit moins important.

No. 607.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 832. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 14, 1875.*

IN my preceding despatch I have stated the views of Midhat Pasha relative to the nature of the reforms which it is necessary to adopt.

He did not conceal from me, in confidential conversation, that his object was to make a first step towards a still more liberal system.

I had objected that the sort of Senate he had proposed, which would be named by the Government, would not do much to control either the Palace or the Grand Vizier, and I asked him whether he believed it would be composed of men likely to sacrifice their prospects of advancement by a courageous resistance to extravagance.

His Highness said that he had been obliged to suggest the nomination of this body by the Government in the first instance, but he aimed at ultimately making it elective, and thus by degrees to obtain a constitutional control over the Sovereign.

Midhat Pasha shares the opinion now so general throughout the country that the personal character of the Sovereign renders all real improvement nearly hopeless unless this control can be secured, but he has never been well looked upon by the Sultan, and if His Majesty is, as is probable, now acquainted with his views, he is likely to be less in favour than ever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 608.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 833.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 14, 1875.*

THE Firman which I forwarded to your Lordship by my despatch No. 826, although falling much short of what might have been hoped, contains the germs of important reforms.

Like every document issued by the Porte, it is drawn up in language of such studied vagueness that it may be interpreted to mean much or little, and the real intentions of the Government will only be satisfactorily known when the regulations are completed for giving effect to the principles laid down.

It begins by giving the basis of a reorganization of the different Tribunals and of the whole judicial system.

The judges are to be irremoveable, and they, as well as the members of the Provincial Administrative Councils, are to be elected by the people, Mussulman and Christian.

The principle of elective judges appears a questionable one, but the Christians may perhaps have more confidence in those thus chosen than in the nominees of the Mahomedan Governors, but here everything will depend upon the rules upon which the elections are to be conducted.

The members of the Council are already nominally elective, but they are practically the nominees of the Government.

The satisfaction which would be felt at the removal to the Civil Courts of many cases which now come under the religious Courts, will be diminished by the intimation that the "Naïbs," or expounders of the religious law, are to be the Judges of the Courts of Appeal.

Regulations are to be framed to prevent anyone from being arbitrarily imprisoned without trial, and it will be one of the most important duties of the Commission charged with their preparation to ensure the observance of a principle long ago proclaimed, but never observed.

The proposals regarding the collection of the taxes and the constitution of the police are calculated to give satisfaction, and the exemption of children from the military relief tax will, in some parts, be a sensible relief to the people, as will also be the regulation of the forced labour for public works.

I am assured that the definitive substitution of a money payment for their labour on the roads would not be well seen by the peasants, or even capable of application.

The announcement respecting the holding and transfer of property, and the testamentary arrangements of Christians are all satisfactory, but we must wait for the regulations before judging whether they are likely to prove practically beneficial.

Perfect equality is proclaimed between all classes of His Majesty's subjects, and he directs that means shall be devised by which they may make known to him there wishes and their complaints.

I have, &c
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 609.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 834.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 14, 1875.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the extract of a report from Mr. Sandison, informing me that the Grand Vizier wished to have my opinion upon the expediency of a military demonstration against Montenegro, unless satisfactory assurances could be obtained from the Representatives of the Great Powers that the Principality would observe a more strict neutral attitude than it has latterly assumed in regard to the conflict in the Herzegovina.

I desired Mr. Sandison to inform the Grand Vizier, in reply, that it was out of my power to give any assurances in regard to the proceedings of Prince Nicholas, but to state that I thought it would be undesirable to make any demonstration against the Principality.

No military movement could be made at this time of year in a mountainous country, and a mere demonstration would only add to the excitement of the population.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 609.

Mr. Sandison to Sir H. Elliot.

(Extract.) *Constantinople, December 11, 1875.*

HIS Highness asked me also to acquaint your Excellency with a recent conversation he had had with the Sultan on the subject of Montenegro. His Majesty, he said, has hitherto been under the impression that his Government had reason to be satisfied with the attitude maintained by Prince Nicholas in connexion with the insurrection in the Herzegovina. Latterly, however, the active part openly taken in it by large organized Montenegrin bands had so much attracted the attention of the Sultan, as to have induced His Majesty to command his Highness to endeavour to obtain from the Prince, through the foreign Representatives, satisfactory assurances calculated to insure the real neutrality of Montenegro during the present events.

His Majesty concluded the conversation by telling the Grand Vizier that in the absence of such assurances, the course left open for his Government was to make a military demonstration in the direction of Teutan, in Albania.

His Highness has already spoken to General Ignatiew in regard to the assurances required, but said he much wished to hear your Excellency's opinion as to the expediency of a military demonstration under the circumstances he had just mentioned.

No. 610.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 835. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 19, 1875.*

I RECEIVED this morning a very confidential message from Hussein Avni Pasha, who said that he wished for my opinion upon a matter personally affecting himself.

He had lately been appointed Governor-General of Salonica, but subsequently obtained the Sultan's permission not to proceed to his post. His Majesty had, however, again signified his desire that he should go there at once, but had not yet sent him a positive order.

He was being misrepresented in various ways, and was even falsely accused of conspiring; his health was not good, and some of his family were also delicate, and all he asked was to be allowed to remain quiet.

He wished to have my advice upon the course that he should adopt.

I said that I could hardly be expected to give advice upon such a subject, but, in my opinion, he should intimate his readiness to defer to his Sovereign's wishes.

As I had little doubt that Hussein Avni's main object in sending to me was to ascertain whether he could expect any countenance from me in the intrigues he is carrying on against the Grand Vizier, I said to his emissary that I would tell him quite openly that I should at present regret to see him placed at the head of affairs.

It was well known that he had entertained projects against Servia, which I believed to be fraught with danger, and it was, moreover, undesirable that, under present circumstances, the Grand Vizier should be a man looked upon with distrust by both Austria and Russia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 611.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 837.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 19, 1875.*

AN impression appears to prevail in certain quarters, and especially in the neighbourhood of Trebizond, that the Russian Government may be inclined to take advantage of the financial difficulties of the Porte to endeavour to obtain the cession of the port of Batoum in consideration of a large sum of money.

I cannot ascertain that the question has been hinted at here, and the feeling among the Turks appears to be that although an abandonment of territory may become necessary after a disastrous war, the sale of any portion of the Ottoman Dominions would be regarded as a proceeding too dishonourable to be entertained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 612.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 838.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 19, 1875.*

MOOKTAR PASHA, one who is considered one of the most experienced Generals in the Turkish army, is appointed Commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in the Herzegovina.

Redif Pasha will remain as Civil Governor-General of Bosnia in command of the troops within that Province, exclusive of the Herzegovina.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 613.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 839.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 19, 1875.*

MR. STUART has transmitted to me a copy of his despatch to your Lordship, No. 204, Confidential, reporting the intention of M. Commoundouros to appoint Greek Political Agents at Belgrade and Bucharest.

During M. Commoundouros' former administration he was known to guide his policy chiefly by the inspirations which he received from the Russian Ambassador here, and in spite of all the late assurances of his determination to cultivate the good relations with Turkey which his predecessors have maintained, those who have the best means of judging, have assured me that his relations with the Russian Embassy are as intimate as ever.

Since the commencement of the troubles in the Herzegovina the apathy and want of sympathy with which they have been viewed by the Greeks cannot fail to have struck everyone, and this coldness between the races, both belonging to the Orthodox Greek Church, has greatly paralysed the influence of Russia.

Hopes have therefore been held out by the Embassy, that concessions might be obtained from the Bulgarians which should lead to the withdrawal of the sentence of

schism pronounced against them, and re-establish the former relations between the two races.

If the Greek Government selects this moment for establishing a Political Agency at Belgrade, we may be assured that it is done with a view to proclaiming their sympathy with the Slavs already in arms against the Sultan, and those who are waiting for an opportunity of joining them, and we cannot feel much doubt as to who has dictated the step.

The friendly professions of M. Coumoundouros will weigh little with the Porte in the face of such an act, and the relations of the two countries will probably, before long, be much what they were during his former disastrous and not very creditable administration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 614.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 840. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 19, 1875.

GENERAL KLAPKA arrived here a short time ago, ostensibly with a view to railway negotiations, but a report has reached me respecting his real object, which, however improbable it may appear, it is my duty to communicate to your Lordship.

It is asserted that he has come as a secret agent of Prince Bismarck, with instructions to warn the Porte that serious complications may be expected in the spring, and that, in order to be prepared to meet them, the Sultan's Government should devote their whole energies to their military organization.

With this view the Porte should husband all its pecuniary resources, and ought not to hesistate to refuse to pay even the diminished interest on the public debt, as, by paying it, it would render it impossible to provide for the defence of the Empire.

Those who mentioned this report to me observed that, however improbable it might appear, it was not to be forgotten that, at least once before, during the Prussian war with Austria, General Klapka was entrusted by Prince Bismarck with an important secret mission, of which the object was to excite a rebellion in Hungary.

It is further stated that General Klapka has offered to secure the services of many Hungarian officers for the Turkish army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 615.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 844.)
My Lord, *Pera, December* 19, 1875.

AT my audience of the Sultan, reported in another despatch, His Majesty alluded, as I have stated, to the enthusiastic reception given to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by Her Majesty's Indian subjects.

I availed myself of this opening to remark that it afforded evidence that the loyalty of a people of different creeds from their Sovereign could be secured by a just and impartial administration, and it gave me great satisfaction to have this opportunity of personally expressing my congratulations to His Majesty upon the measures which he had sanctioned with a view to redress the grievances of which some of his subjects had complained, and so to remove all cause for disaffection.

I begged, however, to be permitted to remark to His Majesty that, as the benefit to result from the Firman would depend entirely upon the manner in which it was carried out, it was essential that he should cause his Ministers to understand that he was resolved that his intentions and orders should be fully executed, for, although the Grand Vizier was, I believed, fully determined to do so, as far as depended upon him, there was already evidence that even some of His Majesty's own Ministers had shown themselves hostile to his views, and had gone the length of absenting themselves from the Council in which the Firman was read.

In the Provinces some of the Governors would be animated by the same spirit,

and nothing but the knowledge that their Sovereign was resolved to carry out what he had promised would keep them in check.

I then proceeded to make some remarks, not without a certain degree of doubt, of the manner in which they would be received, but the Sultan not only listened to them without a sign of impatience, but even expressed his concurrence in them.

I observed, that in this country a spirit had arisen of which every other European nation and Government had already had experience.

The institutions of the past were no longer suited to the present age, and everywhere the people were beginning to expect to have a certain amount of control over those who conducted their administration, and to demand, above all things, that they should have the means of expressing and making known their grievances.

His Majesty, at present, only received the reports of the functionaries who were the last persons from whom he could expect impartial information.

The elective Provincial Councils mentioned in the Firman would render great service if sufficient liberty was insured to them, and they should be enabled freely to make known their wishes and complaints to the Imperial Government.

In the finances also, the necessity for an efficient control had become evident.

The state into which they had fallen showed that, under an uncontrolled Minister, they went from bad to worse, and if the credit of the country was to be restored, the system must be changed.

For the convenience of this report, I have given your Lordship the substance of my own remarks to the Sultan consecutively, without endeavouring to reproduce a long conversation in the form of a dialogue, and I will now proceed, in the same manner, to convey His Majesty's language to me as accurately as I can.

The Sultan said that the loyalty of the Indian subjects of the Queen was no more than what was due to the admirable administration of Her Majesty's dominion, which left her people without a just cause of complaint.

His own object was now to establish the equality between the different classes of his subjects, and to remove, as far as was in his power, all their grievances; and with this view he had issued the Firman to which I had alluded.

He was aware that the military element in his Cabinet had not seen it with satisfaction, but he was resolved that it should be carried out fully and completely.

It was true that much that was in the present Firman was also to be found in the Hatti-Humayoun, and had remained unexecuted, but the time had come when these reforms could no longer be deferred.

Difficulties might be found in the provinces—less, perhaps, on the part of the Governors-General than on that of the inferior functionaries, over whom he had not so much control, and he concurred with me in thinking that the control of provincial Councils, fairly representing all classes of the people, was desirable.

In one respect the Firman had fallen short of this own wishes.

He had intended that delegates, elected by the people of all creeds, should be deputed to come to Constantinople to make known to his Government the conditions and requirements of their respective provinces, and he did not understand why this had not been clearly stated in the Firman.

Your Lordship will believe that I did not fail to urge the Sultan still to insist upon this being carried out.

Nothing, in fact, would be more calculated to give immediate satisfaction, or be more susceptible of important development.

As far as words can go, the Sultan's declaration of his determination that every class of his subjects should be treated upon a footing of perfect equality was as explicit as could be desired.

With regard to the finances, His Majesty's language was not so decided. He admitted great mismanagement, and intimated his dissatisfaction with the Finance Minister, whose removal he had more than once recommended to the Grand Vizier.

I hastened to assure the Sultan that in my remarks I had not pointed to the Minister; they were directed against the system, and not against the man. The embarrassments had occurred long before he was responsible for them, and nothing would, in my opinion, prevent their recurrence but an efficient check upon the public expenditure.

From the question of the reforms, the conversation turned to that of the insurrection, which it may be more convenient for me to report in another despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 616.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 845.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 19, 1875.*

WHEN the Sultan spoke to me of the Herzegovina, he exhibited considerable irritation against both Austria and Russia; against the former for allowing her Dalmatian frontier to be open to the insurgents, and against the latter for the protection afforded to Montenegro.

General Ignatiew had, he said, distinctly told him that his Government took an especial interest in that Principality.

His Majesty was tempted to ask what the intentions of the two Governments towards him were, for their action was certainly not such as to show any wish to allow him to put down the insurrection.

I said that as regarded Austria, I did not doubt her real anxiety to see tranquillity restored in the Herzegovina, and although I could not deny that His Majesty had legitimate ground of complaint for the incomplete manner in which the Dalmatian frontier had been guarded, and for the facilities which the insurgents had been allowed in passing to and fro, it was, I was convinced, owing to the fear of the Austrian Government of indisposing their own Slav population, rather than to any unfriendly disposition towards His Majesty.

I attributed no hostile ambitious designs to Austria, but if the insurrection continued into next spring, it was impossible to calculate the complications which might then arise. No effort should therefore be spared to bring it to an early termination.

The proceedings of his former Minister of War, had, I thought, been unfortunate.

He had unaccountably sent above 100,000 men to Nisch and Widdin, where they were not required, when half the number sent to the Herzegovina would probably have been enough to put down the movement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 617.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 846.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 19, 1875.*

AFTER my audience of the Sultan I told the Grand Vizier that I had found His Majesty prepared to go further in concessions to his subjects than himself, and that His Majesty had commented upon the omission from the Firman of a provision by which the provinces should send delegates to Constantinople to expose their wishes and complaints.

Mahmoud Pasha replied that he was aware of the Sultan's remarks, but His Majesty had apparently overlooked a passage in the Firman, in which it is stated that a regulation shall be made, under which all the legitimate wishes of his people, and all contraventions of his sovereign orders shall be freely made known to him.

It was under this clause, that he proposed to carry out the arrangement alluded to by the Sultan.

I said it would have been better if this had been more clearly stated in the Firman, but I hoped his Highness would lose no time in giving effect to the Sultan's intentions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 618.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 847.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 21, 1875.*

IT seems that my remark to the Sultan that the continuance of the insurrection in the Herzegovina into next spring was likely to be followed by serious difficulties produced a strong impression, not to say alarm, in the mind of His Majesty.

The Grand Vizier sent to me the next day to say that the Sultan was anxious to know what was the danger which I apprehended, imagining, it appears, that I had hinted at the probability of some hostile act on the part of Austria and Russia.

I informed his Highness that I had expressed an opinion that no Government was more truly desirous of the pacification of the Herzegovina than that of Austria, but I had wished His Majesty to be aware that, if in the spring the insurrection still continued, the excitement among all the Slav populations surrounding the Herzegovina would be such as to make it impossible to calculate the complications and consequences which would ensue.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 619.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 850. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 21, 1875.*

THE Porte has received a telegram from the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, stating that Prince Gortchakow had spoken to him of the necessity of finding some guarantee for the execution of the reforms just promulgated, and had suggested that they should be placed under the control of the Ambassadors here.

Raschid Pasha expressed his surprise to General Ignatiew that, after the frequent protestations of his Government of their wish to guard the dignity and independence of the Porte, such a proposition should have been hinted at.

In speaking of this to me, General Ignatiew said that the scheme was Count Andrassy's, and one against which he had been working for months past; but, although his Government appeared altogether to have abandoned themselves to Austrian guidance, he had made another effort to convince them that the project is one in every way objectionable, and not capable of being practically carried out.

He said that Count Andrassy had intimated that, if his project was accepted, he would take measures for effectually closing the Dalmatian frontier; and my colleague observed with justice that the assurance amounted to an imprudent admission that the Austro-Hungarian Government could, if they thought fit, enforce the observance of a more real neutrality than they had hitherto given evidence of.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 620.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 851.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 22, 1875.*

IT is impossible for me to tell your Lordship that the publication of the Reform Firman has been received with any enthusiasm, or has inspired general confidence.

Those who are dissatisfied with it, object, first, that it does not go far enough, and secondly, that there is no security for its execution.

Neither of these objections can be said to be unreasonable, but they should hardly be advanced in the same breath.

If the proposed measures had been of a more sweeping nature, the doubt which might be felt in regard to their being fully carried out would certainly, and with reason, have been even greater than it is at present.

There are obvious omissions and shortcomings in the Firman, but no impartial person can deny that, if fairly applied, it contains enough to produce great improvement in the

general administration of the country, and an alleviation of the grievances especially complained of by the Christians.

Upon this point the opinions of those most competent to judge, and especially of Midhat Pasha, who, as your Lordship is aware, was anxious for larger concessions, are unequivocally expressed.

The Firman may be entirely nugatory, or it may prove a very valuable instalment of practical reform, according to the manner in which it is carried out.

As far as assurances go, nothing can be more explicit than those which are given both by the Sultan himself and by his Grand Vizier; but it may be said that similar declarations made on former occasions have been followed by disappointment.

The times are, however, now far different from what they were when the Hatti-Houmayoun was issued, and the conviction having become general of the absolute necessity of a change of system, the Government will be more forced than formerly to take into account the state of public feeling, both within the Empire and in Europe.

They are aware that unless they give tangible evidence of progress they will irrevocably forfeit the sympathy even of those on whom they have been most accustomed to rely, and I cannot therefore but feel much hope that, with the friendly counsel, which must not be given grudgingly from the Governments of whose good will they feel confident, much real progress may be made.

The course for the friendly representatives to take is to encourage the Porte to carry out, and to develop and extend, the reforms which it itself elaborates; to point out the grievances which call for remedy, and to use such pressure as may be required to obtain it; but to abstain from proposing projects which may appear plausible to those imperfectly acquainted with the people to whom they are to be applied, and for whom they would probably be found unsuited.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 621.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 852.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 22, 1875.*

SOME foreign newspapers have been indulging in severe strictures upon the Sultan for having ordered a new iron-clad in England at a moment when the finances of his Empire were in their present condition.

The reproaches against the Turkish Government for an extravagant expenditure in forming an exaggerated iron-clad fleet have been well merited, but it should in justice be stated that for the last two years and more no new ship has either been ordered in England or laid down in the Imperial yards, with the exception of two gun-boats for the Danube.

I am informed that it is not only untrue that a new ship has now been ordered, but also that the idea or ordering one has never been entertained either by the Sultan or his Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 622.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 853.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 22, 1875.*

THE Porte is assured that the Herzegovina insurgents have decided to send delegates to Constantinople to confer with the Imperial Government.

If this information is correct, and any considerable number of the insurgents have decided upon this step, it is the most hopeful feature that has yet been seen, but I confess that I do not yet entertain much confidence in it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 623.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 854.)
My Lord, *Pera, December 23, 1875.*

A PERMANENT Commission, presided over by the Grand Vizier, has been constituted for the preparation of the regulations for carrying out the Reform Firman, and for watching over its execution.

It is fairly composed of four Mahomedan and four Christian members, the latter being persons well looked upon by their respective communities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 624.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 855.)
My Lord, *Pera, December 23, 1875.*

ALTHOUGH nothing authentic appears to be known of the real object of Mr. Christich's late Mission to Montenegro, both the Porte and such of my colleagues as I have spoken to are convinced that an understanding, probably of an offensive and defensive character, has been come to between Servia and that Principality, and that it may be even questioned whether it may not extend to a concert in regard to operations to be undertaken by both of them in the spring.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 625.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 858.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 24, 1875.*

SIR ANDREW BUCHANAN has sent me a copy of his despatch to your Lordship, No. 428, in which he mentions that Count Andrassy had spoken with regret of the want of confidence between the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and myself, which he considers I had shown no disposition to encourage from Count Zichy.

As it had long been with me an article of faith to look upon a cordial understanding between the two Embassies as being especially desirable in all questions affecting this country, it was with the greatest regret that I found it impossible to continue with Count Zichy the confidential intimacy which I had maintained with his predecessors.

After finding that to speak to Count Zichy was in fact speaking to General Ignatiew, confidential intercourse became very difficult, but I have been in the habit of expressing with perfect freedom my own views upon what was passing, as well as the language I was holding at the Porte.

I have given him frequent openings, but so completely failed to induce him to say anything but the most ordinary commonplaces, that as we are on the most friendly footing, I was inclined to attribute his reticence to instructions from his Government.

Count Zichy is aware how unfortunate I consider it that the Austrian and German Embassies should be so much under the direction of that of Russia, and this may very likely have caused some awkwardness on his part.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 626.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 859.)
My Lord, *Pera, December 24, 1875.*

A REPORT which lately reached Constantinople that Baron Hubner was likely to succeed Zichy as Austrian Ambassador was not received with satisfaction.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

Baron Hubner is by some regarded as being to a certain extent responsible for having contributed to the feeling in Bosnia which ripened into the present insurrection.

When the Emperor of Austria's visit to Dalmatia had inflamed the Slav populations and excited their hopes of countenance in any movement they might make against the Porte, it was shortly afterwards announced that Baron Hubner was about to make a tour in Bosnia, and the two events were regarded as having some connection.

When there, he was affirmed to have gone to the different religious establishments, and to have invited those who had grievances against their Government to come and explain them to him.

Baron Hubner may very possibly have acted with perfect discretion, but the visit of a person of his importance at that precise moment could not fail to give occasion to much mischievous speculation as to its object.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 627.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Derby.—(Received December 31.)

(No. 436. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, December 25, 1875.*

COUNT ANDRASSY, who has been here during the last week, and in frequent communication, I believe, with the Russian Ambassador, called upon me to-day, apparently with the intention of explaining the delay which has occurred in making your Lordship acquainted with his proposals for the pacification of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. He said that the three Northern Powers having come to an agreement in principle as to the reforms which would be necessary for that purpose, had confided to him the duty of placing their opinions in a form in which they could be submitted to the approval of the other guaranteeing Powers under the Treaty of Paris, and he believed that he had now succeeded in performing that task in a manner which would meet with the approval of Prince Gortchakow. He said the views of the three Powers are embodied in a Memorandum which is somewhat voluminous, as reasons are given for every recommendation it contains (qu'elles sont motivées), and the draft as last amended having been sent yesterday to St. Petersburgh, he hopes to receive by telegraph, within five days, Prince Gortchakow's assent to its being forwarded to Count Beust, for communication to your Lordship. In the meantime he could assure me verbally that the reports in circulation concerning it are entirely untrue. In the first place it had been said that an eventual occupation of the insurgent provinces by Austria is provided for, and I must be aware that a question on that subject had been put to M. Tisza in the Hungarian Diet, to which a somewhat ambiguous answer had been given; but although it was by his advice that answer had been framed, the Government had not the slightest intention of intervening, either alone or with any other Power, in the Turkish provinces, because if their intervention should lead to an improvement in the position of the Christians, it would be impossible to terminate it; and on the other hand, if it were not attended with immediate beneficial results, it would lead to equally inconvenient complications.

The question, however, put to M. Tisza by M. Simonyi, a member of the extreme Left of the Diet, had been inspired by M. Militiz, the principal Slav agitator in Croatia, and, as a decided declaration of the intentions of the Government would have been immediately used by him and his associates to urge Servia and Montenegro to give active support to the insurrection, it had been necessary to leave their intentions as to intervention uncertain, and to keep that sword of Damocles suspended over those two restless Principalities. It was equally untrue that there was any question of its being proposed that the Ambassadors at Constantinople should form a Committee to superintend the carrying out of the proposed reforms. He could understand the Turkish Government desiring such an arrangement, as it would relieve them from responsibility, and practically prevent any action taking place, as it might be considered certain that one member of such a Committee would always be found to entertain a different opinion from his colleagues.

All, therefore, that he asked for would be an engagement on the part of the Porte to carry out such reforms as might be recommended by Europe for effecting the pacification of the Provinces, and for providing for their future tranquillity; and while he felt assured that his suggestions for these objects would meet with your Lordship's

END.

approval and support, he was equally confident that, if Europe intimated to the insurgents that all they could reasonably require would be secured to them, they would be satisfied with the concessions granted to them, and that the Prince of Montenegro, after a solemn expression of the opinion of the Great Powers on the question, would be able to prevent his subjects from supporting the insurrection.

Count Andrassy leaves for Pesth to-morrow, and I shall probably go there after the arrival of the messenger, who was expected to-day, but has been apparently detained on the road.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 628.

Mr. Monson to Sir A. Buchanan.—(Received at the Foreign Office December 31.)

(No. 152.)
Sir, *Buda Pesth, December 27, 1875.*

ON the 15th instant, the day after the date of my last despatch to your Excellency, the following interpellation was addressed to the Premier in the Lower House of the Diet by M. Ernest Simonyi, a member of the Extreme Left:—

1. Is it true that it is intended to occupy the insurgent Provinces, or any part of them, by Austro-Hungarian troops?
2. If it is true, which are the Powers who have arranged such an occupation?
3. What purpose is such an occupation to serve?
4. Has the Hungarian Government consented to such a proceeding? and, if so, what motives have actuated their decision?

To this interpellation M. Tisza replied on the next day but one, the 17th instant, to the following effect:—

He thought that, under present circumstances, it would be sufficient if he only answered the fourth question, inasmuch as what he had to say on that was in fact an answer to the other three also. All that he could state, then, on the fourth question was, that the Hungarian Government had not been able either to give or refuse their consent to such an action as that contemplated in the other three questions, and that simply because they had not been called upon to give an opinion. For the reassurance of the honourable member he would add that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in concert with the other Powers, was working to establish tranquillity in the insurgent Provinces as quickly and as durably as possibly, and thus to avert any eventuality of a kind to trouble the peace of Europe.

M. Simonyi hereupon observed that certainly the Minister had not compromised himself, and that the House was no wiser than before.

In reply to his further remarks upon the principle of intervention, M. Tisza declared that as long as the present Ministry remained in office there would be no question of Austro-Hungarian troops being employed without the previous consent of the Hungarian Government.

Public opinion upon this incident seems to have decided that if M. Tisza's explanation as to the possibility of an armed intervention was not quite as positive as might be wished, his assertion of the control which the Government claimed over the employment of the common army was, in view of the Sovereign's undoubted prerogative, quite sufficiently bold.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDMUND MONSON.